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TWENTY-SIXTH

# ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

# DANTE SOCIETY

(CAMBRIDGE, MASS.)

1907

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## ACCOMPANYING PAPER

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE INFLUENCE OF DANTE IN  
CASTILIAN AND CATALAN LITERATURE

*By Chandler Rathfon Post*

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BOSTON

GINN & COMPANY

(FOR THE DANTE SOCIETY)

1908

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## STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

(From May 15, 1906, to May 21, 1907)

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1906 . . . . .	\$646 81	
Membership fees till May 21, 1907 . . .	500 00	
Copyrights, etc. . . . .	43 05	
	<hr/>	\$1189 86
Paid Messrs. Ginn & Company . . . . .	\$602 13	
Paid Miss M. P. Cook for bibliographical work	35 00	
Postage, printing, etc. . . . .	11 53	
Balance in the Treasurer's hands, May 21,		
1907 . . . . .	<hr/> 541 20	\$1189 86



## BY-LAWS

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1. This Society shall be called the DANTE SOCIETY. Its object shall be the encouragement of the study of the Life and Works of Dante.

2. Any person desirous to become a member of this Society may do so by signifying his or her wish in writing to the Secretary, and by the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

3. An Annual Meeting for the election of officers shall be held at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of May, of which due notice shall be given to the members by the Secretary.

4. Special meetings may be held at any time appointed by vote of the members at the Annual Meeting, or by call from the President and Secretary.

5. The officers shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Librarian, who, together with three members thereto chosen, shall form the Council of the Society. All these officers shall be chosen at the Annual Meeting, and their term of service shall be for one year, or until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled for the remainder of the year by the Council.

6. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice President, or, in the absence of both, any member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council.

7. The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep a record of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, shall collect and receive all dues, and keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the Society, shall give notice of meetings, and shall perform all other duties appropriate to his office.

8. The Council shall hold meetings at such times as it may appoint, shall determine on the use to be made of the income of

the Society, shall endeavor to promote the special objects of the Society in such ways as may seem most appropriate, and shall make an annual report of their proceedings, including a full statement of accounts, at each Annual Meeting. This report shall be made in print for distribution to the members.

9. No officer of the Society shall be competent to contract debts in the name of the Society, and no expenditure shall be made without a vote of the Council.

10. A majority of the Council shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. Any person distinguished for his interest in the purposes of the Society, or who has rendered it valuable service, may be chosen an Honorary Member at any regular meeting of the Society, and shall be entitled to all its privileges without annual assessment.

12. The preceding rules may be changed at any time by unanimous vote of the Council.

## THE DANTE PRIZE

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The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars for the best essay by a student in any department of Harvard University, or by a graduate of not more than three years' standing, on a subject drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1907-1908 the following subjects were proposed :

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*

For 1908-1909 the following additional subjects are proposed :

1. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
2. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
3. *A criticism of Torracca's edition of the Divina Commedia.*

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., on or before the first day of May.

Essayists are at liberty to write on any one of the subjects which have been proposed in the years during which the Dante Prize has been offered, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

On the title-page must be written an assumed name and a statement of the writer's standing, i.e. whether he is a graduate or an undergraduate (and of what college or university); if he is an undergraduate, to what class he belongs, and to what department of the college or university. Under cover with the essay must be sent a sealed letter containing the true name and address of the writer, and superscribed with his assumed name.

The essays must be written upon letter paper, of good quality, of the quarto size, with a margin of not less than one inch at the top, at the bottom, and on each side, so that they may be bound up without injury to the writing. The sheets on which the essay is written must be securely stitched together.

The judges of the essays are a committee of the Dante Society.

In case the judges decide that no essay submitted to them deserves the full prize, they are at liberty to award one or two prizes of fifty dollars, or to award no prize.

The Dante Society has the privilege of retaining and depositing in the Dante Collection of the Harvard College Library any or all essays offered in competition for the Dante Prize, whether successful or not.

Since its establishment the Dante Prize (in full or in part) has been awarded to the following persons :

HEINRICH CONRAD BIERWIRTH . . . . 1887.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas*.

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888.

For an essay entitled *The Interpretation and Reconciliation of the Different Accounts of his Experiences after the Death of Beatrice, given by Dante in the Vita Nuova and the Convito*.

CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM . . . . 1890.

For an essay entitled *A Translation into English of Dante's Letters, with Explanatory and Historical Comments*.



KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894.

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo*.

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Influence upon Spanish Literature during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*.

ANNETTE FISKE . . . . 1897.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to Old French and Provençal Lyric Poetry*.

ARTHUR NEWTON PEASLEE . . . . 1900.

For an essay entitled *A Metrical Rhyming Translation of the Three Canzoni of the Convito*.

HENRY LATIMER SEAVER . . . . 1901.

For an essay entitled *A Translation of the Canzoni in the Convito*.

ALAIN CAMPBELL WHITE . . . . 1902.

The Latham Prize for an essay entitled *A Translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra, and a Discussion of its Authenticity*.

ALPHONSO DE SALVIO . . . . 1902.

For an essay entitled *The Verse Endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch' erano appo gli altri dicitori usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS . . . . 1903.

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

CHANDLER RATHFON POST . . . . 1906.

For an essay entitled *The Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature*.

ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS . . . . 1907.

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova*.



## ANNUAL REPORT

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The present Report, the publication of which has been unavoidably delayed, is for the year ending May 21, 1907. The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Dante Society was held on that date at Shady Hill, Cambridge, and the regular business was transacted. The officers of the previous year were reëlected, Professor Ford taking the place of Mr. White, the retiring member of the Council.

Professor Rand, the editor in charge of the Concordance to Dante's Latin works, reported that he had obtained the assistance of Mr. E. H. Wilkins, and that together they had made considerable progress. At the present date of writing the material has been nearly all prepared for the press, and it is hoped that the work may be published during the year 1909.

Copies of Professor Sheldon's Concordance can still be supplied to members of the Society for the original subscription price of seven dollars.

For the special expenses involved in the publication of its concordances the Society has had to depend chiefly on the generosity of a few individual members. But the regular reports and the Dante collection are supported

by the annual fees, and it is important that the number of members should not grow smaller. A larger income, in fact, could be profitably used by the Council in publishing essays of value. The Secretary will therefore be glad to receive nominations of new members.

Mr. Post's essay, which is printed with this Report, obtained the Dante Prize in 1906. The author is engaged upon a more extended investigation of Dante's influence in Spain, and wishes the present paper to be regarded simply as a preliminary study. It is published, with slight modifications, in the form in which it was submitted for the prize.

In 1907 a half prize of fifty dollars was awarded to Mr. Alexander Guy Holborn Spiers, a student in the Harvard Graduate School, for an essay on *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova*.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

*Secretary*

JULY 1, 1908

## THE BEGINNINGS OF THE INFLUENCE OF DANTE IN CASTILIAN AND CATALAN LITERATURE<sup>1</sup>

### I

The word *influence* that I have used in the title of this paper is nowadays faded into the obscurity of a much abused bit of literary cant. Homer influenced Virgil, Dante influenced Fazio degli Uberti, Michael Angelo influenced Tintoretto, — and we let it go at that. The mere fact of influence, however, is not hard to discover, nor, when discovered, does it add much to the scientific knowledge of literature and art or to the general good of mankind. Any man endowed with the minimum requirement of intelligence, even if he has read his texts with the sole aim of pleasure, should recognize the existence of a relation between Homer and Virgil or Dante and Fazio degli Uberti. The first man that, as he looked at Tintoretto's "Moses on the Mount" or the "Paradise," discerned an imitation of the great Florentine's traits contributed little to the sum of human knowledge, even if he divulged his discovery to

<sup>1</sup> This paper is only in the nature of a preliminary study. It was hastily put together two years ago, but the various articles bearing upon the subject that have appeared since, such as Farinelli's admirable series upon Boccaccio in Spain in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* and Hutton's insignificant résumé in the *Modern Language Review*, January, 1908, of what has already been written upon Dante in Spain, have not altered but rather ratified my conclusions. It seems advisable to me to determine the exact character and extent of what, beginning with the *Proemio* of Santillana, has been known as the first outburst of Dantesque influence in Spain, before examining or passing judgment upon its real position and importance in the evolution of Spanish literature, whether of Castile or Catalonia, and before approaching later allegory, which is thought to have sprung up, partly under its influence, partly under the impetus thus given to the appropriation of Dantesque elements. Emanating from *Amador de los Ríos*, such exaggerated and mutually contradictory statements have been vouchsafed by the several scholars who have discussed this subject that it is necessary, so to speak, to clear the ground in order to make possible a sane and unprejudiced search for the sources of the allegorical stream of the fifteenth century. Of these sources and their significance I am now preparing an extended study.

the whole world ; and an advance is achieved only when such men as Ruskin probe the nature and the results of the imitation.<sup>1</sup> The difference in influence is not only of degree ; Fazio's use of Dante is of a different nature from Virgil's or Homer's. It is absolutely necessary to distinguish these degrees and qualities of influence if any practical benefit is to be extracted from the study of literature. The mere presence of a relation between Dante and Imperial, who is the first in Castile to exhibit his influence, is evident to the most casual reader ; but there are literary and even moral precepts to be discerned from an analysis of the circumstances, nature, and effect of this influence.

Literary influence, then, may be broadly divided into two classes : spiritual influence, the simple impetus in a certain direction given to one literary personality by another ; and concrete influence, the actual written imitation of literary elements. Concrete influence may again be subdivided under three headings. To the first type belong imitations, which, rejecting the form of the original, employ the substance in a new framework. Examples readily suggest themselves : the chivalrous romances, which degenerated from the more elevated verse forms into the unadorned compass of prose tales ; the *De Theologica Platonica* of Marsilio Ficino, appearing in the verse of Benivieni ; or Italian novelle manipulated by Chaucer or the Elizabethan dramatists.

To the second type belong the imitations of form, which cannot be so sharply distinguished, since it is almost inevitable that the transfer of the form will carry with it some part of the substance. Because the form of the *Divine Comedy* was so definite and was itself not the invention of the poet but the apotheosis of elements that were familiar to the whole mediæval world, the work of Dante was subject rather to this sort of imitation. Perceiving the success of Dantesque methods, men of letters thought that the secret lay in the machinery that they could so clearly discern and so easily imitate ; but the substance and the spirit often escaped them altogether. The most conspicuous example is Fazio degli Uberti's *Dittamondo*.<sup>2</sup> Here upon the framework of the *Divine Comedy* and in *terza rima* he constructs an edifice of geographical and historical

<sup>1</sup> For example, in the essay on "Michael Angelo and Tintoretto." Ruskin is a man at present much misunderstood and maligned because we value simply facts, utterly neglecting their moral significance.

<sup>2</sup> For an analysis of this poem see Gaspary, *Gesch. der ital. Lit.*, vol. i, pp. 345 ff.

material. The author, whose Virgil is Solino, the great geographer, journeys tediously through three different continents, joined in his own land by the allegorical figure of Roma, who, like a spirit from Dante's cosmogony, relates the history of Italy. Again, Federico Frezzi of Foligno seeks his own end, but with Dantesque methods, and also in *terza rima*, in the *Quadriregio*.<sup>1</sup> The allegorical figures, though approximating rather the *Roman de la Rose*, are seen in a journey through the four realms of Love, Satan, the Vices, and the Virtues. In France, naturally, we should expect to encounter this kind of imitation, the personification of abstract qualities, whose vogue was confirmed by their masterful treatment at the hands of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, arranged in the series of a Dantesque journey; and Christine de Pisan,<sup>2</sup> in the *Chemin de longue étude*, unites this method to material not unlike that of the *Dittamondo*, for she too, under the guidance of the Cumæan Sibyl, is led to the Font of Wisdom beneath Parnassus, where dwell the Muses, thence to the circuit of the world, to Constantinople, the Holy Land and Arabia, to the Pillars of Hercules, and beyond to the Earthly Paradise; and finally subjecting herself to French tradition, she transforms Dante's revolving spheres into a series of five heavens, from the fourth of which a ladder leads to the fifth, where sits Raison enthroned, listening to the respective pleas of Richesse and Sagesse, and in the end referring the debate to the good judgment of Charles V of France. Thus does Christine form within the Italian mold her own substance, to her own end, the glorification of Raison and her patron.

The third type is characterized by an imitation of both form and substance. Here should be classified the example of Homer and Virgil. The peculiarities of the epic form are maintained, and for substance the very actions of Æneas and the details of the wars are modeled closely upon the material of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The Sophonisba incident of Petrarch's *Africa* is a conscious imitation in form and substance of the Circe and Dido episodes of his predecessors; later Ronsard in the *Franciade* follows the precedent of Petrarch, and in the preface seeks to justify his procedure, giving elaborate advice for the

<sup>1</sup> For an analysis of this poem see Gaspary, *Gesch. der ital. Lit.*, vol. ii, pp. 90 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Farinelli, "Dante nell' opere di Christine de Pisan," *Aus rom. Sprachen und Lit.*, 1905, pp. 117-152.



handling of ancient form and material, such as for the appearance of a goddess or the introduction of a storm and the constituents of its description. In the epic, indeed, the very material has become a question of conventional form. Of this slavish imitation, for Dante, there are no examples, to my knowledge, in France or Italy. Whether they occur in Spain is the point at issue; but upon an *a priori* basis we should require much more than the mere statement in order to yield our credence.

We have yet to consider the first of the two main headings, "spiritual influence," or the impulse imparted by the master to the disciple through example or through force of personality. If this impulse drives the recipient into channels similar to those in which the originator acts, it is difficult to distinguish the spiritual ascendancy exerted by one over the other from actual concrete influence as manifested in written productions. It is, perhaps, not impossible to discern spiritual influence in the impetus given by such humanists as Niccolò Niccoli or Dorat to their pupils, though even here there is no certainty that the works of the pupil do not embody the material of the unpublished lectures of the teacher. Niccoli, who wrote only a book on spelling and did some textual criticism, gave the impetus and means to Poggio to search for manuscripts in foreign libraries, and advanced the cause of humanism by opening the library of Boccaccio at Santo Spirito and leaving his own library to the same monastery; the efforts of Dorat are doubtless brought to light not only in the concrete expression of Ronsard, du Bellay, and Jean Antoine de Baïf, but in the more intangible and probably more important enthusiasm with which they devoted themselves to humanistic and literary pursuits. Again, the mere fact that Jean de Meun or Dante wrote in allegorical form may have influenced crowds of mediæval poets to follow their example, though the resulting allegory might be of a wholly different nature; and even when there is no trace of imitation in the later author, a spiritual influence may still be asserted. To become more general, the very existence of a piece of writing may be a spur to composition, whether the result be one of a series instituted by an original whose substance inspires further treatment, or a reply to a controversial original, or whether the literary success of one individual excites in another the same kind of ambition. To return to our former examples, in France of the sixteenth century,

conspicuous is the series of productions elaborating upon *L'Amie de Court* of la Borderie; and in the ferment of Italian Humanism in the quattrocento, among innumerable replies, important are Valla's *Antidotum* and *Apologus* and the *In calumniatorem Platonis* of Cardinal Bessarion. In none of these works is there an imitation of substance or form, though in each case the reason for being can be traced to the impetus given by a definite personality.

This study, then, resolves itself into a classification and discussion of the significance of the first imitations of Dante in Castilian in the verses of Imperial and his Sevillian contemporaries of the beginning of the fifteenth century, and in Catalan of the same century. It is especially important to determine the exact degree and character of this imitation, to make way for a more positive examination of the real constituents of Spanish allegory in this period and for a more securely founded comprehension of its later employment by Juan de Mena and Santillana and their successors.

## II

### IMPERIAL AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

Previous writers upon this subject<sup>1</sup> have neglected to analyze the precise nature of the influence. Amador de los Rios,<sup>2</sup> who was the first to stress the Dantesque element in the works of Imperial, states emphatically the fact of the imitation, going even so far as to define it as double, of allegorical form and substance. "Pero sobre ser el *Desir á las syete Virtudes* en su estructura general una imitación tan palpable

<sup>1</sup> I mention in the text only significant articles. Of less import are: C. Vidal y Valenciano, *Imitadores, traductores y comentadores españoles de la Divina Comedia* (*Revista de España*, vol. ix (1869), pp. 219-223); Ferrazzi, *Enc. Dant.*, vol. iv, pp. 261-263 (notice of article of Vidal y Valenciano); Tiraboschi, *Stor. della let. ital.*, Milan, 1824, vol. vi, p. 1224; Amador, *Obras de Santillana*, Madrid, 1852, p. cxv; Scartazzini, *Dante Alighieri in Spanien* (*Magazin für die Literatur*, no. 52, 1870); M. de Puibusque, *Hist. de la litt. compar.*, vol. i, chap. ii, p. 95; R. Fernández Villaverde, *La escuela didáctica y la poesía política en Castilla durante el siglo xv*, Madrid, 1902, pp. 31, 33, 44. For the biography of Imperial, cf. M. Chaves, *Micer Francisco Imperial, Apuntes biobibliográficos*, Seville, 1899, p. 4; F. Rodríguez Marín, *L. Barahona de Soto*, Madrid, 1903, p. 124; B. Sanvisenti, *I primi influssi di Dante*, etc., p. 75, n. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Amador de los Rios, *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, vol. v, pp. 190-219 (noticed by Wolf, *Jahrbuch für rom. und eng. Lit.*, vol. v (1863), pp. 80 ff.).

de la *Divina Comedia*, apenas hay en él pasage alguno que no tenga su original en el *Purgatorio* ó en el *Paraíso*, partes á que por su misma indole principalmente se refiere." This comprehensive assertion, however, he leaves without further exegesis, except so much as may be gleaned from his elaborate digest of the *Decir*. He presents some of the parallel passages; and without analysis<sup>1</sup> mentions traces of the *Divine Comedy* in other works of Imperial. But in the extensive annotations to the text of his history he touches upon two important details: the analogy between the conception of the Spanish versifier and the early commentators on the Comedy<sup>2</sup>; and the use by Imperial of Dantesque meters.<sup>3</sup> He concludes with an assertion of the final return of Imperial to Spanish methods, and with a qualified statement of his ill success in establishing a school: "no por eso dejaron de producir sus esfuerzos el fruto deseado respecto de la escuela alegórica y aun del gusto literario que representaba, señalándose entre los que abrazan una y otra los mas floridos ingenios que honraban á la sazón el nombre de Sevilla."<sup>4</sup>

Puymaigre<sup>5</sup> adds little to the critique of Amador. He acquiesces in Dante's importance in the introduction of allegorical expression in Spain, contrasting the elaborate and continuous allegories through a whole poem after Imperial's time with the earlier appearance in short, scattered, and isolated episodes. Wolf<sup>6</sup> dwells upon Italian metrical influence. Baist<sup>7</sup> distinguishes between the playfulness and superficiality of former allegory in the vernacular and its serious and extended employment by Imperial for a definite purpose. His conception is only another aspect of Puymaigre's view. Menéndez y Pelayo,<sup>8</sup> in the eulogistic spirit of the Marquis of Santillana,<sup>9</sup> dubbing Imperial the greatest poet of those who appear in the *Cancionero de Baena*, theorizes upon his wide erudition and culture (agreeing with

<sup>1</sup> Except in the short discussion of the "visión de los Siete Planetas" in a note (p. 203, n. 3). <sup>2</sup> p. 198, n. 2. <sup>3</sup> p. 205, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> In the brief statement in his *Obras de Santillana*, p. cxv, Amador simply asserts emphatically that Imperial introduced the Dantesque vogue.

<sup>5</sup> Puymaigre, *La Cour de Don Juan II*, vol. i, pp. 89-92.

<sup>6</sup> F. Wolf, *Span. und port. nat. Literatur*, pp. 196 and 209.

<sup>7</sup> G. Baist, *Geschichte der spanischen Literatur* (Groeber's *Grundriss*, vol. ii<sup>2</sup>), pp. 427-428.

<sup>8</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, vol. iv, pp. lxvii ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Proemio*, edition of *Obras* by Amador, p. 15.

Puymaigre that he knew English), upon his comprehension of the spirit of the *Divine Comedy*, and upon the consciousness of his effort to introduce Dantesque methods, and states that Imperial's indebtedness runs the whole gamut of the Italian poem. Of all these Amador alone has vouchsafed even so much as a superficial allusion to the exact nature and significance of the influence; their treatment has been rather of the fact and, to a slight degree, of the results of the imitation.

The three articles of Savi-Lopez<sup>1</sup> are of value, especially the last named, for their analysis of the use of allegory in the preceding centuries. The short statement of Ticknor<sup>2</sup> to the effect that though Imperial cites the authority of Dante and constantly refers to his works, yet his form is *not* essentially Dantesque, we shall find of greater import than is generally admitted.

Of the two more recent commentators, Sanvisenti,<sup>3</sup> as far as can be gleaned from the scattered statements of his excursive style, believes that in the *Decir de las siete virtudes*,<sup>4</sup> although Imperial's manipulation of allegory in comparison with Dante's is prosaic, the Dantesque influence predominates over the French; that the poem on the birth of John II represents an earlier and more imperfect literary type, in which Imperial uses Dante as he would any other mediæval author; that in the poems to the lady Estrella Diana and upon Don Fernando, the relation comprises only a citation of Dante as an authority and Dantesque quotations; and that in the verses upon Free Will the influence is somewhat more complex. After a cursory examination<sup>5</sup> of some of the pupils of Imperial, Sanvisenti comes to the conclusion that the Genoese poet,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. Savi-Lopez, *Dantes Einfluss auf span. Dichter des XV Jhs.*, Naples, 1901 (noticed by Sanvisenti in *Gior. stor.*, vol. xxxix, 1902); *Un imitatore spagnuolo di Dante nel 1400* (*Gior. dant.*, vol. iii (1896), pp. 466-469, noticed in *Bull. della Società dant.*, n. s., vol. iii (1896), p. 61); *I precursori spagnuoli di Dante* (*Gior. dant.*, vol. iv, pp. 360-363, noticed in *Bull. della Società dant.*, n. s., vol. iv, 1896).

<sup>2</sup> Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i, pp. 354-355. German trans., vol. i, pp. 312-340; vol. ii, p. 717. Spanish trans., vol. i, pp. 418, 459, 521, 554.

<sup>3</sup> B. Sanvisenti, *I primi influssi di Dante, del Petrarca, e del Boccaccio sulla letteratura spagnuola* (Milan, 1902), pp. 33-79.

<sup>4</sup> For the numbers of these poems in the *Cancionero de Baena*, see their detailed discussion, beginning with p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> I shall analyze this more fully later.

<sup>6</sup> As I have nothing to add to the previous scant biographical notices, I refer for such information to the works of Chaves, Marín, and Sanvisenti, and shall mention only those facts which have direct bearing upon the present topic.

through the works of whom, and not directly, most of his contemporaries knew Dante, is to be set above his school because through immediate knowledge of his original he placed before them a high model for imitation and because he *began* the Italian influence, even if it were only to emphasize such picturesque elements as were already present in the *Vida de Sta. Oria*, the *Libro de Alexandre*, or the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*.

The tendency of Farinelli's critique upon Sanvisenti<sup>1</sup> is to outline the importance of French prototypes and to belittle the Italian elements. He points out that Imperial, as a pedant, could comprehend only the learning of Dante. Among French originals he mentions as forerunners to the *Decir de las siete virtudes* the *Dit des VII. serpens* of Robert de l'Oulme (circa 1266), and, again of a decade later, the *Livre des vices et des vertus* of Fièvre Lorens. He enumerates the elements of allegory which were brought into vogue by Imperial's compositions: the discussion of the *Seven Virtues*, appearing later in the works of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, Santillana, Gómez Manrique, Diego de Burgos, Juan de Padilla, and Álvarez Guerrero; the conception of Fortune from the seventh Inferno; the *selva selvaggia*; the old man as guardian of Purgatory; the political invective of Sordello; and certain specific tropes and descriptions. His conclusion is that the writings of Imperial imply no vital influence, for the love of invective was deep-seated in the hearts of the Spanish people, and mysticism was rife in the monasteries; that the Spaniards preferred the more easily comprehended French visions, as is indicated in 1490 by Vicente de Maçuelo's version of the *Pèlerinage* of Guillaume de Deguileville; and that the trend of Santillana's *Proemio* is rather towards a greater admiration for the art of French poets of the fifteenth century, especially Alain Chartier.

An analytical examination of the verses of Imperial is likely to jeopardize for us the high estimate of the Sevillian poet that Santillana expresses in this same *Proemio*. "Passaremos á Miçer Françisco Imperial, al qual yo no llamaria deçidor ó trovador, mas poeta; cómo sea çierto que si alguno en estas partes del Occaso meresçió premio de aquella triumphal é láurea guirlanda, loando á todos los otros, este fué."<sup>2</sup> Even admitting the inference of D. Tomás Sánchez<sup>3</sup> that the phrase

<sup>1</sup> Farinelli, *Dante in Spagna* (*Giorn. stor.*, supplement, 1902-1905, no. 8).

<sup>2</sup> I quote from the text of Amador, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> T. A. Sánchez, *Col. de poes. cast.*, Madrid (1779), vol. i, p. 207.



“loando á todos los otros” denotes a certain composition in which Imperial passed in review his literary contemporaries (an interpretation which I agree with the editors of the *Cancionero de Baena*<sup>1</sup> in condemning as absurd), the antithetical emphasis upon *poeta*, followed by the award to him, if to any, of the laurel crown, is sufficient to exalt him above the rest; but we shall find it necessary, I fear, to seek the reason of the Marquis’s extravagant praise in some other than the recognized canons of poetic worth.

The *Decir de las siete virtudes*, the most pretentious of Imperial’s compositions, demands first consideration.<sup>2</sup> Distinct poetic inferiority is revealed in the attempt of Imperial to reduce the figurative language of Dante to direct but commonplace statement. I quote all the instances that occur in the *Decir* under discussion. First in the third stanza:

Quando á Marsías sus mienbros sacaste,  
De la su vayna por la tu exçelencia,<sup>3</sup>

which is a paraphrase of:

Si come quando Marsia traesti,  
Della vagina delle membra sue.

(*Par.* I, 20-21.)

Imperial’s figure is less bold but more intelligible than Dante’s, for it is more specific and easier to conceive of the limbs of Marsyas as drawn from their sheath, the skin, than of Marsyas himself as drawn from the sheath of his limbs. Dante expresses himself with less exactitude but more poetic vigor. This propensity for greater definiteness is manifested in the preceding line in the phrase, *expirame tu çiençia*, where again Dante in his simple *spira tue* is content merely with the expression of the fact of inspiration without specification of the thing inspired. It is all very well to ascribe these alterations to metrical exigencies; but it is not possible to neglect their significance, when it is found that virtually in every case they are in the direction of prosaic explicitness.

<sup>1</sup> P. 663, n. cxxxi.

<sup>2</sup> I shall treat only the elements in the several compositions which are necessary to the discussion. Elaborate résumés may be found in Amador, which Sanvisenti quite unnecessarily repeats.

<sup>3</sup> For clearness’ sake, I quote from the legible and metrically possible version given by Amador de los Rios, *Hist.*, vol. v, pp. 471 ff.; in two or three instances I have preserved the reading of the *Cancionero* because it seemed to me distinctly better.

Furthermore, lines 22-24 of the first *Paradiso*:

O divina virtù, se mi ti presti  
Tanto che l'ombra del beato regno  
Segnata nel mio capo io manifesti,

are paraphrased with complete loss of the splendid figure of the original:

. . . á mi memoria  
Rrepresta un poco lo que me mostraste.

The figure of the spark, which in the Italian is expressed in a single line (34),

Poco favilla gran fiamma seconda,

is elaborated and explained in the Spanish through eight lines:

Que una çentella, sol de la tu gloria,  
Pueda mostrar al pueblo presente,  
E quiçá despues algunt grant prudente,  
La ençenderá en más alta estoria.  
Ca assy commo de poca çentella  
Algunas veses segundó gran fuego;  
Quiçá segunde d' este sueño estrella  
Que lusirá en Castiella con mi ruego.

Dante suggests the figure and allows the mind of the reader to exert itself in the application; Imperial applies it for the reader two separate times. Dante passes directly to another very noble figure:

Forse dietro a me con miglior' voci  
Si pregherà perchè Cirra risponda.

Imperial, less daring, less fertile in invention, perhaps not learned enough to understand the reference to Cirrha, over attentive to clearness and consistency, extends the same figure of the spark to the preceding conception of the poet's wish to transmit his vision to his followers:

Que una çentella, sol de la tu gloria,  
Pueda mostrar al pueblo presente,

and develops it carefully as a climax for the point under discussion:

Quiçá segunde d' este sueño estrella  
Que lusirá en Castiella con mi ruego.



The ultradidactic and prosaic desire to leave nothing to the intuition of the reader is again evinced in the plain distinction that he makes between the cardinal and theological Virtues :

Las tres cantavan el su cantar santo  
Las otras quatro el su moral canto . . .

The contrast between *moral* and *santo* leaves no doubt as to the significance of the seven starry damsels. But Dante, at the end of the twenty-ninth *Purgatorio*, is satisfied with the indication of a few apposite terms of description, leaving them to work their own suggestion in other minds. Indeed, no better example of diversity of method could be found than is afforded by a perusal of these two passages. Imperial expands into the minutest detail, nay, virtually into a complete *decir*, what Dante compresses into four *terzine* :

Tre donne in giro, dalla destra ruota,  
Venian danzando : l' una tanto rossa  
Ch' a pena fôra dentro al fuoco nota ;  
L' altr' era come se le carni e l' ossa  
Fossero state di smeraldo fatte,  
La terza pareva neve testè mossa ;  
Ed or parevan dalla bianca tratte,  
Or dalla rossa, e dal canto di questa  
L' altre togliean l' andare e tarde e ratte.  
Dalla sinistra quattro facean festa,  
In porpora vestite, dietro al modo  
D' una di lor, ch' aveva tre occhi in testa.<sup>1</sup>

Imperial's prolix description of *Fortalesa* is especially to be noted ; and there is a further proof of what I have said about a fear of unintelligibility in the expansion and exaggeration of Dante's

La terza pareva neve testè mossa . . .  
into  
E las quatro eran albas pero atanto  
Que la su albura á alba<sup>2</sup> nieve priva.

<sup>1</sup> *Purg.*, XXIX, 121-132.

<sup>2</sup> The affected repetition of the root of *alba*, doubtless, is for emphasis upon the figure, into which, for once, he has dared to jump, but such paronomasia is a rhetorical ornament much prized in the Middle Ages, and cultivated less flagrantly even by Dante.

I do not mean to suggest that Imperial is making a conscious imitation of this passage. The description is so different in well-nigh every detail, especially in the coloring of the various allegorical Virtues, that I think it doubtful whether the Spanish poet had these verses in mind even indistinctly. But the method in which they approach similar subjects is very significant, as characterizing the two separate casts of mind that are indicated by the mode of Imperial's actual imitation of Dante.

Imperial departs from the use of mystery, which is a legitimate constituent of poetry, and which Dante employs throughout the entire *Comedy*. The Italian poet wisely spreads a mist over the real physical nature of his vision; but the Spanish moralist in three separate places denominates his experience as a *sueño*:<sup>1</sup> in the second stanza, *un grave sueño*; in the third, *en este sueño*; and in the fifth in the same terms. To be sure, as he approaches the beauties of the garden which seem rather those of the *Roman de la Rose*<sup>1</sup> than of the *Terrestrial Paradise*, he remembers St. Paul's<sup>2</sup> or Dante's<sup>3</sup> words, interpolating incongruously, *Ca non se ssé sy dormia ó sy velava*; but this statement, in direct contradiction to what he has said before, like most afterthoughts, only causes confusion. The constant denomination of the *sueño* in the body of the work destroys the dramatic illusion and detracts from the reality of the substance of the vision. The opening stanza, likewise, is prosaic, artificial, and pedantic in the extreme. Imperial paraphrases a line of the *Purgatorio*,<sup>4</sup>

El tiempo perder pesa á quien mas sabe,

and then comments elaborately upon the line as a proper beginning, introducing into the midst, in Dantesque fashion, a complete line of Latin. It savors of the quaintness with which Dante comments upon his own verses in the *Vita Nuova*; but Dante does not impair the artistic structure of the *Divine Comedy* by thus sacrificing the continuity and dramatic illusion, except slightly and almost necessarily in those passages<sup>5</sup> where he entreates the reader to study deeply the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. T. B. Luquiens, "The Roman de la Rose and Mediæval Castilian Literature," *Rom. Forsch.*, vol. xx, p. 302. When it seems necessary I have referred to articles that have appeared after this paper was put together; in general, however, I have reserved all new material for my future study.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. xii. 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> III, 78.

<sup>3</sup> *Inf.*, I, 10.

<sup>5</sup> As *Purg.*, VIII, 19-21.

meaning of the allegory. The passage in the *Decir de las siete virtudes*, on the other hand, seems to have but the flimsiest kind of a connection with the body of the composition.

Menéndez y Pelayo's eulogies of Imperial, then, following those of the Marquis of Santillana, do not seem to me justifiable. His constant lapse into prosaic pedantry, the numerous attempts to substitute an exegesis for the emphatic figurative language of the Italian, preclude any claim to high poetic fame. I doubt whether the *Decir de las siete virtudes*, even in spots, is the result of poetic inspiration. Some lines or passages, to be sure, are transferred rather skillfully from their Dantesque connection. So the three theological Virtues are endowed with the attribute of Beatrice : <sup>1</sup>

Vestita di color di fiamma viva,

where the Spanish is :

Las tres avien color de llama viva.

Or the characteristics of the sages in Limbo are given to the guide Dante :

Di grande autorità ne' lor sembianti

becoming

De grant abtoridat avia senblante.

Or finally, the effect of Dante's contemplation of Beatrice :

Nel suo aspetto tal dentro mi fei,  
Qual si fe' Glauco nel gustar dell' erba,  
Che il fe' consorto in mar degli altri dei,<sup>2</sup>

is paralleled by the transformation of Imperial as he gazes at the allegorical stars :

Enpero atanto sí que á mí movian  
Qual movió Glauco por gustar la yerva  
Por qué fué fecho de una conserva  
Con los díoses que la mar rregian.

On the other hand, the guide Dante, who is constructed of elements drawn from the Virgil and Cato of the *Divine Comedy*, seems strangely incongruous amidst the luxuriance of a French allegorical garden ; the

<sup>1</sup> *Purg.*, XXX, 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Par.*, I, 67-69.

presence of Leah (though it affords the opportunity for a bad pun and *rime équivoquée*)<sup>1</sup> has a very dubious connection with the rest of the composition; and the splitting of hairs over the question of the equality of the Virtues despite their variance is petty and plainly lugged in as a puerile attempt at Dantesque methods. Again, the figure used by Dante to denote the destitution of the Roman Empire,

Che val perchè ti racconciasse il freno  
Giustiniano, se la sella è vuota? <sup>2</sup>

is dragged in almost without meaning:

Mira las riendas é ansy mira el freno  
é sy en ty queda sano algun pedaço;

and the obscure connection of

Á ty averná commo á fermosa dueña,  
Que con dar vueltas su dolor amansa,

makes it doubtful whether Imperial even comprehended the significance of the figure in the *Divine Comedy*.<sup>3</sup> The whole invective against Seville, indeed, is a most artificial compilation from the opening of the twenty-sixth *Inferno* and the arraignment of Italy and especially Florence in the sixth *Purgatorio*.

It is furthermore seriously to be questioned whether any of the *Decir* is the outcome of original inspiration. The rose garden with the brook is clearly French, or at least the general property of the Middle Ages attaining its most conspicuous development in France. The introduction of the allegorical figure of Dante as guide, the voices in the air speaking Latin,<sup>4</sup> and the group of allegorical stars would seem to be reminiscences of the *Divine Comedy*. It is possible, even, that some commentary which Imperial may have chanced to read concerning the four stars of the

<sup>1</sup> Qual quier qu'el mi nonbre demanda  
Ssepa por cierto que me llamo Lya, . . .  
¿ Non oyes Lia con canto graçiosso  
Que d' estas flores ssu guirlanda lya?

<sup>2</sup> *Purg.*, VI, 89-90.

<sup>3</sup> Vedrai te simigliante a quella inferma  
Che non può trovar posa in su le piume  
Ma con dar volta suo dolore scherma (*Purg.*, VI, 149-151).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Purg.*, XIII.

opening canto of the *Purgatorio* may have suggested to him the composition of the *Decir*. It is to be noted, also, that the ninth *Purgatorio*,<sup>1</sup> from which the Sevillian master extracts

É en color era la su vestidura  
Çenisa ó tierra, que seca se cave,

contains the description of the entrance into Purgatory proper, which is slightly analogous to Imperial's description of the entrance into his garden. In glancing over the Canto, he may have caught up the quoted line. Similar considerations would conduce to a belief that the *Virgen salva*, with which the work concludes,<sup>2</sup> is derived from the seventh<sup>3</sup> *Purgatorio* instead of the thirty-third *Paradiso*, for it is here that Dante introduces the serpents, which, it is not unlikely, together with those in the *Dit* of Robert de l'Oulme, influenced Imperial to adopt a similar device. We have now little left that smacks in the slightest degree of the hand of a poet, unless it be the conception of Discretion as the mother of the cardinal Virtues and the really effective simile used at the appearance of Dante:

E commo quando entre árboles asome  
Alguno, que ante los sus ramos mesçe.

But I little doubt that, as has been done for the other material of the poem, prototypes might be discovered for these bright spots; in any case they are not sufficient to save the whole composition, which in its essence is nothing more than a pedantically minute allegorical presentation of an Aristotelian catalogue of Virtues.

"In its essence," I have said. It cannot be doubted that the chief purpose of the *Decir de las siete virtudes* is didactic, and the didacticism is embodied in the analysis of the seven virtues and their opposing vices. The vision, which precedes the explication of the nature of the allegorical persons, is simply preparatory, and indeed, though somewhat extended, absolutely unnecessary to the main purpose. It is only a pretty decoration that lures the reader to examine the more serious contents. It can be said to characterize the work no more than the anecdote which the mediæval preacher grafted into his sermon to hold the attention of his audience. The Dantesque imitations are, for the

<sup>1</sup> Line 115.

<sup>2</sup> Line 82.

<sup>3</sup> Sanvisenti expresses a doubt upon this point in a note on page 75.

most part, of form, — unessential at that, since they are merely gratuitous ornaments of the French allegorical framework. His substance, except in the imitation of the tirade against Florence and in the very fact that it is allegorical in so far as the moralizing is put in the mouth of an allegorical figure, is not influenced by the *Divine Comedy*. At no point is it Dante's purpose to define or analyze the seven Virtues, but together with all the rest of the tradition of the Middle Ages he has incorporated them into the one great final object of his poem. Nor can it be contended that the piece is an imitation, but an imitation of only a small division, of the great prototype. It must be insisted that at no point do the aims of the two writers coincide; the exaltation of the Virtues is the end and essence of the *Decir*; but Dante introduces them only as details of his allegorical procession, and indeed never descends in the poem itself to minute explanation of allegory. I have already pointed out that it is even doubtful whether the author in his conception of the Virtues had the Dantesque passage in mind. The translation of a few scattered lines or *terzine*, introduced sometimes incongruously and illogically to form a political invective, cannot justify the assertion that the substance of the Spanish poem is an imitation of the Italian. The great mass of substance is derived from the general mediæval stock of erudition.

Nor is the form itself Dantesque in the sense of the *Dittamondo*. Fazio degli Uberti describes a long journey, never once letting go his hold upon the framework of the *Divine Comedy*, though his substance and purpose are quite opposed and inferior to those of Dante. Even Christine de Pisan clings closely to her original in her apotheosis of Reason and Charles V of France. But the form of the *Decir* is to be ascribed in a much larger degree to general mediæval antecedents than specifically to the *Divine Comedy*. The garden is no more Italian than French, and those elements derived from Dante are only accessories and in no way determine its essential nature; when once the writer has entered upon the treatment of the Virtues, the main division of the work, he has forsaken, except in the closing stanzas, the Dantesque form for good and all. The vision is only a preparatory device, the chief constituents of which are by no means to be sought in the *Divine Comedy*.

A still further limitation is to be made. There is a discrepancy in the use itself of allegory by the two writers. The literal sense in the



*Divine Comedy* is a complete, engrossing narrative, coexisting with the three figurative interpretations. In the *Decir de las siete virtudes*, as soon as the explication of the allegorical persons begins, the literal sense is absolutely submerged in the moral; and in the preceding vision the figurative sense of many of the details, if indeed it exists at all, is very loosely and obscurely related to the following catalogue of virtues and vices. Imperial's clumsy weaving appears childishly simple beside the intricate perfection of Dante's fabric.

A slight, fragmentary, interrupted, and inorganic imitation of form characterizes the influence of Dante upon Imperial for the *Decir de las siete virtudes*, and classifies the work, at a much lower grade, in the division of the *Dittamondo* and the *Chemin de longue étude*. A poem of about the same time and of much the same nature, which itself has been the subject of extended disputation, will perhaps, by comparison, assist in elucidation. I refer to Chaucer's *House of Fame*. Written about 1385, the poem, like so many allegorical productions of the Middle Ages, is a vision. It used to be the fashion to parcel it off as an imitation of the *Divine Comedy* for certain superficial reasons, such as the presence of a guide, the invocations at the beginning of each of the three books, or the fact that the opening of Book III is an actual paraphrase of the first *Paradiso*.<sup>1</sup> Such details as the two first, since they have proved to be literary commonplaces of the period, have dwindled into insignificance; and the Dantesque elements, which are confined to a few details, prove only that Chaucer knew the *Divine Comedy*, but that the *House of Fame* is not an imitation but a member of the same class.<sup>2</sup> The same assertion can be made for the *Decir* of Imperial: as a whole it is not an imitation of Dante; certain passages are imitative in form, and in that it is an allegory and partly a vision, it might be placed in the same broad technical division of literature.

In the discussion of this work I have made evident, I trust, the distinction between sure verbal imitations and possible general reminiscences.

<sup>1</sup> The chief exponent of this attitude is Adolf Rambeau, Chaucer's *House of Fame* in seinem Verhältniss zur *Divina Commedia*, *Eng. Stud.*, vol. iii, pp. 209 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The latest and fullest exposition of this point of view, combating emphatically and in detail Rambeau's farfetched analogies, is to be found in W. O. Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame*, Publications of the Chaucer Society, 1907, for the issue of 1904, pp. 44-72, *et passim*. A bibliography of the question is given in the notes on pages 13 and 14.



The former can be asserted only in the case of close translation at least for the space of a line, when it becomes highly improbable that two men should independently have written the same words. Possible reminiscence passes into certainty when definite identical features occur in two works in great numbers or in the same arrangement. In the stanzas on the birth of John II we shall find unquestionable verbal and unquestionable general imitations very rare.

The same traits are manifest as in the former work. He is prosaic again in allusion to his composition within the composition itself, as in the thirteenth stanza: "Commo adelante va metrificado." A poverty of invention is apparent by a repetition of much of the material of the *Decir de las siete virtudes*. A garden, transported from the literary commonplaces of France, is once more the seat of the vision. There are voices in the air; the doubt as to the reality of the vision expressed in diction almost identical with that used before:

Non sé sy velava, nin sé sy dormia;

parallel passages in the description of the garden, as:

(*Virtudes*)      El son del agua en la dulçor passava  
Harpa, dulçayna, con vyhuela d'arco,

compared with

(*Juan II*)      El rronper del agua eran tenores  
Que con las dulçes aves concordavan,  
En bozes baxas é de las mayores  
Duçaynas é farpes otro sy sonnavan,

or

(*Virtudes*)      Oliendo del jardin dulçes olores,

compared with

(*Juan II*)      Oliendo las flores por medio del prado.

Again, there is the invocation of Apollo, the close analogy of the starry females, and, above all, the dull, regular, extended explanation of the characteristics of the allegorical figures. The pedantic propensity is well exemplified by the extremely artificial introduction, in the second stanza, of three languages. The very fact that exact verbal imitation of Dante is very infrequent renders it impossible to bring into relief any

instances where Imperial has sacrificed the figurative diction of the original for the sake of a clear explanation of the conception.

These exact imitations reduce themselves to

A guissa de dueña que estava de parto

of the first stanza, from the twentieth *Purgatorio*,<sup>1</sup> and possibly the

De linage en linage, de gentes en gentes,

from the harangue of Fortune, to be traced to the seventh *Inferno*:

Di gente in gente e d' uno in altro sangue.<sup>2</sup>

Imperial's whole conception of Fortune may be derived from this passage in the *Divine Comedy*. Sanvisenti<sup>3</sup> also suggests as a possible reminiscence the catalogue of heroes,

Al grant Macabeo é al gran Çepion,  
Al buen Josué,

which, when we consider the frequency of such lists in the Middle Ages, is very doubtfully to be referred to the eighteenth *Paradiso*;<sup>4</sup> and I myself would add the manifestation of joy by the planets through greater effulgence, — a detail which, though no direct verbal relation is discernible, seems to originate in Dantesque methods. Finally, Imperial steps out of his narrative for a specific comparison with the *Inferno*,

Non vido Aliger tan gran asonsiego  
En el oscuro limbo espiramentado.  
En el grant colegio del maestro griego  
Col el mantuano ser poetizado . . . ,

and once again when he parallels the joy of the Sun at addressing him to that of Beatrice in heaven smiling upon "el poeta jurista, teologo Dante." And it is this respect for Dante that makes luminous the personality of Imperial, even though his pages are dull with the utter humdrum of mediæval didacticism. We can read it in the *Decir de las siete virtudes*, when he naïvely invests Dante with the attributes of Cato in

<sup>1</sup> Line 19.

<sup>2</sup> Line 80.

<sup>3</sup> P. 76, note 36.

<sup>4</sup> Lines 37-42.

Purgatory, as if white hairs and the burden of years were the attributes proper to the dignity of genius :

Era en la vista benigno é suave . . .  
 Barba é cabello albo syn mesura  
 Traya un libro de poca escriptura  
 Escripto todo con oro muy fino,  
 É comenzaba : En medio del camino,  
 É del laurel corona é çentura.  
 De grant abtoridat avia senblante,  
 De poeta de grant exçellençia,  
 Onde omilde enclinéme delante,  
 Faciéndole devyda reverençia ;

or his adulation is to be read between the lines in the affection with which he culls here and there in the shining meadow of the *Divine Comedy*.

The *Decir* on the birth of John II is, then, so similar to that on the seven Virtues that it is to be technically classified as the same kind of imitation, although the word *imitation* is a misnomer. The translation of isolated bits of subject-matter is reduced to a minimum, and the influence of Dantesque form is to be sought only in scattered details, the relation of all but one or two of which is in itself doubtful. Imperial has here followed his own or the general mediæval method, punctuating it at intervals with reminiscences of Dantesque form. If it were not for these foreign slashes of the brush, the finished picture would present a composition of the purely mediæval type, such as we shall find in the productions of his pupils.

One of the shorter compositions of Imperial, indeed, exhibits in its six stanzas a somewhat closer relation to the *Divine Comedy*. I refer to the *respuesta* to Fernán Sánchez Calavera upon the mediæval crux of the compatibility of free will and divine omniscience.<sup>1</sup> There are three unquestionable direct verbal imitations : one, concerning the difficulty of expressing his experience in words, from Dante's language in the first *Paradiso*<sup>2</sup> :

Nin segunt Dante trasumanar,  
 Podria lengua por bien que fable ;

again, from the discussion of the limits of the human mind : <sup>3</sup>

Menester non fuera parir Maria ;

<sup>1</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 521.

<sup>2</sup> Line 70.

<sup>3</sup> *Purg.*, III, 39.

and lastly from Dante's discussion of the dependency of human actions upon the influence of the heavens : <sup>1</sup>

Sy assí non fuera, fuera menguado  
En nos alvedrio, é en Dios justiçia  
Dar por mal pena é por bien letiçia.

There is no Dantesque reminiscence in the philosophical concept of Imperial, that to the mind of God there is no time, that for Him neither blessed nor cursed are born or die. He approaches the manner of Dante,<sup>2</sup> however, in his comment upon the two Latin sentences : "Major non surrexit" and "Set nobis aspexit." The *respuesta* is related to the *Divine Comedy* only in isolated fragments of substance ; the *Decir* on the birth of John II differs only in that there are two or three touches taken from Dante's form, although in the longer work Imperial's recollections of Dante are fewer and less vivid.

The first *Decir* upon the lady whom he dubs Estrella Diana<sup>3</sup> contains three possible reminiscences : the line

Propio me paresçe al que dixo : Ave,

which should rather be referred to the *Purgatorio*, X, 40 than with Sanvisenti<sup>4</sup> to the *Paradiso*, III, 121 ; the emphasis upon the smile of the beloved :

El su graçioso é onesto rysso ;

and the lines

Callen poetas é callen abtores,  
Omero, Oraçio, Vergilio é Dante,  
E con ellos calle Ovidio *D'amante* . . .

which, though the thought is by no means so extraordinary as to preclude original invention, may be derived from the twenty-fifth *Inferno*<sup>5</sup> :

Taccia Lucano omai . . .  
Taccia di Cadmo e d'Aretusa Ovidio.

The main substance and form of the work, however, are not Dantesque, unless it is to be supposed that Imperial caught the idea of a meeting

<sup>1</sup> *Purg.*, XVI, 70.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Para.*, XIII, 31-III, the discussion of "A veder tanto non surse il secondo."

<sup>4</sup> P. 77, note 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 231.

<sup>5</sup> Lines 94, 97.

with his lady from the *Vita Nuova*. But the conception is very common in mediæval French verse; and the tone of the four stanzas, with the stress upon a comparison of the lady to a rose,

Rossa novela de Oliente jardin, . . .  
E commo la rrosa entre las flores . . .  
Nasçe á los veses muy oliente rrosa,

savors rather of the poem of Guillaume de Lorris. It is the first work which we have examined that can lay claim to artistic unity and grace, but we may well query the originality of its sources, and at any rate it becomes petty at the end in its double exhortation to Enfregymia (Iphigenia?)<sup>1</sup> and Helen to refrain from jealousy.

The second address to Diana in defense against the attacks upon the first<sup>2</sup> is frankly of the Provençal or Galician type. There is the Court of Love before which Imperial is summoned for his extravagant language; and the conclusion is a series of elaborate conceits in which the knight is armed allegorically by the traits of his mistress. In 238 of the *Cancionero de Baena* his addiction to the old school becomes more apparent in the final outburst:

O tú poetria é gaya çiençia!

for the latter phrase is the technical appellation of the Galician genre. The four stanzas in which he begs off in his fear of succumbing to the charms of Isabel Gonçalves<sup>3</sup> continue in the vein of the troubadors. None of these three shows a trace of the influence of the *Divine Comedy*.

The *requesta* directed to Fray Alfonso de la Monja<sup>4</sup> is the sort of complaint which Dante suggests is made against Fortune:

Quest' è colei ch' è tanto posta in croce  
Pur da color che le dovrian dar lode.<sup>5</sup>

The lines

Que non ha vista que te vea  
Nin sseso que se provea . . .

would seem clearly reminiscent of

Oltra la difension de' senni umani;<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Cancionero de Baena*, p. 668, n. cxxxv.

<sup>2</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 234.

<sup>3</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 239.

<sup>4</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 245.

<sup>5</sup> *Inf.*, VII, 91-92.

<sup>6</sup> *Inf.*, VII, 81.

and  
of

Tan oculta te contienes

Che è occulto come in erba l'angue.<sup>1</sup>

Being a complaint, the verses are in direct opposition to the lofty ideal of Dante, as is recognized by Imperial in the final statement :

E maguer que te alabe  
E escuse en su estilo  
Dante que tanto bien sabe,  
Segunt yo ley é vylo . . .

The Dantesque conception of Fortune, which seems to prevail somewhat in the *Decir* on the birth of the young prince, inasmuch as he here specifically recants from such a position, cannot be said to have exerted any permanent influence upon the mind of Imperial. But the praise of Dante's erudition is to be noted, and especially the assertion of a direct knowledge of the *Divine Comedy*.

The answer of Imperial to the monk's reply,<sup>2</sup> though subtly handled, has no bearing upon the question at issue. The verses describing an encounter with a French lady<sup>3</sup> are of some importance, first, for a possible reminiscence :

Segunt qu' el minor se omilla, . . .

to be compared with

Ed abbracciolo ove il minor s' appiglia ;<sup>4</sup>

and, secondly, for another imitation of his own matter, in the similarity of the meeting with that of the Estrella Diana. In the stanzas in praise of Don Fernando, king of Aragon,<sup>5</sup> there is a further repetition of the material of the first Estrella composition in

E vy al que dixo "Ave" ;

and, as in this work, Dante is grouped without ado among the great poets of antiquity. There seems, again, to be some trace of the method

<sup>1</sup> *Inf.*, VII, 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 247.

<sup>3</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 248.

<sup>4</sup> *Purg.*, VII, 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 249.



of the great Italian<sup>1</sup> in the mysterious mention of historical or mythological figures through their stories rather than by name, as of Amphion in

É del que amuró las villas  
Solo con su hablar gracioso.

General statements about the position of Imperial are somewhat dependent upon his reputation as a scholar, emphasized so strongly by Menéndez y Pelayo and Farinelli.<sup>2</sup> To be sure, even more than his contemporaries, he constantly indulges in the quotation of Latin. The *Decir* on the seven Virtues bristles with Latin sentences, and the mannerism spreads through the whole mass of his works. I have already noted the pedantic introduction of three languages into the second stanza of the verses upon the birth of John II ;<sup>3</sup> but the English and Arabic are exceedingly deficient, either by fault of the author or copyist, and at any rate the feat of quoting a single line from a foreign language is paralleled by the gamins on the street, all of whom are familiar enough with corruptions of *parlez-vous français?* Imperial's whole manner, indeed, is that of the young lad who with difficulty learns from his elders a line of French that he may flaunt it before his less lucky playmates. A working knowledge of Latin was no marvel in those days ; and its excessive use by Imperial in imitation of Dante is probably an illustration of the everlasting tendency of all pupils to exaggerate into vices the mannerisms of the master. The French used by the lady whom he meets upon the banks of the Guadalquivir is again confused ; but even if we are to attribute this fault to the ignorance of the copyist, there is all the likelihood in the world that the lines are transferred bodily from some French poem ; or, all other explanations failing, there is no occasion for wonderment if a versifier of those days knew the language in which ordinary mediæval allegory had found so conspicuous a development. The controversial discussion of Free Will and Fortune, to which he gave expression in one of his shorter works, exhibits no illumination above that of his fellows. On the other hand, in the *Decir de las siete virtudes* there is a plain slip in the separation of Phœbus and Apollo into two deities — no more serious, however, than many of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the introduction of S. Francis, *Par.*, XI, 50-54.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 6, note 8 ; p. 8, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo, it seems to me, wrongly lays great stress upon this passage.



which Chaucer is guilty.<sup>1</sup> In this whole matter, indeed, there is again an analogy between these two mediæval writers. Both seem to have been versed in the French and Italian productions of the day, but to have shared in the almost universal ignorance of the true meaning of the Greek and Roman classics. Dante, though his comprehension of their proper position may have been no more enlightened, yet in his vastly broader and more intelligent erudition would not have been betrayed into such blunder. Imperial, though with all his contemporaries he displays some knowledge of the Ptolemaic system, yet appears often to slink away from the task of interpreting the *Divine Comedy* in some other particulars, as when he skips lines 16-18 of the first *Paradiso*:

Infino a qui l'un giogo di Parnaso  
Assai mi fu, ma or con ambedue  
M'è uopo entrar nell'aringo rimaso.

It may be urged that Imperial could not work this idea into the matter of his own composition, but, as I have already pointed out, he has achieved the task of inserting material no less incongruous, and the omission becomes more significant when, at lines 35-36, he again avoids the same classical allusion, developing rather the figure of the potentiality of a spark of flame. In his transformation of the passage of the *Paradiso* he also neglects the difficult *terzine* from 28 to 33. With these lapses in mind I cannot be brought to place Imperial's erudition above that of the other Sevillian versifiers. One instance has already been indicated in which it is doubtful whether Imperial comprehended the significance of the lines that he quoted; and when to this evidence are added the tendency to avoid difficult passages and the incongruity with which he sometimes introduces his plagiarisms, I should take decided umbrage at Menéndez y Pelayo's assertions in regard to Imperial's illuminated comprehension of the *Divine Comedy*.

What conclusions, then, are to be drawn from this examination of the sources, the methods, and the character of our much-lauded hero? It has become evident, I trust, that in no single case has there occurred a sufficiently important imitation of substance to deserve the name. This condition becomes more palpable when we view some real imitations

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the feminine Marsyas in the *House of Fame*:

And Marcia that lost her skin (v. 1229).

of substance, as Benivieni's new investiture of the *De Theologica Platonica* and Chaucer's use of the tale of Griselda, or, united with imitation of form, Ronsard's *Franciade* or his use of the Anacreontic upon the storm-driven Cupid. The final statements in regard to the *Decir de las siete virtudes* applies with greater force to his other works. The imitation of form, which in the first *Decir* can be asserted at best only for the introduction (and even here the French influence is of much greater importance), becomes more and more fragmentary in the minor compositions until finally it appears only in isolated lines. There is a continually decreasing scale from the *Decir de las siete virtudes* through the verses on John II, Free Will, and the Estrella Diana until we discover compositions entirely in the style of the *gaya ciencia*. Whether the Galician or Italian type is chronologically precedent affects the question but slightly; the fact remains that Imperial's extant verses contain but an insignificant, unsystematic, and unessential imitation of the *Divine Comedy*.

The case of Chaucer is once more of assistance. I have already indicated that the *House of Fame* is to be considered as a member of the same species as the *Divine Comedy* with slight reminiscences of Dante. In the prologue to the *Second Nun's Tale*, the hymn to the Virgin is transcribed from the thirty-third *Paradiso*; and in all,<sup>1</sup> Dante seems to have affected about one hundred lines of Chaucer's work. Now no one would think of classifying Chaucer as a Dantista; and yet the translation of a long hymn, the use of briefer citations, and the indebtedness of the *House of Fame* entitle him to the name as much as Imperial, in whose works can be discovered no such unbroken quotation as this laud of the Virgin. Though Chaucer twice plunges into *terza rima*, the force of his genius was not sufficient to mold these isolated instances into a canon for English verse. How can we expect more from the infinitely inferior literary personality of Imperial? Although the *Decir de las siete virtudes* abounds in hendecasyllables, and the minor works exhibit them in no infrequency, nothing tangible results, for Spanish literature had to wait for their permanent establishment until the activity of Juan Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega.

Before we have examined the productions of his contemporaries and successors, it is perilous to make any absolute assertion about the

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Pollard, *Chaucer*, p. 84.

permanent influence of Imperial himself; but ere this, I trust, some of the opinions vouchsafed by the several critics have begun to appear somewhat unstable. Amador's summary of the *Decir de las siete virtudes*, "apenas hay en él pasage alguno que no tenga su original en el *Purgatorio* o en el *Paraiso*," is, to speak with charity, an unwarranted exaggeration. Puymaigre's and Baist's comment evidently has but little bearing upon the point at issue. Inasmuch as the characteristic note and great mass of Imperial's work is not Dantesque, it is futile, as will appear in the discussion of his "school," to make Dante responsible for the extension of the use of allegory from isolated episodes to whole compositions or for the transformation of its nature from playful to serious; and it would seem an anomaly if a man of such meager attainment as Imperial should, apart from a transmission of the influence of Dante, in the power of his own personality, effect a revolution by dint of establishing his own or French methods.

I have already taken exception to Menéndez y Pelayo's theories about the erudition and comprehension of the Sevillian versifier. Two other opinions of his are open to grave doubt. It can scarcely be said that Imperial's indebtedness runs the whole gamut of the *Divine Comedy*. His range in the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* seems to be fairly unrestricted; but his relation to the *Paradiso* needs further elucidation. The *Decir de las siete virtudes* presents certain familiarity with only the first and last cantos.<sup>1</sup> Sanvisenti<sup>2</sup> himself admits that the *Tu argomentas* is by no means necessarily to be traced to the third canto of the *Paradiso*. In the verses upon the birth of John II it has already been suggested that the group of heroes and the reference to Gabriel may be taken from other sources. The idea of heavenly joy depicted by more brilliant refulgence probably comes from a perusal of the *Divine Comedy*, for in one passage, although there is no allusion to light, Imperial makes a definite comparison to the joy of Beatrice at Dante's queries, and in other passages, though without specific allusion to the Italian poem, the planets actually glow with greater brightness when they address the author. The reference to Beatrice as arbiter in the verses on predestination may be derived either from the *Paradiso* or *Purgatorio*. In any case, the reminiscence, in either of these instances, is only general and indirect. As the shorter productions exhibit no relation whatsoever to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. note, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Note 21.

the *Paradiso*, there exists no evidence for more than a very general and limited acquaintance with any part of that Cantica, and no *certain* evidence for a verbal acquaintance with more than the first and last cantos. The possibility that Imperial shrank from the *Paradiso* because it is more difficult of comprehension would tip the scale still farther against a belief in Imperial's intelligence and erudition ; and Menéndez y Pelayo's assertion of the breadth of Imperial's reading in Dante is incapable of proof.

Great shadow has already been cast over his poetic claims, so firmly championed by the same critic. I have hinted that it is doubtful how much of his matter is to be attributed to his own invention. His gardens are laden with the fragrance of the north ; his streams sparkle and murmur as if risen on the other slope of the Pyrenees ; and the fair but dreary damsels who dwell thereby prate the lessons they have conned in France. The composition<sup>1</sup> quoted by the commentators upon the *Cancionero* as drawn from the *Cancionero manuscrito de S. M.* is the most complete expression of Imperial's indebtedness. The writer in an arbor of roses is wounded by the darts of his mistress and dragged away captive. The tale is told with an elaborate dilation upon the varied beauties of the lady, and generally throughout with all the conventional mediæval machinery, until it is hard to believe that we are not perusing a translation of some undiscovered French original. But what if he has skillfully remodeled and rearranged this borrowed finery ? I fear we cannot grant him even that. In the shorter pieces when the difficulty is not so great, or where with some degree of probability a direct translation may be assumed, unity is not seriously violated ; but the *Decir de las siete virtudes* has in the preceding pages yielded under examination glaring incongruities, and the whole preliminary vision, when the piece is compared to so compact an entity as Ribera's *débat* upon Poverty, does not appear æsthetically necessary. In the latter work but half a dozen lines are devoted to the introductory details of the dream, with the result that a consistent attention to the main topic is apparent from beginning to end ; and by contrast the inordinate length of the introductory vision and the unrelated details give the *Decir* on the seven Virtues the aspect of an extremely ill-pieced crazy-quilt.

In the light of the foregoing examination, Sanvisenti's belief in a preponderance of Dantesque influence over the French becomes untenable ;

<sup>1</sup> A discussion of this work is strangely neglected by all critics.

Farinelli's stress upon French sources and upon the love of the Spanish for French allegory is needed as a corrective. We shall have occasion to indorse Farinelli's conclusions in the discussion of the so-called school of Imperial.

As a transition, the argument from antecedent probability is here of some importance. Is it likely that this rhymester neither endowed by nature with an unusual wit nor blessed with excessive erudition, a foreigner by extraction or birth, should be the father of a literary tradition?

Ruy Paes de Ribera deserves first consideration as the pretended chief inheritor of this conditional legacy.<sup>1</sup> It will perhaps be wiser to examine his compositions in detail before studying his general reputation. The débat concerning the preëminence of Poverty as a curse<sup>2</sup> has been groundlessly ascribed to Dantesque influence. The mere fact that Ribera devotes the four opening lines to the description of a gloomy valley as the environment of his discussion is of absolutely no probative force. It is the natural spot for these four curses of humanity, Grief, Old Age, Exile, and Poverty, and a commonplace of mediæval visions; and with no less propriety the heath of the witches in *Macbeth* might be compared to the *selva oscura* of the first *Inferno*. The use of the word *oscura* is the only point of resemblance — an accident without any significance whatsoever; and, on the other hand, the heaping of adjectives in asyndeton is absolutely foreign to Dante's method:

En un espantable, cruel, temeroso  
 Valle oscuro, muy fondo, aborrido  
 Acerca de un lago firviente espantoso  
 Turbio, muy triste, mortal, dolorido.

Throughout the whole work there does not occur a single reminiscence of the *Divine Comedy*; and this absence is especially remarkable when we consider that the allegorical female figure of Dante's symbolical dream at the opening of the nineteenth *Purgatorio*, if Ribera had any acquaintance with the *Comedy*, would almost surely have suggested to him some details for his analogous personalities. Again one expects in

<sup>1</sup> The "school of Imperial" is treated directly after Imperial in the general works mentioned on pages 5-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 290.



vain that the description of Exile will bring forth some Dantesque recollections. Ribera, if he follows Imperial at all, follows him rather in that characteristic which he does not derive from the *Divine Comedy* — the analysis of the minutest allegorical characteristics.

The *Decir* on the occasion of the choice of regents for the young Don Juan<sup>1</sup> may be modeled at the beginning on Imperial's composition for the birth of the same king. The *Decir* on Fortune<sup>2</sup> is completely at variance with the high ideal of Dante. Ribera, neglecting altogether her relation to God and the providential government of the universe, dwells only on her dealings with men, conceiving her with low pessimism simply as the companion of the rich and the curse of the poor. Nor does the longer *débat* between Soberbia and Mesura<sup>3</sup> exhibit any relation to the *Divine Comedy*. The painstaking delineation of Pride and her daughters is in the manner of Imperial; or it might as reasonably be maintained that Imperial follows the lead of Ribera, for the critics seem to have assumed *a priori* that Ribera is the literary offspring of Imperial. Soberbia and Mesura present their pleas, Justicia passes judgment, and assigns Mesura and the other virtues to the train of Don Juan. The composition from beginning to end is characterized by what we denominate indefinitely as the French manner. There are battles of Virtue and Vice in Spain as early as the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius.<sup>4</sup> In France, the name of such allegorical contests is legion; virtually the whole *Roman de la Rose* is built upon elements involving the disagreement of many different types of allegorical personifications. Number 291 of the *Cancionero de Baena* is another lawsuit over the evils of poverty. The rhymed confession<sup>5</sup> does not present a classification of sin according to the Dantesque system. No knowledge of Dante is implied in that the invective against Pride chances to mention, as in the *Purgatorio*,<sup>6</sup> Lucifer as the first instance of the punishment of that sin, for he would naturally be the first suggestion to the mediæval mind. In the *Decir* against Miguel Ruys Thesorero<sup>7</sup> the mention of the three physicians, "Ipocras, Gallyeno, tambien Avyçena," in the same order as

<sup>1</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 289 (a).

<sup>5</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 293.

<sup>2</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 289 (b).

<sup>6</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 298.

<sup>3</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 288.

<sup>7</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 300.

<sup>4</sup> A. Puech, *Prudence*, Paris, 1888 (p. 255), comments upon the popularity of this poem.

in the *Inferno*, IV, 142, is not indicative of an acquaintance with the great Italian. An identity in the components and arrangement of such lists, by reason of their frequency in the Middle Ages, is again of no significance.

The only work in which there hovers the slightest fragrance of the *Divine Comedy* is placed in direct contrast to the rest of Ribera's productions by its palpable optimism.<sup>1</sup> A heavenly appearance, denoted by an effervescence of light, stands before his bed and asks him whether he sleeps or is awake,

Sy dormia ó sy velava,

or whether he is lost in meditation,

O que era en lo que estava  
En mi cabo comiendo.

Aroused, he makes the excuse that he was stricken with terror by the evils of the world; whereupon the unearthly messenger enumerates to him the necessary qualities for a prosperous nation and its king. There is the remotest possibility that the *un resplandor*, the appellation of the angel, is a Dantesque image,<sup>2</sup> still clinging to Ribera's consciousness. It is at present difficult to determine whether the lines

Quando dixo el angel: Ave

and

Sy dormía ó sy velava

originated in Imperial or Ribera; but inasmuch as the former has translated not a few passages from the *Divine Comedy* and Ribera otherwise none, it is reasonable to suppose that Ribera drew them from Imperial, especially as he may have imitated him in his *Decir* on the regents; and thus the only ground in this piece for concluding that Ribera had read Dante is the denomination of the spirit as a refulgence — rather insufficient for the construction of a literary theory.

Practically, there is no trace of an acquaintance with the *Divine Comedy*. I have discussed all the compositions in which the question could conceivably arise. It is possible that in the setting of his piece on the regents and in the work last examined, for a pair of lines, he is indebted to Imperial. The use of Latin may or may not come from Imperial; his habit of employing it for the conclusion of a piece

<sup>1</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 295. These verses hitherto have been strangely disregarded.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Par.*, III, 118, *et passim* in the *Paradiso*.



casts the presumption against the former alternative. His analysis of allegorical characteristics, though it is general mediæval property, may be borrowed from the Genoese versifier. But from those immaterial admissions it is a long step to the contentions of Amador. He states without modification that both Imperial and Ribera drew largely for the essence of their labors from the *Divine Comedy*, that Ribera followed in the path of Imperial in his imitation, and although Ribera did not perpetuate the Tuscan meters used by Imperial, he naturalized on Spanish soil the closer Dantesque imitations of his illustrious predecessor. The certainty of Amador is carried to the point of absurdity. Conceiving the idea in the first place without concrete proof in Ribera's works, he continues to construct a fine-spun theory, still without reference to the text, upon the dear figment of his brain. Puymaigre persists in calling surely Dantesque the verses for the regents of the young John II and the verses to Doña Catalina, the mother of the king,<sup>1</sup> entreating her to succor Castile in its fallen estate. The latter work I have neglected entirely in the examination of the lyrics of Ribera, because I do not believe that the mere presence of invective against existing abuses forms sufficient foundation for the assumption of a connection between a Spanish and an Italian satirist. Sanvisenti<sup>2</sup> denies emphatically that the presence of similar traits of character, such as severity, truthfulness, and robustness, imply a relationship. A still more comprehensive denial should be made. Farinelli would trace the conception of Fortune and the laments for Castile to the prototypes in the *Divine Comedy*; having already sought to demonstrate the instability of these propositions, I should go so far as to say that Dantesque elements appear in no works at all of Ribera. The contention that Imperial's example set Ribera to composing in the allegorical form is a good starting point for pretty theories, and we may speculate as we will upon what I have designated as spiritual influence, whether we consider Francisco Imperial or Ruy Paes de Ribera as the focus of that influence. But the theories are altogether incapable of proof. As far as Dante goes, they are of little consequence, for as he is not responsible for the essential qualities of Imperial's work, nor for anything in Ribera, it is manifestly absurd to state that he gave the impetus to the allegorical movement.

<sup>1</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 297.

<sup>2</sup> P. 61.

I myself have a pretty theory that Ribera has far juster claims to poetic eminence than Imperial. A sincerity and enthusiasm of definite purpose is much more clearly discernible. Amador admits that he has greater descriptive talent. Puymaigre calls him more original. His form is undoubtedly more artistic, in that he does not sacrifice congruity to a desire to weave into the introduction of his composition as many Dantesque threads as possible. Ribera, like Chaucer, devoting only a quatrain or so to the unessential details of the vision, proceeds directly to its actual substance, so that the final product obeys the rules of proportion. But I have really diverged from the main discussion, for as literature offers many examples of the formation of superior pupils by inferior masters, it makes little difference whether Ribera or Imperial be adjudged the worthier aspirant for the laurel crown.

It is conventional also to put the moralist Gonzalo Martínez de Medina into this fictitious category, but a review of his bare didactic pieces reveals neither any reminiscence of Dante nor any visible relation to Imperial. Though he treats such topics as the evils of his country and the reign of the new king, and frames exhortations to forsake vice,<sup>1</sup> he does not avail himself of the obvious parallels in Dante or Imperial. The reference to St. Francis in the verses upon the Trinity,<sup>2</sup>

Si dexas tiniebras e buscas la lunbre,  
Avrás la morada del santo Cordero,

does not argue any acquaintance with the *Paradiso*; and it is worthy of note that in this same piece, in distinction from so many of his contemporaries, Gonzalo omits from his list of sages the name of Dante. Sanvisenti<sup>3</sup> rightly observes that it is not in devotion, asceticism, and relentlessness toward sin, that we are to trace the influence of Dante in Gonzalo Martínez de Medina, for these qualities characterize the prevalent attitude of the Middle Ages.

It remains to examine certain isolated occurrences of the names of Dante and Imperial. Villasandino, the protagonist of the Galician school, in his verses against the abuses of the poetic art<sup>4</sup> places Dante in the following list :

Virgilio é Dante, Oraçio é Platon.

<sup>1</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, nos. 333, 335, 336.

<sup>3</sup> P. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 337.

<sup>4</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 80.

Again, in a brief reply to Ferrant Manuel<sup>1</sup> he intimates that as Samson was preëminent for strength and Absalom for beauty, so Dante was an innovator and master of poetry :

Dante, Virgilio, é Caton  
En poetrya fundaron.

The high esteem implied in these passages precludes any doubt as to the sincerity of the following lines, which Sanvisenti introduces with the words :<sup>2</sup> “*Chiude la sua poesia con un’ ottava, nella quale, a dir vero, non so quanto conseguentemente é con quanta buona fede, dice così.*”

A Dante el poeta, grant componedor,  
Me disen, amigo, que rreprehendistes;  
Sy esto es verdat, en poco tovistes  
Lo que el mundo tiene por de grant valor

The substance of the composition is a reproof to Ferrant Manuel for disregarding the ancient methods :<sup>3</sup>

So maravillado commo preposystes  
Syn lay é syn deslay, syn cor syn discor,  
Syn doble man sobre sensillo ó menor,  
Syn encadenado dexar ó prender,  
Que arte comun devedes creer  
Que non tiene en sy saber nin valor.

De verbo partido maestria mayor,  
Nin de macho é fenbra non vos accorrystes  
Palavra perdida non la enxeristes,  
En vestros desires con saña ó rigor;  
De dos cosas una aproeva el error.  
Por que non sopistes ó por non querer,  
Pero sy se fyso por escarneçer,  
Dios vos perdone, que es perdonador.

He accuses Ferrant Manuel of believing that poetry is not a matter of studious attainment, and of having reached, without any real knowledge of the best poetical devices, a lofty reputation through illegitimate means. The attitude of Ferrant Manuel towards Dante enters in as a secondary accusation. We are bound to assume that he has somewhere

<sup>1</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 254. Sanvisenti gives it as 258.

<sup>2</sup> P. 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 255.

attacked the great Florentine; and since Villasandino combines this accusation with his own general objections to what he considers the radical and unlettered attempts of his rival, he evidently regards Dante as a conservative of his own school; or else with no definite opinion as to the poetical doctrine of Dante, he looks upon him in the remote distance simply as a great luminary of the world of letters in the same class with Virgil or Homer, and reproaches Ferrant Manuel for his boldness in attacking his general and well-established reputation. There is absolutely no evidence in the works of Villasandino that he had read Dante; but rather the vagueness of his allusions might argue that he knew him only as he heard his name passed from mouth to mouth.

The "finida" from a later reply of Villasandino in the same series:<sup>1</sup>

Pues çefñides la correa  
De Françisco Ynperial  
Vestra arte tal ó qual  
Ya sé de qué pie coxquea,

does not contradict the above conclusions. It is the last dart that Villasandino hurls at Manuel de Lando.<sup>2</sup> Villasandino plainly considers Imperial in a different school from his own; but since he is himself an admirer of Dante, it is clear that he does not consider Dantesque influence as the spring of Imperial's essential characteristics. One might argue that if he had no direct knowledge of Dante, he might at the same time praise Dante as a figurehead and carp at the elements that are the result of his influence. But it has been demonstrated that if the works of Imperial have any essential distinction from the preceding lyrics of Spain, or if Imperial established or perpetuated anything in Spain, that distinction and that thing which he perpetuated are due to

<sup>1</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 258.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that Villasandino himself in two pieces copies closely the manner of Imperial and Ribera — one a dream in which he beholds the ship of state (*Cancionero*, no. 334), and the other a vision upon the death of King Henry (*Cancionero*, no. 34), in which appear to him allegorical personifications. It may be that these are to be ascribed to an earlier manner, in which he was a follower of the school of northern France; or in the quatrain under discussion he may have inveighed against some of Imperial's abuses of whose nature we have no knowledge.

anything rather than Dantesque influence. It is enough for our discussion to prove that Dante had no effect upon the contemporaries of Imperial.

But we can go a step farther. Santillana, to be sure, also states that de Lando was a follower of Imperial: "imitó mas que ninguno otro á Miçer Françisco Imperial";<sup>1</sup> but the use of the words *ninguno otro* does not imply necessarily a formal school of Imperial; and, as has already been indicated, from the standpoint of de Lando's extant works, his imitation of Imperial was not in the allegorical manner, and indeed we are not certain in what it consisted. It is very probable that the reference in both Villasandino and Santillana is to one of the numerous verse contests typical of the day, in which de Lando had supported Imperial's philosophy, and not his form of expression, so that the quatrain would be only a means for dating the commencement of what Villasandino considers de Lando's radicalism. But this possibility is far from equivalent to the admission of a distinct allegorical school of Imperial. Ruy Paes de Ribera may or may not reflect his influence. In any case, this single quatrain from the vast *Cancionero de Baena* is slight foundation for a whole literary theory, supported, as it is, only by the one passage in Santillana; and I should at least hesitate to assert the existence of a school on the basis of two vague statements, both of which apply to but one disciple and refer to we know not what aspect of discipleship, the first proceeding from a mediocre rhymester of the fifteenth century, whose judgment of literary influences and movements is not entitled to much respect, and the other from one who as the first avowed critic in Spanish literature is not likely to be infallible.

In the works of Ferrant Manuel de Lando, however, strange to say, there is no trace of Dante.<sup>2</sup> The passage quoted by Sanvisenti,<sup>3</sup> in which Ferrant Manuel asks for information upon astronomy and upon the songs of consolation that the sacred singers hymn to the king, is too general in its substance to imply a reference to Dante. The use of the name of Dante by Diego Martínez de Medina in his reply to Imperial's

<sup>1</sup> *Obras*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Even Sanvisenti (p. 79, n. 62) admits: "Per quanto v'abbia pensato, a me non è riuscito di riscontrare veruna specifica allusione a qualche parte della trilogia dantesca, mi sembra tuttavia sentirvi una vaga reminiscenza dell'ultima cantica." "Vaga," indeed!

<sup>3</sup> P. 67.

first verses on Estrella Diana<sup>1</sup> seems only an echo from Imperial's use of the name; and the mention by Baena himself<sup>2</sup> shows only that the fame of Dante as a poet and "rhetorician" was widespread. The reply of Diego de Valencia to the verses of Imperial<sup>3</sup> upon the birth of John II but repeats incredulously the information that Imperial had vouchsafed about Dante in his own composition.

There is little or nothing to be added to Farinelli's exposition of the works of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán.<sup>4</sup> It would appear certain that he had at least a slight acquaintance with the *Divine Comedy*. Witness the lines:<sup>5</sup>

Alça la vela tu nave  
De su engeño muy sotil envysso;<sup>6</sup>

but I should again hesitate to base any assertions on the single instance, especially when I perceive that the lines occur in a reply to Imperial upon Estrella Diana, where Guzmán might have learned a line from some friend who knew Dante,<sup>7</sup> that he might answer Imperial in his own medium. In the other two cases I disagree with Farinelli. I can see no reason for relegating to the Dantesque category the allegorical stars of the *Quatro virtudes cardinales*; nor is the analogy close enough between the lines

Che spande di parlar si largo fiume

and

fontana clara y fria  
donde yo la grand sed mia  
de preguntar saciava

to justify a statement of Dantesque influence in the poem on the death of the bishop of Burgos. We are left to conclude from one line that Guzmán possibly had read the *Comedy*; and one line, in proportion to the great mass of his works, is not indicative of a very vital influence. He is not a Dantista in any sense of the word.

<sup>1</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 233.

<sup>2</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 371: "Del alto poeta, rectorico Dante."

<sup>3</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 227.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 12-17.

<sup>5</sup> *Cancionero de Baena*, no. 232.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Purg.*, I, 2.

<sup>7</sup> As probably Shakespeare for his Greek.



To resume once more, and finally, the influence of Dante upon Imperial is purely of form, and at that, exceedingly fragmentary and unessential.<sup>1</sup> The influence of Imperial is perhaps to be traced in the works of Ruy Paes de Ribera, and if we are to trust the dictum of Villasandino and Santillana, in those of Ferrant Manuel de Lando. In neither of these cases, however, is it the Dantesque imitation that Imperial transmits. The assertions of Puymaigre and Baist thus lose their significance. It might be granted that Imperial is responsible in Spain for the mannerism of extended and serious allegorical analysis; but in any case the *Divine Comedy* is not his model in those things in which his influence might center. Whether the fact that Dante used allegory, though of a totally different nature and for quite another purpose, had any of what I have denominated as spiritual influence upon Imperial, and through him upon hypothetical pupils, is incapable of absolute proof. There is no doubt, however, in my own mind. The name of Dante flits before the fancies of the Sevillian poetasters of the fifteenth century in most cases in the same kind of murkiness that envelops classical antiquity. He is only a reputation. If common sense has any place in the sphere of literary judgment, all probability would point to the spiritual influence of that school whose formal and substantial influence is clearly manifest; or, specifically, it would seem that the rose gardens and the *débats* of northern France, which characterize the productions of Imperial and Ribera, influenced them and others to the perpetuation of these forms. I employ the word *pupils*, because in general parlance two or three men do not constitute a school, especially when these two or three exhibit elements of influence only very indefinitely and spasmodically, nay, not even certainly. In any case, however, there is no school in the sense that it was the recipient of a definite literary tradition of Dantesque imitation; and from data in hand, I should even hesitate to assert that it was Imperial who confirmed the French tradition. May there not have

<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that as the influence of Dante upon the Sevillian group of versifiers is less vital than upon the Catalan writers, so Castile and Andalusia are united to Italy by no such close political and commercial ties as are Catalonia and Aragon. Farinelli (p. 2) observes: "*A corto di notizie sicure e documentate non sapremmo ancora dar miglior principio alla storia della fortuna di Dante in Ispagna che togliendo in esame l'opera di Francesco Imperial, emigrato, nell'ultima metà del 300, da Genova a Sevilla.*"



been, as in the drama, a continuous chain of development from the earliest times until, with Imperial and Ribera, a definite type is attained, although on account of the meager fragments of Spanish literature extant we are unable to follow that evolution through its various stages? Again, to grant the innovation, is Imperial or Ribera or some other responsible? Though Ribera may be in some matters the pupil of Imperial, it is by no means necessary to assume that he learned from him the essentials of his art. May not Ribera be the innovator? He seems the truer poet. It is a reasonable supposition that Ribera, though perhaps acquiring some qualities from Imperial, is himself responsible for the essential characteristics of the allegorical type as it was then manifest in Spain.

The time was not ripe for the spread of the Italian spirit. Even the Marquis of Santillana was to fail in his attempts to ingraft the Italian measures and methods. As in France of the fourteenth century, despite the efforts of Nicholas Oresme, Pierre Berquire, and Jean de Montreuil, by reason of the political and social turmoil of the day, the Petrarchian germs failed to unfold, so in Spain, Italianism had to await the nurture of Juan Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega. The soil was not ready for the seed. In Italy Petrarch and Boccaccio had labored until the ground was rich and the fresh sprouts of the Renaissance had begun to shoot forth; but Spain and France were still dark and arid.

### III

Dante's influence upon Imperial and his contemporaries, though slight, formal, fragmentary, and unproductive of results, manifests itself constantly, as we have seen, in direct literal translation. Such verbal identity is, of course, the most unquestionable proof of relation between two writers; but Catalan compositions, where Dantesque influence is almost as certain, are in all cases oddly lacking in this palpable evidence. A hasty perusal of the *Gloria de amor* of Rocaberti, even if the reader neglects to analyze the reasons for his impressions, will leave him with as firm a belief in the influence of the *Divine Comedy* as would the *Decir de las siete virtudes* or the verses on the birth of John II. There must, then, exist other characteristics than literal translation, which even unconsciously conduce to conceptions of

interrelation — circumstantial evidence, so to speak ; and before a discussion of the specific instances of Dantesque imitation in Catalan literature, it is advisable to distinguish, if only briefly, the nature and probative value of these characteristics.

There is always more or less doubt whether an imitation is direct or through the medium of another writer, especially in the Middle Ages when certain general literary forms and ideas were the common property of all lands, and poets pilfered the works of the ancients for rhetorical adornment as ruthlessly as builders of churches did their temples for columns ; or again, even to a greater degree, in the Renaissance where a proper plagiarism was consciously defined and advocated, and Pico della Mirandola gave Plato a new artistic expression or Sannazzaro transformed the Eclogues of Virgil, in much the same way as Brunelleschi constructed San Lorenzo or Alberti San Francesco, with eyes fixed constantly on the ruins of Rome. The first extant imitation of a piece of literature is in all probability to be referred to the original itself ; so that this consideration alone would assign the verses of Imperial to direct Dantesque influence, unless we are to suppose that he drew rather from an Italian imitator of the *Divine Comedy*. The more imitations that have intervened between the original and the work under discussion, the remoter the possibility of direct relation. Proximity in time, then, may be taken as the first proof of direct imitation. Imperial's several mentions of the name of Dante and his manifest familiarity with his great work preclude the possibility of some later Italian source ; and, in general, extended acquaintance with the matter of the original document is the second proof for the immediate influence of its author. Cumulative evidence is, of course, as valuable in literature as in law ; and it is to be reckoned with not only when there are a number of instances of the same kind of proof, as in this case repeated instances of acquaintance with Dantesque matter, but also when there are several instances of different kinds of proof, however weak each kind be, as, for example, proximity in time coupled with proximity in substance and language.

The third sort of proof, close approximation in language, requires a somewhat more detailed treatment. Naturally, the greater the number of identical words in the respective passages, the more undoubted the connection between the two ; but when the similarity is reduced to a

mere analogy of conception and the translation of one or two words, the case is more difficult. Here the decision is affected by the existence of translated passages or at least extended verbal identity in other parts of the poet's work, especially if contiguous to the debated lines; or secondly, by the uniqueness of language, if it be characteristic of both the original and the asserted imitation. The description of Charon in the *Sompni* of Bernat Metge<sup>1</sup> offers an excellent illustration of the point at hand. The Catalan author uses the words

fort vell, ab los pels blanchs — ab los hulls flameiants.<sup>2</sup>

Dante, in two separate lines, describes the infernal ferryman in the following terms :

Un vecchio, bianco per antico pelo,<sup>3</sup>

and

Che intorno agli occhi avea di fiamme rote.<sup>4</sup>

The Virgilian passage, which Dante seems to have had in mind, reads :

Charon, cui plurima mento

Canities inculta iacet, stant lumina flamma.<sup>5</sup>

*Vell* corresponds to *vecchio*; *pels blanchs* roughly to *bianco per antico pelo*; and *flameiants* to the idea of *fiamme*; but as there is nothing at all extraordinary about any of these expressions, and all are virtual translations of the passage in the *Æneid*, they are not in themselves sufficient testimony of the influence of the *Divine Comedy*. Nay, the Virgilian *stant lumina flamma* is closer to the Catalan than the original and bolder *di fiamme rote*, and again the union of the description of the hair and eyes in the same line of the *Æneid* would appear to be the source of their conjunction by Metge. The very fact that *di fiamme rote* is an unusual expression, if it were found also in the *Sompni*, would be a well-nigh irrefutable proof of Dantesque influence. When, however, we find this description of Charon joined by Metge to so close a verbal similarity as is presented between *a les tenebres infernals* where exist *fret e calor inextimable*, and *Nelle tenebre eterne, in caldo e in gelo*, and even to a direct translation :

no haian esperança de jamay veure lo cel

from

Non isperate mai veder lo cielo,

<sup>1</sup> The edition that I use for quotation is *Le Songe de Bernat Metge*, J.-M. Guardia, Paris, 1889.

<sup>3</sup> *Inf.*, III, 83.

<sup>2</sup> P. 142.

<sup>4</sup> *Inf.*, III, 99.

<sup>5</sup> *Æn.*, VI, 299-300.

and when neither of these lines of Dante occurs in Virgil, the accumulation of evidence makes the influence of this passage of the *Inferno* a certainty. Since, moreover, these few lines of the *Sompni* are virtually the only positive proof of a Dantesque imitation, a careful analysis becomes all the more important.

The method of identification by observation of the recurrence of an extraordinary phrase has been of value in the treatment of Imperial. It was there stated that the lines

Mira las riendas é ansy mira el freno  
é sy ty queda sano algun pedaço

were a reminiscence of

Che val perchè ti racconciasse il freno  
Giustiniano, se la sella è vuota ?

Now there is an identity only in the single word *freno*. The concept of the bridle of government, though not absolutely humdrum, is yet not extraordinary enough to warrant by itself the assumption of Dantesque influence. But add to this consideration two further data : the similarity of the context in each passage, namely, the denunciation of the respective countries of the two poets, and secondly, the apparent stupidity with which Imperial lugs in the Italian metaphor, as if he exclaimed to himself : " Lo ! Here is a fair adornment, to deck my poem withal ! " and recked little of its appropriateness to his immediate thought ; and by cumulative evidence the imitation again becomes a certainty. This last characteristic of the incongruity is itself almost conclusive, for if we find in one conception an idea or turn of language which is identical with an idea or expression in another and has but slight bearing upon the immediate context, it is likely that the compiler of the former passage has dragged it in as a *tour de force*. Imitation, then, by close approximation in language may be determined in four ways : by the uniqueness of the expression, by its conjunction with absolute translation or slavish similarity of diction, by analogy in the general trend of the context, and by incongruity of a phrase with the immediate connection in which it appears.

Imitation is again recognizable by mere similarity of conception. As I have pointed out, the Middle Ages in all lands laid so little stress upon originality that it is rash to make any statements without certain

reservations. Identity of language, appearing in direct connection with similarity of conception, or at another place in a poem in which similarity of conception has already been observed, virtually proves the source of the conception. If this be lacking, it is not advisable to assume an influence unless the similarity of thought extends over a great part of the composition or unless the ideas occur in the same order. Thus in the *Decir de las siete virtudes* the invocation to Apollo, paralleled by that in the first *Paradiso*, the description of Dante, which would seem to be modeled upon that of Cato in the *Purgatorio*, the vision of Leah, and the invective against Castile, since they are literary commonplaces of the period, would not constitute enough analogies in conception to admit of certain conclusions, unless they were united to frequent translations. If the conceptions are not literary commonplaces, the presence of several of them is enough to establish an imitation. Thus it is only the ramifications of idea which accompany the invocation that by their number and uniqueness make plain the source of Imperial; for he takes from this canto the prayer that Apollo breathe his inspiration upon him; adding the reference to Marsyas, he beseeches the heavenly light that aid be lent to his memory; he uses the simile of the spark of fire; he refers to the constellation whose four circles form three crosses; and he introduces the example of Glaucus. Again, in the works of Ruy Paes de Ribera the conclusion was reached that the single analogy of a person gone astray in a wild and gloomy wood was insufficient; but on the other hand, we shall discover that the great number of similarities in the allegory of Rocaberti's *Gloria de amor*, where there is virtually no verbal approximation, is one of the determining factors for the decision. The other factor is an identity of order in the allegorical narrative. If a group of similar ideas occurs in the same arrangement in two different productions, it becomes the more probable that one is modeled upon the other. Some of the tests in imitations in language will be found to apply also to ideas, and vice versa. For instance, the presence of an extraordinary thought in two authors is as safe a testimony of relation as an extraordinary phrase; and the last-named test of order in ideas holds true for a series of similar words.

In brief, these four criterions may be applied: the time of the composition in the history of the literature under question; the general



familiarity evinced with the name and the works of the original author ; approximation in language ; and close similarity in thought or form.

In the light of this analysis of the tests of imitation, it is necessary to interpret and reconcile the various theories about Dantesque elements in Catalan literature of the fifteenth century, and to assign what examples we find to the categories defined at the very beginning of this essay. It is incumbent upon me first to summarize the different statements upon the subject.

The criticism by Cambouliu,<sup>1</sup> except in fragments relating to Rocaberti, is inaccessible to me. The brief and superficial essay of Milá y Fontanals,<sup>2</sup> "Notas sobre la influencia de la literatura italiana en la catalana," does little more than indicate certain lines of investigation with a few examples. The important statements in this article are : the assertion of Dantesque influence in the *Sompni* of Bernat Metge, a work which Farinelli assigns to 1396, a date shortly after the death of John I ; the mention of the translation of the *Divine Comedy* about 1429 by Andreu Febrer and the presence of Dantesque elements in his original verse ; the assertion of Dantesque elements in the anonymous *Venturos Pelegri* ; the reference to a mention of Dante by Jaume Roig in 1474 ; again to the copy of the *Purgatorio* with comment made by Bernat Nicholau Blanquer in the fifteenth century ; to the *Sentencias catòlicas* of Jaume Ferrer de Blanes, a collection of sententious sayings made from the *Divine Comedy* before the close of the century ; and lastly, a short discussion of Dantesque elements in Rocaberti's *Gloria de amor*, an allegorical picture of the joys of good and the sorrows of wicked lovers. The essay, which is meant to be little more than suggestive, is of slight value except as an impetus to further study. It would leave one with the general impression, contrary probably to the writer's own ideas, that the influence of Dante upon the actual monuments of Catalan literature was not vital or permanent.

The essay of Enrico Cardona<sup>3</sup> adds to Milá's discussion in emphasis upon the accuracy of Febrer's translation and its efficacy in the introduction of the *terzina* into Catalonia, and in a critique of the *Gloria*

<sup>1</sup> Cambouliu, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature catalane*, Paris, 1858, pp. 105 ff. (Recension of this essay by Ebert, *Jahrbuch für rom. und eng. Lit.*, vol. ii, pp. 267 ff.)

<sup>2</sup> *Obras*, vol. iii, pp. 499-506.

<sup>3</sup> *Dell' antica letteratura catalana*, Naples, 1878, chap. iv.

*de amor*, wherein he maintains that love corresponds to the moral rule in the *Divine Comedy* as the criterion by which judgment is passed, that the imitation is both in thought and in word, and that Rocaberti errs through confusion by a lack in system for his categories of souls. Rubió y Lluch in *El Renacimiento*<sup>1</sup> finds the influence of Dante in Antony Vallmanya and again in Bernat Metge. Morel-Fatio<sup>2</sup> lays stress upon the commentaries for the Italian poem and upon Rocaberti's use of the *terza rima*. Ebert's article in the *Jahrbuch für rom. und eng. Lit.*,<sup>3</sup> a recension of the work by Cambouliu, is important for its elaborate analysis and summary of Rocaberti's poem, and for its emphasis upon the essential divergency between the Italian and Catalan languages, which is made manifest in Febrer's awkward attempt to transplant the hendecasyllables to Catalan soil. Denk<sup>4</sup> adds nothing to Ebert except the statement of Dantesque elements in Vallmanya, for he too discusses the translation of Febrer and presents a still more elaborate summary of the *Gloria de amor*.

Farinelli is right in censuring Sanvisenti's treatment of the Catalan poets. In his short chapter<sup>5</sup> Sanvisenti does little more than mention various compositions that he may deny them a Dantesque origin. The *Venturos Pelegri* recalls in places the allegory of the *Divine Comedy*, but there is no certainty. "Ma, nel suo insieme, il componimento non si discosta dal tipo di quelle ascetiche produzioni in cui i religiosi dell'età di mezzo andavan dicendo del mondo oltreterreno di castigo e di purgazione, per ridurre i traviati in sul dritto cammino." He mentions a possible analogy in both Miguel Stela and Leonard de Sors, but discovers nothing conclusive. He concludes his chapter with an analysis of Rocaberti's poem, as usual, in view of former analyses, superfluous. The pith of his conclusions upon the *Gloria de amor* appears in the following excerpt: "Il divino poeta ha solamente potuto ravvivare alquanto le smunte tinte d'un vecchio quadro, non dare al pittor novello

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 37 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Gröber, *Grundriss*; Morel-Fatio, *Katalanische Litteratur* (Strassburg, 1893), II B, 2 Abt., 1 Lief., pp. 78 ff. and 124.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. ii, pp. 267 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Einführung in die Geschichte der altcatalanische Literatur*, Munich, 1893: general, p. 95; Vallmanya, pp. 305-306; Febrer, pp. 333-337; Rocaberti, pp. 337-348; March, p. 386.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 249 ff.



tutta una tavolezza nuova né una nuova idea." Rocaberti's use of the Italian hendecasyllable he describes as "vario nell' accentazione e ben sonante." In the chapter upon the influence of Petrarch, having in a note<sup>1</sup> denied that there is any sure reference to the *Divine Comedy* in certain phrases that he quotes from the *Sompni* of Bernat Metge, he infers:<sup>2</sup> "qualche frase par ricordino le opere di Dante — ma il non esservi nulla di preciso m' induce a ristare da confronti che potrebbero essere casuali coincidenze di concetto, pago invece di concludere, a questo proposito, che il generico esempio de' nostri sommi diede all' arte spagnuola la più sicura autorità per compenetrare fra loro tipi di letteratura e forme poetiche le quali già erano care al medioevo, aggiungendo tuttavia a quelle qualche cosa di più che permette risentire l' influsso speciale di quei sommi italiani." The end of the whole matter is, he concludes, that in Catalonia the efficacy of the *Divine Comedy* was overshadowed by the *Rime* of Petrarch.

The objection to this piece of criticism is that it neglects all the earlier and many of the later literary lights of Catalonia, such as St. Vincent Ferrer or Ausias March, and advances a theory on insufficient ground, such as the denial of Dante's direct influence upon Bernat Metge. Farinelli, whose article, as part of a recension,<sup>3</sup> is of necessity only fragmentary, having attacked and captured Sanvisenti's air castle, proceeds to fill in those breaches which had been left in the construction.

Before 1400 he brings to light no imitation of the *Divine Comedy*. Visions and allegorical journeys are common in Catalonia from the earliest times; Arnaut de Villeneuve, though a contemporary of Dante and a kindred spirit, especially in his relations to Boniface VIII, exhibits no trace of an acquaintance with the great Italian poem; his pupil, Ramon Lull, is as ignorant of Dante, though his works echo the same mediæval sentiments. At the turning of the century, with the entrance of humanism, signalized by the instruction of the Italians Giovanni Parteni and his successors Maestro Guglielmo and Francesco Boccinis at Valencia, and with a sure knowledge of Dante illustrated by the mention of his name in one of the sermons of St. Vincent Ferrer, the way is paved for the imitation of parts of the *Divine Comedy* in the *Sompni* of Bernat Metge. Farinelli dissects this composition that he may point out the Dantesque elements. He finds traces of the *Divine*

<sup>1</sup> P. 383.<sup>2</sup> P. 354.<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., pp. 20-37.

*Comedy* in what little has been published of the original verse of Andreu Febrer. With his finger upon the *Sentencias catòlicas* of Mossen Jaume Ferrer, with well-nigh as unstable footing as Sanvisenti, he sets forth the claim that the people of Catalonia admired and imitated rather the sententious side of Dante's genius. He concludes his recension with the assertion that the *Divine Comedy* is the only work of Dante which influenced Ausias March, presenting a few remote parallels and outlining the analogy in spirit between Dante and him whom, when we have plowed through many pages of the unrelieved dullness and oppressive mediocrity of his predecessors and contemporaries, we shall not hesitate with Farinelli to denominate "il maggior poeta catalano di quel secolo."

I have nothing to add to what Farinelli has said about the introduction of Italian influence into Catalonia. Our discussion will naturally begin with what he states to be the first real employment of Dante's machinery, the *Sompni* of Bernat Metge.<sup>1</sup>

The author must forsooth, like all allegorical travelers, have a guide for his vision, and he chooses the shade of his dead master, King John I. The description "de mitja estatura ab reverent cara"<sup>2</sup> presents no real similarity to the picture of the group of poets in the fourth *Inferno* or of Cato in the first *Purgatorio*.<sup>3</sup> His guide only conforms to the regular mediæval procedure when he clears up the various puzzles that besiege the author's intellect. A long beard<sup>4</sup> is not so rare an object that Metge could not evolve the idea without the suggestion of the Cato in the *Purgatorio*, and the parallelism would seem to be refuted in that the conception of this long-bearded companion of John I as an unceasing monitor for his soul of the misdeeds of his earthly life is not found in Dante's system of punishment. The words of the king: "car recordant mon deffeliment me renovella la tristor. Pero, pus axi ho vols, hoyes,"<sup>5</sup> are no closer to Ugolino's introduction:

Tu vuoi ch'io rinnovelli  
Disperato dolor che il cor mi preme,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For biographical notes, I refer to the several histories and articles upon early Catalan literature already mentioned. <sup>2</sup> P. 2.

<sup>3</sup> For a more detailed analysis of the substance of this composition see pp. 350-355 of Sanvisenti and the essay of Farinelli.

<sup>4</sup> P. 5.

<sup>5</sup> P. 100.

<sup>6</sup> *Inf.*, XXXIII, 4-5.

than to Æneas' address to Dido at the beginning of the second book of the *Æneid*:

Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem;

and the naturalness of the concept permits belief that the thing might have sprung from the writer's own imagination. Again, the description of the struggle of the angels and demons for the soul of the king<sup>1</sup> has no point of contact with the words of Buonconte in the fifth *Purgatorio* except the mere fact of the contention, a *motif* that occurs throughout the Middle Ages with tedious frequency. The location of Hell at the center of the universe<sup>2</sup> is by no means peculiar to the cosmography of Dante and the didactic Orpheus of the *Sompni*.

Up to this point, then, we have no sure indication of a knowledge of the *Divine Comedy*. To apply our tests, the similar conceptions of a guide for the vision, a strife for the soul in the article of death, and an explanation of the geography of the lower world are not extraordinary or numerous enough to justify a conclusion; and the approximation in language is close in no passage. The different setting of the vision would conduce to graver doubt, for Metge conceives himself in prison under torment of spirit, when in a dream John of Aragon appears to him, solves certain of his doubts, and relates the story of his own death and the reason for his punishment, and his companion Orpheus outlines the penal system of the universe. Thus far, the comment of Farinelli seems unjustifiable: "usa familiarmente anche espressioni virgiliane e dantesche" and "a tratti, perchè il concetto pagano abbia parvenza cristiana, vi mette pochi e leggeri ricordi del cieco carcere di Dante." But Farinelli is evidently only passing judgment upon this portion of the work by anticipation of what is to come. In other words, these vague analogies in substance must be ratified by close verbal approximation; and this, as I have pointed out in the abstract discussion of the tests of imitation, is supplied by the description of Charon.<sup>3</sup> To make assurance doubly sure, the Limbo outlined by Orpheus corresponds exactly to that of Dante, although such a correspondence, were it not united to the delineation of Charon, would in itself be insufficient. Minos as judge is an additional factor in the chain of evidence; but there is naught to support the remark of Farinelli that

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 100-109.

<sup>2</sup> P. 157.

<sup>3</sup> The description of Hell extends from page 140 to page 158.

the arrow simile which depicts the fall of the souls after the sentence of Minos is a reminiscence of Dante's employment of the same figure<sup>1</sup> to describe the approach of the bark of Phlegyas. He is right in pointing out that the picture of the city of Dis is modeled rather upon Virgil. From the treatment of Limbo to this point the similarity in conception is so marked, and the order of ideas so close to the *Divine Comedy*, that these characteristics might be in themselves conclusive; but henceforth the confused system of Metge is in total discord with the perspicacious arrangement by Dante.

The plain truth, then, is that the starting point for any absolute assertion of Dantesque elements is the description of Charon, and this only. The order and similarity of ideas for a large section of Hell are strong proof, but offer no certainty except in union with this indubitable verbal imitation. Farinelli himself indicates as many analogies with the sixth book of the *Æneid*. Sanvisenti's theories lose their wind. His language, to be sure, is cautious and vague in the extreme; he wishes to avoid "confronti che potrebbero essere casuali coincidenze di concetti," and at the same time he admits "qualche cosa di più, che permette risentire l'influsso speciale di questi sommi italiani." But the general trend of his expression is a denial of the immediate influence of the *Divine Comedy*. Similarity in the material and order of conception makes this influence a certainty, and confirms the probability that Metge drew the other less palpable analogies from the source, the knowledge of which is proved conclusively by the verbal approximation of the Charon passage.

The nature of the imitation differs essentially from that of Imperial. The Dantesque elements in the *Decir de las siete virtudes* have no bearing upon his final purpose, an exaltation, in the French manner, of the seven Virtues. The reminiscences of Imperial's reading in the *Divine Comedy* are like bits of tinsel which he scatters at random over the dull allegorical dress to brighten its dullness. The invocation to Apollo, the delineation of Cato, the vision of Leah, the invective against Castile, have no place in the essential framework and development of the purpose. Not so in this Catalan imitation. It is little else than a reduction and combination of the first cantica of the *Divine Comedy* and the sixth *Æneid*. The general allegorical form of a description of Hell is

<sup>1</sup> *Inf.*, VIII, 13.

the same, although it is doubtful whether Metge had in mind any but the superficial, literal sense; and the substance, the torments of the condemned, is also identical. We have, then, what has been termed in the section upon Imperial a double concrete influence in form and substance of Dante and Virgil, in the same general class as the *Franciaide* of Ronsard. It is true that there is evidence of the same kind of attempt to explain figurative language as in the verses of Imperial. Where Dante simply presents the picture of Minos standing, Metge at once defines him as "molt cruel jutge"; and analyzes Dante's "Serpentelli e ceraste avean per crine"<sup>1</sup> by "Ab serpents quels pengem per los caps avall, a manera de cabells"; and again when the Italian poet suggests the character of the sages in Limbo by their appearance, conversation, and action, the Catalan strikes boldly out with: "E aci estan los gentils filosoffs e pohetes, els bons cavallers, e aquells qui han trobades arts, e les han divulgades, e han aprofitat a molts en lo mon." After all Metge is writing only prose and has no great pretensions; and it is something, instead of culling a pretty picture here or an invocation there, to have comprehended to a small degree the scheme of the whole *Inferno*.

In another composition of Metge, the *Libre de Fortuna e Prudencia*,<sup>2</sup> "tediosissimo poema allegorico morale," as defined by Farinelli, the conception of Fortune is somewhat similar to that of Dante, but there is naught that smacks of verbal identity. The same may be asserted of the six lines which Farinelli would correlate with the "nessun maggior dolore" *terzina*. The mock sermon ascribed to him exhibits no reminiscence of Dante.

The anonymous *Venturos Pelegri*, for which likewise Milá y Fontanals vaguely claims features similar to parts of the *Divine Comedy*, and to which Sanvisenti has devoted so much unnecessary space, is lacking in verbal approximation. Its purpose, as a whole, is altogether different. It resembles any of the many episodes in Dante's journey through Hell and Purgatory. A soul in the torment of Purgatory relates his story to a pilgrim who has gone astray on his journey to the Jubilee at Rome and begs for the indulgence that the pilgrim will gain. Death had come upon him as he slept in pleasure before he had fulfilled his promise to restore the goods acquired by his father's avarice, the usual debate for his soul had occurred, and the intercession of the Blessed Virgin finally

<sup>1</sup> *Inf.*, IX, 41.

<sup>2</sup> Milá y Fontanals, *Obras*, vol. iii, p. 386.



triumphed. None of this widespread mediæval substance is of any significance. Inasmuch as an imitation of idea is almost certain to carry along with it some of the language in which the idea is clothed, in none of the compositions of the school of Imperial, or so far in Catalonia, has the influence of the conception been dissociated from some close verbal similarity; and there is surely nothing in the *Venturos Pelegri* to establish a new precedent.

In the accessible verses of Miguel Stela and Leonard de Sors<sup>1</sup> I have discovered nothing of importance to our discussion, and in the published lyrics of Febrer<sup>2</sup> only the remotest kind of parallels. The simile of the falling leaves which occurs in the "sirventes" beginning, *Doloros crits ab vets brava terribla*, is closer to the Virgilian original<sup>3</sup> than to the Dantesque paraphrase,<sup>4</sup> except for the use of the one word *despulha* which may reflect the Italian *spoglie*. I have nothing to add to the previous comment of Ebert, Denk, and Scartazzini<sup>5</sup> upon the nature and the value of Febrer's translation. Vallmanya's mention of Dante's allusion to Lavinia in the fourth *Inferno*<sup>6</sup> is worth repeating only to show that the writer had read at least a part of the *Divine Comedy*.

There remains the *Gloria de amor* of Rocaberti.<sup>7</sup> Omitting a detailed analysis, which has already been given three times, by Ebert, Denk, and Sanvisenti, I shall touch only upon those characteristics which bear upon the interpretation of the poem.

The introduction in prose with its exhortations to the young and fair, with its gardens and its grove, is plainly French in spirit. The apparition of *una pusque bellissima donzella* who betrays *la candida vista dins subtilissima vel* may bear a relation to Beatrice of the thirtieth *Purgatorio*:

Sopra candido vel cinta d' oliva  
Donna m' apparve;<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Baselga y Ramírez, *Cancionero Catalan*, Zaragoza, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> Milá y Fontanals, *Obras*, vol. iii, pp. 441-473.

<sup>3</sup> *Æn.*, VI, 309.

<sup>4</sup> *Inf.*, III, 112-114.

<sup>5</sup> Scartazzini, *Eine altcatalanische Dante-übersetzung*, *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*, no. 52, 1870.

<sup>6</sup> *Sort feta per Nanthoni Uallmanya notari en lahor de les monges de Ualldonzella*, *Torres Amat Memorias*, pp. 639 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Gloria de amor*, C. del Balzo, *Poesie intorno a Dante*, vol. iv, p. 5 (Rome, 1893).

<sup>8</sup> *Vv.* 31, 32.

and Rocaberti may have derived his emphasis upon her eyes from the perusal of the *Paradiso*. In the first *cant*, wherein the writer finds himself astray and depressed in heart, the ideas of the wooded valley, the desirability of death, and the difficulty of describing the gloom of the prospect are extraordinary enough in conjunction for the suspicion of a relation to the opening lines of the *Divine Comedy*. An occasional identity of diction strengthens the possibility.

Ab dolor gran *me retrobi* un dia  
 Dins una vall darbres tant dolorosa  
 Qu'esmariant la dolor que sentia,  
 La pensa trobé la mort desigosa,  
 Trist, no sce dir l'entrar de ma ventura  
 Tant era ple de tristor mon entendre  
 Lo dret repos nega ser ma factura!<sup>1</sup>

A comparison with the introduction to the *Proceso* of Ruy Paes de Ribera, where also a gloomy valley is chosen as the scene of the vision, will reveal the difference between a real reminiscence of Dante in Rocaberti and a mere coincidence of allegorical form in the Sevillian rhymester.

The second *cant* transplants the phrase *lago del cor*;<sup>2</sup> and translates with some accuracy the simile from the fifth *Inferno*:

Che muggia come fa mar per tempesta  
 Se da contrari venti è combattuto.<sup>3</sup>  
 Cridant la mort ab veu tan dolorosa  
 Com fa la mar perdos vents combatuda.

The simile of the fall of the leaves is here closer to Dante than to Virgil:

Come d'autunno si levan le foglie  
 L'una appressa dell'altra. . .<sup>4</sup>  
 Si com lo temps qui ve ab tal fortuna  
 Que dels arbres les fulles s'en aporta  
 No tot justat, *mes una après una*.  
 Quam multa in silvis autumnus frigore primo  
 lapsa cadunt folia.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I quote from the unsatisfactory text of del Balzo.

<sup>2</sup> *Inf.*, I, 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Inf.*, III, 112-113.

<sup>3</sup> Vv. 29-30.

<sup>5</sup> *Æn.*, VI, 309-310.



The substance of the *cant* is a complaint against the vicissitudes of his passion, the principal theme of which is a wearisome elaboration of the "pangs of despis'd love."

The third and fourth *cants* with the French machinery of an allegorical castle, the guide *dels amants Conaxença*, and the first sight of those who have been condemned for faithlessness in love, are only of direct significance for the present subject in their emphasis upon the preponderance of French matter.

The long fifth *cant* contains a description of Venus enthroned with Cupid and surrounded by men and women canonized in the Court of Love, as if the writer held before his imagination the remembrance of some altar piece of the Madonna high seated amidst a group of saints. The *terzina*

A qui io viu escoltant no suspir  
Ne plant ne dol ne tristor ne turment  
Mas viu amor turmentar *sens martir*<sup>1</sup>

is fairly close to the description of Limbo. The lines

Ffeyen un ioch qui a la fi *segira*  
Com per lo vent larena pres marina<sup>2</sup>

are evidently modeled upon

Facevano un tumulto, il qual s'aggira  
Sempre in quell' aria senza tempo tinta,  
Come la rena quando a turbo spira.<sup>3</sup>

The lines

Viu dius un temps tan estranya crestuda  
Denamorats que james no pensara  
Amor uagues una tal part venguda,<sup>4</sup>

if they are at all reminiscent, are at least a complete transformation of

Si lunga tratta  
Di gente, ch'io non avrei mai creduto  
Che morte tanta n'avesse disfatta.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 25, *terzina* 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Inf.*, III, 28-30.

<sup>2</sup> *Terzina* 10.

<sup>4</sup> P. 26, *terzina* 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Inf.*, III, 55-57.

And now while Rocaberti questions the several lovers whom he meets, as heretofore his verse has echoed the first four cantos of the *Inferno*, the queries and answers are drawn from the canto of *Francesca*. I cite two typical examples. He importunes Achilles thus :

Mes *dus lo temps del delitos suspir*  
 Lahon ne com tu conaguist amor  
 Per lo qual sents complir lo teu desir?<sup>1</sup>

and the verse

Amor emort en sù temps conegui<sup>2</sup>

seems to echo

Amor condusse noi ad una morte.

The honor that Conaxença bids Rocaberti<sup>3</sup> show may be extracted from two phrases of the former canto :

Onorate l' altissimo poeta

and

Fannomi onore ; e di ciò fanno bene.<sup>4</sup>

The sixth *cant* recounts the further wandering through the mysterious domain, as they stop here to watch Petrarch strive with three Frenchmen for the laurel wreath of the poet of love, or linger at the convent of Irene, while Conaxença dilates upon the nature of love. Rocaberti outdoes himself in the splendid simile with which he presents Dante and Beatrice :

Com arbre gran qui te lingua radice  
 En terra baix viu dus lo foch damor  
 Lo sabent Dant con sua Beatrice.<sup>5</sup>

As the several groups of lovers are introduced, reminiscences of the fifth canto of the *Inferno* continue through this and the following division, for instance :

Lo teu gran dolor aplaner ma vençut ;

<sup>1</sup> P. 28, *terzina* 3 ; cf. *Inf.*, V, 118-120.

<sup>2</sup> *Terzina* 7.

<sup>3</sup> P. 30, *terzina* 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Inf.*, IV, 80, 93.

<sup>5</sup> P. 34, *terzina* 9.

and the meeting with Macias :<sup>1</sup>

Molt volunters parlar ab ell volria.  
Quant serem prop lamors tu molt lo pregue  
Per fiu amor quin tal delit lo mena  
Te vulla dir ço que amant denegue.<sup>2</sup>

In the eighth *cant*, having been ferried across the Hellespont by Leander, in the ninth he sees Francesca da Rimini herself amidst the followers of the god of love. He is at last received at the court, whence, wounded by a gold-tipped arrow, he is sent forth under the guidance of Conaxença to seek his refractory sweetheart. A final parallel, indicated by Sanvisenti, is the characterization of Semiramis :

Semiramis qui de sa cobeiança,  
Segons se lig, feu ley imperial,<sup>3</sup>

which evidently reflects the fifth *Inferno* :

Che libito fe' licito in sua legge.<sup>4</sup>

By accumulation of similar ideas that are at the same time uncommon, and by the language in which those ideas are expressed, the influence of Dante upon Rocaberti is shown to be a certainty. It is noteworthy that in no case is the approximation in diction very close, but it is rather by the uniqueness and number of the instances that the imitation is made clear. Rocaberti does not seem to have the *Divine Comedy* before his eyes ; or, if he has, he often purposely transforms the mode of expression. In spiritual influence, which I have defined at the beginning of the essay, Virgil, no less than Dante, helps to form the literary manner of Rocaberti. The *Divine Comedy* may have supplied the framework for the *Gloria de amor* ; but Rocaberti's idea of an afterworld for lovers may very well have originated in the sixth *Æneid* :

Hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit,  
secreti celant calles et myrtea circum  
silva tegit ; curae non ipsa in morte relinquunt.<sup>5</sup>

It is curious that, whereas the verses of Imperial bristle with literal translation, in these two Catalan compositions of Metge and Rocaberti

<sup>1</sup> P. 37, *terzina* 2 ; cf. *Inf.*, V, 117.

<sup>2</sup> P. 44, *terzina* 2 and 3 ; cf. *Inf.*, V, 73 ff.

<sup>3</sup> P. 58, *terzina* 2.

<sup>4</sup> V. 56.

<sup>5</sup> Vv. 442-444.

the imitation approaches anything like such translation only in one short line. The Catalonians deserve greater praise in that they heed rather the general scheme of the *Inferno*.

For it is only the *Inferno* that they seem to know; Rocaberti does not even go beyond the fifth canto; Metge, although he reaches the city of Dis, confuses his system thereafter, perhaps with malice aforethought that he may conceal his source, as in his pilferings from Boccaccio's *Corbaccio*.<sup>1</sup> The work of the latter, however, I have tried to demonstrate, is a mere fragment from Dante's huge fabric. Rocaberti by the combination of the French and Italian currents achieves a worthier product, in which critics center their acumen upon the resuscitation of French allegory by union with Dantesque form. I have already quoted the substance of Sanvisenti's judgment, which is as sane and as well phrased as any. Cambouliu<sup>2</sup> is somewhat more emphatic: "C'est pourtant ce thème (l'amour chevaleresque) que Rocaberti a repris dans la *Gloria d'amor*, et que, grâce à l'appui de Dante, il a trouvé moyen de rajeunir et de rendre intéressant. . . . Eriger cet ensemble d'idées et de conventions en loi morale, étendre cette loi à tous les temps et en faire la base de la condition future des âmes au-delà du tombeau, telle fut la pensée de l'auteur de la *Gloria d'amor*." To translate these criticisms into our own terminology, Rocaberti has produced a concrete imitation of Dante in form. As Fazio degli Uberti brought a geographical treatise and Christine de Pisan the exaltation of Reason and her sovereign into the model of the *Divine Comedy*, so the Catalan poet has formulated his different substance, a mediæval treatise on love in the French method, in the same mold as Dante's allegorical journey.

Different indeed is his substance. These two mediævalists, upon whom alone<sup>3</sup> in Catalonia of the fifteenth century there descends any

<sup>1</sup> The knowledge of this plagiarism we owe to the broad learning and acute memory of Farinelli, *Note sulla fortuna del Corbaccio nella Spagna medievale, Bausteine zur rom. philol.*, 1905, pp. 401-460.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the above-mentioned recension of Ebert.

<sup>3</sup> The works of Auzias March, perhaps, form an exception, if indeed it can be said at all that he underwent the influence of Dante. He denominates the Italian poet as *lo Dant historical* (p. 177, edition cited below), and seems once or twice to approximate the diction of the *Divine Comedy*. I should hesitate to follow Farinelli in stressing the analogy in spirit between March and Dante as a proof of the influence of the Italian poet upon the Catalan. Auzias March appears to me to

tangible vestige of Dantesque heritage, never once catch a glimpse of the deeper life that underlies the outward crust of the *Divine Comedy*. It is worthy of note, as an illustration of the perfectly natural course in which all literary movements proceed, that both Imperial and Metge come of Italian families, and Metge may have lived in Italy at Bologna;<sup>1</sup> but neither brought from his connection with Italy much inspiration to the interpretation of the great poem. I cannot agree with Farinelli, however, that it is the sententious aspect of Dante's work that appeals to the Catalonians. The *Sentencias catòlicas* alone prove nothing; and the works of Metge and Rocaberti, whose chief interest is in the

mark a stage in the theory of spiritual love somewhat in advance of that incorporated in the *dolce stil nuovo*. He is rather a Petrarchist. Neoplatonism finds expression in his absolute divorce of body and spirit, and his conceptions are well-nigh as ethereal as those of Benivieni, Pico della Mirandola, or even Michael Angelo. The discrepancy between man's two natures is emphasized in the *Cants de mort* as well as in the *Cants d'amor*. I quote from the first *estramb* in the *Cants d'amor* (*Obras del poeta valencià Ausias March*, Francesco Fayos y Antony, p. 173 (Barcelona, 1884)):

Si com Sanct Pau Dèu li sostrague l'arma  
del cos perquè ves divinals misteris,  
car es lo cos del esperit lo càrcer  
é tant com viu ab elles en tenebra,  
axí amor l'esperit meu arrapa  
é no hi acull gens maculada pensa  
eperçó sent lo delit qui no's cansa  
si que ma carn la ver' amor no'm torba ;

And from the second *Cant de mort*, p. 200 :

Deu há dos móns á tot hom establít  
axí com són dos natures en ell  
cascuna part espera en aquell  
d'hon l'esser tráu finit ó infinit.  
Al nostre cos la mort del tot confón  
perdent son be lo qual es tot present  
lo esperit no tem anullament  
per mort reviu mes vá no sabent hon.

The translation of Febrer is not an original literary production, resulting from Dantesque influence, but is rather an indication of that influence. In like fashion a mere collection of quotations from the *Divine Comedy*, such as the *Sentencias catòlicas* of Ferrer, cannot be reckoned as an important landmark in the evolution of Catalan literature.

<sup>1</sup> Farinelli, p. 26.

allegorical form of the *Comedy*, are a direct and palpable proof to the contrary. At least, the Catalonians surpass the Sevillans in the breadth of their vision; and as Imperial for a moment seems inspired, when he beholds his master peering through the luxuriant delights of the French garden:

E commo quando entre árboles asome  
 Alguno, que ante los sus ramos mesce,

so Rocaberti, though finding him in no less incongruous surroundings, swelling the wearisome Petrarchistic throng of model lovers, yet eclipses himself, raising himself above the dreary plain of allegory by his enthusiastic reverence for the loftiest of the world's poets:

Com arbre gran qui te lingua radice  
 En terra baix viu dins lo loch damor  
 Lo sabent Dant con sua Beatrice.

Dante, of course, is technically a mediævalist like Imperial or Rocaberti. He is the highest manifestation of an age which in Italy he concludes; but he elevates mediæval expression to such a pinnacle and so transfigures it with his own personality that his sources are no longer recognizable. On antecedent probability, so personal and transcendent an achievement is incapable of real imitation. The pupil may seize upon fragmentary elements, but anything that approaches a repetition is impossible. In the beginning at least, especially in Castile, the influence of Dante has been shown to be both slight and inorganic, and, on antecedent probability again, it is unlikely, that at the court of John II a whole structure of Italian imitation could be reared by Santillana and Juan de Mena upon so unstable a foundation. It is rather the movement from which Dante springs that is subject to imitation, or, since mediævalism was universal, to different national expressions. The *Divine Comedy* is mediævalism, but at a unique and unattainable height. Italy was severed less than the other Latin nations from the traditions of classical ideals, and was never thoroughly mediæval; it is rather France that is the point whence radiates the ordinary mediæval type. Only as the expression of the fully developed Renaissance does Italy affect permanently the rest of Europe; and it is to be noted that then the energy of the influence is concentrated not in the individual but in the movement.



ADDITIONAL NOTE. — I observed in Farinelli's treatment of Santillana (p. 45, note 3), too late for insertion in the body of this article, that the less figurative clause quoted upon p. 10, "á mi memoria, etc.," and the additional application of the spark figure are themselves derived from the last canto of the *Paradiso*. This information is corroborative of the theory advanced upon that page, for in the former instance, instead of translating the metaphor of the first canto, which is the basis of his invocation, Imperial substitutes the more prosaic expression from another canto, and in the latter instance, not satisfied that Dante's figure of the earlier canto is comprehended, he transplants another employment of the same figure in the *Paradiso* to explain and elaborate the first. Imperial does not even invent his prosiness: he derives it from the *Comedy* or combines different passages of the *Comedy* to conform to his less inspired conception of poetic fitness. Nor does this new instance of borrowing from the *Paradiso* affect the statement made upon p. 27 about Imperial's general neglect of that Cantica. The first and last cantos of the *Paradiso*, as its most conspicuous parts, would be most likely to catch his casual glance; and the borrowings in both cantos, with the exception of the Glaucus comparison from the immediately adjoining context, being merely from invocations, imply no knowledge either of the framework or the substance of the third Cantica.



TWENTY-SEVENTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

DANTE SOCIETY

(CAMBRIDGE, MASS.)

1908

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ACCOMPANYING PAPER

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BOSTON

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1909

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(From May 21, 1907, to May 19, 1908)

Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May		
21, 1907 . . . . .	\$541 20	
Membership fees till May 19, 1908 . . . .	394 80	
Copyrights, etc. . . . .	88 74	
		\$1024 74
Paid Messrs. Ginn & Company . . . . .	\$207 06	
Paid the Treasurer of Harvard College . .	150 00	
Printing, postage, etc. . . . .	13 49	
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May		
19, 1908 . . . . .	654 19	
		\$1024 74



## BY-LAWS

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1. This Society shall be called the DANTE SOCIETY. Its object shall be the encouragement of the study of the Life and Works of Dante.

2. Any person desirous to become a member of this Society may do so by signifying his or her wish in writing to the Secretary, and by the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

3. An Annual Meeting for the election of officers shall be held at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of May, of which due notice shall be given to the members by the Secretary.

4. Special meetings may be held at any time appointed by vote of the members at the Annual Meeting, or by call from the President and Secretary.

5. The officers shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Librarian, who, together with three members thereto chosen, shall form the Council of the Society. All these officers shall be chosen at the Annual Meeting, and their term of service shall be for one year, or until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled for the remainder of the year by the Council.

6. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice President, or, in the absence of both, any member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council.

7. The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep a record of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, shall collect and receive all dues, and keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the Society, shall give notice of meetings, and shall perform all other duties appropriate to his office.

8. The Council shall hold meetings at such times as it may appoint, shall determine on the use to be made of the income of

the Society, shall endeavor to promote the special objects of the Society in such ways as may seem most appropriate, and shall make an annual report of their proceedings, including a full statement of accounts, at each Annual Meeting. This report shall be made in print for distribution to the members.

9. No officer of the Society shall be competent to contract debts in the name of the Society, and no expenditure shall be made without a vote of the Council.

10. A majority of the Council shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. Any person distinguished for his interest in the purposes of the Society, or who has rendered it valuable service, may be chosen an Honorary Member at any regular meeting of the Society, and shall be entitled to all its privileges without annual assessment.

12. The preceding rules may be changed at any time by unanimous vote of the Council.

## THE DANTE PRIZE

---

The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars for the best essay by a student in any department of Harvard University, or by a graduate of not more than three years' standing, on a subject drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the years 1908-1910 the following subjects have been proposed :

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*
12. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
13. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
14. *A criticism of Torraca's edition of the Divina Commedia.*

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., on or before the *first day of May*.

Essayists are at liberty to write on any one of the subjects which have been proposed in the years during which the Dante Prize has been offered, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

On the title-page must be written an assumed name and a statement of the writer's standing, i.e. whether he is a graduate or an undergraduate (and of what college or university); if he is an undergraduate, to what class he belongs, and to what department of the college or university. Under cover with the essay must be sent a sealed letter containing the true name and address of the writer, and superscribed with his assumed name.

The essays must be written upon letter paper, of good quality, of the quarto size, with a margin of not less than one inch at the top, at the bottom, and on each side, so that they may be bound up without injury to the writing. The sheets on which the essay is written must be securely stitched together.

The judges of the essays are a committee of the Dante Society.

In case the judges decide that no essay submitted to them deserves the full prize, they are at liberty to award one or two prizes of fifty dollars, or to award no prize.

The Dante Society has the privilege of retaining and depositing in the Dante Collection of the Harvard College Library any or all essays offered in competition for the Dante Prize, whether successful or not.

Since its establishment the Dante Prize (in full or in part) has been awarded to the following persons :

HEINRICH CONRAD BIERWIRTH . . . . 1887.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas*.

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888.

For an essay entitled *The Interpretation and Reconciliation of the Different Accounts of his Experiences after the Death of Beatrice, given by Dante in the Vita Nuova and the Convito*.

CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM . . . . 1890.

For an essay entitled *A Translation into English of Dante's Letters, with Explanatory and Historical Comments*.

KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894.

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo*.

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Influence upon Spanish Literature during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*.

ANNETTE FISKE . . . . 1897.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to Old French and Provençal Lyric Poetry*.

ARTHUR NEWTON PEASLEE . . . . 1900.

For an essay entitled *A Metrical Rhyming Translation of the Three Canzoni of the Convito*.

HENRY LATIMER SEAVER . . . . 1901.

For an essay entitled *A Translation of the Canzoni in the Convito*.

ALAIN CAMPBELL WHITE . . . . 1902.

The Latham Prize for an essay entitled *A Translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra, and a Discussion of its Authenticity*.

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For an essay entitled *The Verse Endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch' erano appo gli altri dicitori usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS . . . . 1903.

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

CHANDLER RATHFON POST . . . . 1906.

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ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS . . . . 1907.

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova*.





## ANNUAL REPORT

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The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Dante Society was held on May 19, 1908, at Shady Hill, Cambridge. The usual reports of committees were received and acted upon, and the officers were all reëlected for the ensuing year.

In the absence of Professor Rand, Mr. Wilkins made a report for the editors of the Concordance to the Latin works of Dante, expressing the hope that the volume might be printed before the end of the year 1909. Since the time of the meeting good progress has been made, and the completion of the work is not likely to be much delayed beyond the date then set.

Only one essay was submitted for the Dante Prize in 1908, and this was not adjudged worthy of the award.

The Librarian has compiled for the present Report a list of the accessions to the Dante collection in the Harvard Library during the four years from May, 1904, to May, 1908. This is followed by an index which covers all the similar lists published by the Society since Mr. Lane's Dante bibliography of 1890, and

which will furnish, it is hoped, a valuable supplement to that bibliography and to Mr. Koch's catalogue of the Cornell collection.

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Professor Norton, the President of the Society since 1892, died in Cambridge on October 21, 1908. The annual meeting in May, 1909, has been specially assigned by the Council to the consideration of his services to Dante studies.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

*Secretary*

APRIL 1, 1909

ADDITIONS TO THE DANTE COLLECTION IN  
HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

MAY 1, 1904 — MAY 1, 1908

COMPILED BY WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE  
*Librarian of Harvard University*

The following list does not attempt (as earlier lists have done) to include all contributions to periodical literature and to society publications or essays on Dantesque subjects contained in books. A few such are recorded, but the careful notes on current literature to be found now in the *Bullettino* of the Italian Dante Society and in the *Giornale Dantesco* make a comprehensive and minute record of this kind in the Reports of this Society no longer necessary.

Books bought from the appropriations placed by the Dante Society from time to time in the hands of the Harvard Library are marked with an asterisk [\*]; those bought from Mr. A. C. White's gift are marked with a dagger [†]

WORKS OF DANTE

Tutte le opere di Dante ; nuovamente rivedute nel testo dal *Dr. E. Moore*. Con indice dei nomi propri e delle cose notabili compilato dal *Dr. Paget Toynbee*. 3<sup>a</sup> ed. riveduta. Oxford, University Press. 1904. sm. 8°. pp. viii, 490.

Gift of the publishers.

DIVINA COMMEDIA

\*Dante ; con nvove, et vtili ispositioni. Aggiointoui di più vna tauola di tutti i vocaboli più degni d'osseruatione, che à i luoghi loro sono dichiarati. Lione, appresso G. Rouillio. 1575. sm. 8°. pp. 627, (12). Port. and wdcts.

Reissue of the Lyons ed. of 1551 and 1571.

\*La divina commedia, [Inferno and Purgatorio] ; illustrata da *Ferdinando Arrivabene*. [With an Italian prose paraphrase.] 4 vol. Brescia. 1812-18. sm. 8°.

La divina commedia. Con indice. [Edited by *Angelo Sicca*.] Padova, tipografia della Minerva. 1827. l. 8°. pp. viii, 140. (Parnaso classico italiano.)

La divina commedia; con spiegazioni tratte dai migliori commentarj, e colla Vita di Dante da Giovanni Boccaccio. Paris. 1847. 12°. pp. xxxvi, 432.

Gift of Mr. Joseph H. Clark.

\*La divina commedia; col commento di *G. Biagioli*. 2<sup>a</sup> ed. 3 vol. Napoli. 1850. sm. 8°. Port. and plates.

\*La divina commedia, giusta la lezione del *Codice bartoliniano*, con un discorso preliminare intorno all'autore. [Edited by C. Princigi.] Aggiuntevi le varianti lezioni del testo approvato dagli Accademici della crusca. Lipsia. 1853. 16°. pp. xxxvi, 529.

La commedia; novamente riveduta nel testo e dichiarata da *Brunone Bianchi*. 4<sup>a</sup> ed., corredata del Rimario. Ed. stereotipa. Firenze. 1854. sm. 8°. pp. xxiv, 742, (2), 112.

From the library of Professor Charles Eliot Norton.

With J. R. Lowell's autograph and ms. notes. A manuscript note by Professor Norton on the fly leaf reads, "I give to my friend Charles Eliot Norton a book from my Library at his discretion." — First clause of the will of James Russell Lowell. This is the book chosen by me. For many years it was the Dante most constantly in use by J. R. L.; and during the last year of his life it was always at his side, within reach, on the floor, or the book-stand. November, 1891. C. E. N."

\*La divina commedia spiegata alle scuole cattoliche da *Bennassuti Luigi*. 3 vol. Padova. 1869-70. sm. 8°.

La divina commedia; col commento di *Pietro Fraticelli*. Nuova ed., con giunte e correzioni. Firenze. 1892. sm. 8°. pp. 723, cxxx. Port. and 3 plates.

Gift of Mr. P. H. Tufts.

\*La commedia; il testo Wittiano riveduto da *Paget Toynbee*. Londra. 1900. 8°. pp. 554.

La divina commedia. Riproduzione del Codice tempiano maggiore della R. Biblioteca mediceo-laurenziana. *Inferno*. [Con Descrizione del codice di *Gius. Vandelli*.] Firenze. 1902. 16°. pp. 8, (59).

Gift of the Società dantesca italiana.

- \*La divina commedia; illustrata [da] *Attilio Razzolini*. [Milano.] 1902. obl. 24°. ff. (55).

Reproduced in chromolithography from an illuminated manuscript executed after ancient models by the artist and scribe Razzolini.

Lo Inferno. [London], nella stamperia di Ashendene. 1902. 8°. pp. 238. Illustr.

Lo Purgatorio. [London], nella stamperia di Ashendene. 1904. 8°. pp. 242. Illustr.

Lo Paradiso. [London], nella stamperia di Ashendene. 1905. 8°. pp. 244. Illustr.

"Le lettere rubricate da mano sono l'opera di Graily Hewitt, & le incisioni in legno di W. Hooper e C. Keates secondo i disegni dell'edizione stampata in Venezia nell'anno 1491. Il testo è quello rivisto ed emendato dal dottore Edoardo Moore." — *Colophon*.

The three volumes printed at the Ashendene Press are from the library of Professor C. E. Norton.

La divina commedia; con postille e cenni introduttivi del prof. *Raffaello Fornaciari*. Ed. minuscola. Milano. [1904.] 24°. pp. xxii, (2), 577.

Gift of the publisher, Ulrico Hoepli.

- \*La divina commedia; nuovamente commentata da *Francesco Torraca*. Roma, etc. 1905. sm. 8°. pp. viii, 633.

*Contents*: — Inferno. — Purgatorio.

Opere di Dante: Divina commedia. 3 vol. Strasburgo. [1905-06.] 16°. (Bibliotheca romanica [no.] 5-6, 16-17, 30-31. Biblioteca italiana.)

- \*[Divina commedia. i. Inferno. Tradotto da *A. G. Mekitarista*. *Armen*. Venezia.] 1902. sm. 8°. pp. (24), 469.

No more published.

- \*The comedy; translated by *Patrick Bannerman*. Edinburgh. 1850. 8°. pp. 482.

The vision; translated by *H. F. Cary*. [Revised, with an introduction, by *Paget Toynbee*.] 3 pt. London. 1900-1902. 16°. Portrs. (The little library.)

Gift of the editor.

The divine comedy ; translated by *H. F. Cary*. [Edited, with a life of Dante and introductory notes, by *Paget Tynbee*.] Popular ed. London. [1903.] 8°. pp. 146.

Gift of the editor.

\*The divine comedy ; translated by *H. W. Longfellow*. 3 vol. Boston. 1865-1867. 1. 8°.

From the library of Professor Charles Eliot Norton.

"One of twelve copies printed in advance of the regular edition, in order that this volume might be sent as an offering to Florence in honor of the 600th anniversary of Dante's birth. . . . The notes on the margins and on slips in this volume contain suggestions of mine, some of which were adopted in the revision." — *MS. note in vol. i by Charles Eliot Norton*.

The divine comedy ; [translated, with notes and illustrations, by *H. W. Longfellow*. Craigie edition.] 3 vol. Boston and New York. [1907, cop. 1904.] sm. 8°. Portrs. and plates.

Gift of the publishers, Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

\*Divina commedia. Translated into English prose by *H. F. Tozer*. Oxford. 1904. sm. 8°. pp. iv, 447.

\*The divine comedy: the Inferno; a translation and commentary by *Marvin R. Vincent*. New York. 1904. 8°. pp. ix, 305.

Il secondo canto dell' Inferno di Dante Alighieri vólto in esametri. 2ª ed. migliorata. *Lat. and Ital.* (CAPOCASA, Savino. Saggio di lingua latina e italiana, Ripatransone, 1882, pp. 5-29.)

\*Isteni szinjátéka (Divina commedia). Forditotta, bevezette, s jegyzetekkel kísérte *Szász Károly*. 3 vol. Budapest. 1885-1899. sm. 8°. (MAGYAR TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA, Budapest. Publ.)

*Contents*: — i. A pokol. 1885. — ii. A purgatorium. 1891. — iii. A paradicsom. 1899.

\*Boska komedja ; tłumaczenie *Juliana Korsaka*. Poprzedzone przemowa, czyli wstępami, objaśnione komentarzem według P. Biagioli i Streckfussa. Warszawa. 1860. 8°. pp. (4), 739. 16 plates.

\*El primer canto de la Divina comedia ; [traducción en verso] por *J. R. Salas*. Santiago de Chile. 1902. 8°. pp. 15.

\*Dwyfol gan Dante : Annwn, Purdan, Paradwys ; y cyfieithiad gan *Daniel Rees*, y rhagdraith gan *T. Gwynn-Jones*, y darluniau gan *J. Kelt Edwards*, y prif lythyrenan gan *Louise Rolfe* a *Phæbe Rees*. Caernarfon, Swyddfa'r "Herald." London [*etc., etc.*] 1903. 8°. pp. 475.

MINOR WORKS

A translation of the Latin works of Dante. London. 1904. 16°. pp. viii, 427. Front. (Temple classics.)

*Contents*: — De vulgari eloquentia. [Translated by *A. G. F. Howell*.] — De monarchia, Epistolae, Eclogues, Quaestio de aqua et terra. [Translated by *P. H. Wicksteed*.]

\*Eclogae; Joannis de Virgilio carmen et ecloga responsiva. Testo, commento, versione, a cura di *Giuseppe Albini*. Firenze. 1903. 8°. pp. xxx, 77. Facsimile plate. (Biblioteca di opere inedite o rare di ogni secolo della letteratura italiana.)

\*The De monarchia of Dante Alighieri; edited, with translation and notes, by *Aurelia Henry*. Boston and New York. 1904. 8°. pp. li, 216.

\*La Quaestio de aqua et terra. Edizione principe del 1508 riprodotta in facsimile. Introduzione storica e trascrizione critica del testo latino di *G. Boffito*; con introduzione scientifica dell'ing. O. Zanotti-Bianco e proemio del dott. Prompt. Cinque versioni: italiana (*G. Boffito*), francese e spagnuola (*Dott. Prompt*), inglese (*S. P. Thompson*), e tedesca (*A. Müller*). Firenze. 1905. 8°. pp. xxiii, 89.

\*La vita nuova; con introduzione, commento, e glossario di *Giovanni Melodia*. Milano. 1905. sm. 8°. pp. xlvii, 284.

\*La vita nuova (The new life); secondo la lezione del cod. Stroziano vi, 143, trascritta e illustrata da *A. Razzolini*. Firenze. 1906. 8°. pp. (1), 74.

Like the same scribe's Divina commedia, a piece of modern penmanship reproduced in facsimile. With Dante G. Rossetti's English translation printed on corresponding opposite pages.

Opere di Dante. La vita nova. Strasburgo; New York. [1907 ?] 16°. pp. 81. (Bibliotheca romanica. 40. Biblioteca italiana.)

\*La vita nuova. Per cura di *Michele Barbi*. Milano. 1907. 1. 8°. pp. cclxxxvi, 104. Facsimile plates. (SOCIETÀ DANTESCA ITALIANA. Opere minori di Dante Alighieri. Edizione critica.)

*Introduzione*: — Criteri fondamentali. — Manoscritti. — Edizioni. — Classificazione dei testi. — Fondamenti e criteri di questa edizione, ortografia, partizione del testo.



Sonnets from the Vita nuova; translated by *Charles Eliot Norton*.  
Brookline, Mass. 1906. 1. 8°. pp. (10), 25. Port.

"Privately printed. — 30 copies printed in the Queen's shop, Brookline, Mass." This copy is one of six printed on Japanese vellum.  
Gift of Professor C. E. Norton.

#### WORKS ON DANTE

\***Albini**, Gius. Il canto iv del Paradiso, letto nella sala di Dante in Orsanmichele. Firenze. [1904.] 8°. pp. 36. (Lectura Dantis.)

\*[**Alighieri**, JACOPO DI DANTE.] Chiose di Dante le quali fece el figliuolo co le sue mani; messe in luce da F. P. Luiso. Vol. ii. (Purgatorio.) [Firenze. 1904.] 8°. pp. 182 +.

\***Alighieri**, Pietro DI DANTE. Rime; precedute da cenni biografici. [Edited by Giovanni Crocioni.] Città di Castello. 1903. sm. 8°. pp. viii, 113. (Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inediti o rari, 77-78.)

The texts given are La canzone a Dio; La morale delle sette arti; La tenzone con Jacopo dei Garatori; Il capitolo della morte.

**Amicis**, Edmondo de. Il canto xxv dell' Inferno e Ernesto Rossi. (*In his* Capo d'anno; pagine parlate, Milano, 1902, pp. 189-208.)

**Angelitti**, Fil. Il problema della forma della terra nell' antichità. Discorso premesso al Calendario astronomico commerciale di Palermo per l' anno 1905. [Palermo. 1905.] 1. 8°. pp. 6.

Gift of Professor Norton.

† ——— Recensione critica delle due memorie pubblicate nei tomi li e lii della Reale accademia delle scienze di Torino dal dott. G. Boffito: Intorno alla "Quaestio de aqua et terra." Perugia. 1905. 8°. pp. 15.

"Estratto dalla *Bibliografia dantesca*, an. ii quad. 1-6, 7-12."

\***Arci**, Fil. Cronografo dantesco. Torino, *etc.* [1899.] Chart, 23 × 23 in.

\* ——— Cronografia dantesca; note illustrative sull' applicazione del Cronografo dantesco dello stesso autore. Torino, *etc.* 1900. sm. 8°. pp. 80.

\***Arias**, Gino. Le istituzioni giuridiche medievali nella Divina commedia. Firenze. 1901. 8°. pp. vi, 240.

**Arullani, Vitt. Amedeo.** Il dolore in Dante e nel Petrarca. (*In his* Pei regni dell'arte e della critica; nuovi saggi, Torino, 1903, pp. 37-53.)

†**Attavanti, Paolo.** [*Fol.* 5<sup>a</sup>: —] . . . quadra|gesimale utillimurn de re|ditu. peccatoris ad | dm . . . | . . . icipit. [*Colophon*: —] . . . impressum | mediolani per prudentes Alamanos . . . | . . . Vldericum scinczenceller | ? Leonardum pachel socios. Anno domi|ni. 1479. . . . | f<sup>o</sup>. ff. (294). *G. L.*

With ms. notes on the blank folios.

The first two folios are missing. There are 294 remaining, including the third and last folios, which are blank.

Contains many citations from the Divine comedy, with comments.

\***Bacci, Orazio.** Il canto vi del Paradiso, letto nella sala di Dante in Orsanmichele. Firenze. [1904.] 8°. pp. 51. (*Lectura Dantis.*)

**Bacci, Peleo.** Per il furto del 1292 all'altare di S. Jacopo in Pistoia. Pistoia. 1904. sm. 8°. pp. 7.

"Che questo furto avvenisse per opera di Vanni Fucci il 26 gennaio 1293 è favoletta." p. 4. "Estratto dal periodico *La difesa*, n. 32, 6 agosto, 1904."

Gift of the author. Thirty copies printed.

**Balzo, Carlo del, editor.** Poesie di mille autori intorno a Dante Alighieri. Vol. ix-xiii. Roma. 1905-1907. 8°.

Among the longer contributions in these volumes are the following:

**Forti, Luigi.** Il viaggio di Dante all'Inferno. 1827. ix. 1-74.

**Biondi, Luigi.** Dante in Ravenna; dramma. 1837. ix. 240-309.

**Molbeck, Chr. K. F.** Dante; tragisk drama i fem akter. 1852. x. 64-301.

**Ferrucci, L. C.** Scala di vita; poema d'imitazione dantesca. 1852. x. 303-345.

**Bornier, Henri de.** Dante et Béatrix; drame. 1853. x. 355-439.

**Bonanni, Mich.** Beatrice Portinari; dramma. 1854. x. 494-523.

**Campello, Pompeo di.** Dante Alighieri; dramma tragico. 1856. xi. 5-134.

**Notter, Friedrich.** Dante; ein romanzen-kranz. 1861. xi. 263-477.

**Bellini, Bern.** L'Inferno della tirannide. 1865. xii. 96-273.

**Tagliapietra, Giov.** Poesie in onore di Dante. 1865. xii. 368-433.

**Biasoni, Fran.** Poemett popular pa'l centenari di Dante. 1865. xii. 474-536.

**Bon, Ant. del.** Trentatrè canti obbligati a tutte le rime della cantica, Il Paradiso. 1865. xiii. 232-399.

**Chiosi, Giov.** La Dantiade. 1865. xiii. 471-505.

**Gallo, Nazario.** La congiura del venerdì santo e Dante Alighieri; tragedia. 1865. xiii. 523-574.

- \*[**Bancel**, E. M.] Études sur Dante Alighieri, sa vie, son génie. [Paris. 1890?] 1. 8°. pp. 34. Portrs. (60 copies printed.)
- \***Barbagallo**, Corr. Una questione dantesca; Dante Alighieri, i Bianco-Ghibellini esuli e i Romena. Roma. 1899. 8°. pp. (3), 111.
- Barbi**, Mich. Dante, 1902. [Notice of recent publications. Erlangen. 1906.] 8°. pp. (4).  
*Kritischer jahresbericht über die fortschritte der romanischen philologie*, 1906, vii. ii. 255-258.  
 Gift of the author.
- \***Bartoli**, Cosimo. Letture sopra la "Commedia" di Dante, per cura di Stefano Ferrara. Città di Castello. 1907. 8°. pp. 82. (Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inediti o rari, 83.)
- Bassermann**, Alfred. Beiträge zu motiven und quellen der Divina commedia. Berlin. 1908. 8°. pp. 17.  
 "Sonderabdruck aus Studien zur vergl. literaturgesch., viii. bd. heft 1."  
 Gift of the author.
- Belardinelli**, Gugl. La questione della lingua; un capitolo di storia della letteratura italiana. i. Roma. [1906.] 8°. pp. xv, 288.  
*Contents*: — i. Da Dante a Girolamo Muzio; con una nuova fonte [*i.e.* Dialogo sopra le lingue volgari, di Pierio Valeriano].
- \***Belli**, Giac. Nuovo commento alla Divina commedia. Roma. 1894 [-1907]. 8°. pp. 409.
- Bertoldi**, Alf. Il canto xi del Paradiso, letto nella sala di Dante in Orsanmichele. Firenze. [1904.] 8°. pp. 62. (Lectura Dantis.)
- Biadego**, Gius. Dante e gli Scaligeri. (*In his* Discorsi e profili letterari, Milano, 1903, pp. 1-37.)
- \***Biagi**, Guido, and **Passerini**, G. L. Codice diplomatico dantesco. Dispensa ix-xi. Firenze. 1904-1905. f°.
- \***Bibliografia** dantesca; rassegna bibliografica degli studi intorno a Dante, al trecento, e a cose francescane. Direttore, Luigi Suttina. Anno ii, pt. 1 (pp. 1-160). Firenze. 1905. 8°.
- Biblioteca** storico-critica della letteratura dantesca, diretta da Pasquale Papa. Serie 2<sup>a</sup>. i-iii. Bologna. 1902-1907. 8°.
1. **Picciòla**, Gius. Matelda. 1902.
  2. **Toynbee**, Paget. Ricerche e note dantesche. Serie 2<sup>a</sup>. 1904.
  3. **Capetti**, Vitt. Studi sul Paradiso dantesco. 1906.
  4. **Busnelli**, Giov. L'Etica Nicomachea e l'ordinamento morale dell'Inferno. 1907.

- \***Bisogno**, E. di. S. Bonaventura e Dante ; studii. Milano. 1899. 8°. pp. 110.
- Boccaccio**, Giov. A translation of Giovanni Boccaccio's life of Dante ; with an introduction and a note on the portraits of Dante by G. R. Carpenter. New York, The Grolier club. 1900. sq. 8°. pp. 186.  
From the library of Professor C. E. Norton.
- † ——— Life of Dante, translated from the Italian by Philip Henry Wicksteed. [Cambridge, Mass.] The Riverside press. 1904. f°. pp. 74, (2). (265 copies printed. No. 69.)
- \* ——— The early lives of Dante translated [from the Italian of Giovanni Boccaccio and Lionardo Bruni] by P. H. Wicksteed. London. 1904. 16°. pp. xvi, 159. Front. (The king's classics.)
- \***Boffito**, Gius. Se Dante sia stato meteorologo. Pavia. 1900. 8°. pp. 8.  
"Estratto dalla *Rivista di fisica, matem. e scienze nat.*, Pavia."
- \* ——— Di alcune quistioncelle di cosmogonia dantesca : [La mondana cera (Par. i. 41) ; Il soggetto degli elementi (Par. xxix. 51) ; Il soggetto della neve (Par. ii. 107)]. Pavia. 1902. 8°. pp. 14.  
"Estratto dalla *Rivista di fisica, matematica e scienze naturali*, Pavia, an. iii, luglio, 1902."
- \* ——— Dante e Bartolomeo da Parma ; a proposito di Par. i. 37, sgg. ; Conv. iii. 5, ecc. [Milano. 1902.] 8°. pp. (10).  
"Estratto dai *Rendiconti del R. Ist. lomb. di sc. e lett.*, serie ii, vol. xxxv, 1902."
- \* ——— Il punto e il cerchio secondo gli antichi e secondo Dante. [Milano. 1904.] 8°. pp. (14).  
"Estratto dai *Rendiconti del R. Ist. lomb. di sc. e lett.*, serie ii, vol. xxxvi, 1903."
- \***Bonaventura**, Arnaldo. Dante e la musica. Livorno. 1904. sm. 8°. pp. 338.
- Bornier**, Henri, *vicomte de*. Dante et Béatrix ; drame. Paris. 1853. 12°. pp. 96.
- Bucalo**, Fil. Dante Alighieri e le sue invettive contro gli ecclesiastici. (*In his* La riforma morale della chiesa nel medio evo e la letteratura antiecclesiastica italiana dalle origini alla fine del secolo xiv, Milano, 1904, pp. 118-142.)

- \***Bulle**, Oskar. Dante's Beatrice im leben und in der dichtung. Berlin. 1890. 8°. pp. (8), 140.

*Contents*: — Einleitung. — Beatrice Portinari. — "La Vita nuova" von Dante. — Die gedichte der "Vita nuova." — Der prosa-text der "Vita nuova." — Die "Herrin" im "Convito" von Dante. — Die Beatrice der "Divina commedia."

- \***Busnelli**, Giov. L'Etica Nicomachea e l'ordinamento morale dell' Inferno di Dante. Bologna. 1907. 8°. pp. 195. (Biblioteca storico-critica della letteratura dantesca; serie ii. 4.)

**Butler**, James Davie. Dante; his quotations and his originality: the greatest imitator and the greatest original. [Madison. 1896.] 8°. pp. (16).

"From the *Transactions of the Wisconsin academy of sciences, arts, and letters*, vol. xi."

Gift of DeWitt Miller.

**Caetani**, Michelangelo, *duca di Sermoneta*. La materia della Divina commedia di Dante dichiarata in vi tavole. 3<sup>a</sup> ed. fiorentina, con un proemio di Raffaello Fornaciari. Firenze. 1886. 32°. pp. xx, 18. 6 colored plates.

From the library of Professor Charles Eliot Norton.

- †[**Calvert**, George Henry.] Dante and his latest translators. [New York. 1868.] 8°. pp. (13).

*Putnam's magazine*, 1868, new series, i, 155-167.

- \***Capetti**, Vitt. Il canto ottavo del Purgatorio; con un'appendice "Sulle tracce di Virgilio." Milano. 1903. 8°. pp. 40.

\*—— Studi sul Paradiso dantesco. Con un'appendice: Dante e le leggende di S. Pier Damiani. Bologna. 1906. 8°. pp. 130. (Biblioteca storico-critica della letteratura dantesca; serie ii, 3.)

- \*—— L'anima e l'arte di Dante. Livorno. 1907. sm. 8°. pp. viii, (4), 337.

*Contents*: — L'oltretomba iranico e la Divina commedia. — Il preludio dell' Inferno. — L'apostrofe di Dante e il grido di dolore di Valafrido Strabone. — La trilogia di Beatrice. — I canti del pessimismo. — I canti dell' odio. — I canti di Forese.

- \***Carducci**, Giosuè. La canzone di Dante: "Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute." Bologna. 1905. sm. 8°. pp. 50 +.

Also printed in his *Opere*, xvi: Poesia e storia, Bologna, 1905, pp. 1-50.

- Caron, Laurent.** Dante, Henri Dauphin et divers traducteurs de la Divine comédie. (Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, des lettres et des arts d'Amiens, 1888, xxxiv. 275-307.)
- \***Carroll, John S.** Exiles of eternity; an exposition of Dante's Inferno. London. 1903. 8°. pp. lxiii, 510. Plan.
- Dante Alighieri. [London. 1903.] f°. pp. (8). Portrs. and other illustr.
- The bookman*, London, 1903, xxv. 77-84.
- This number of the *Bookman* contains a "collection of pictures connected with the life and work of Dante."
- Gift of Professor C. E. Norton.
- \*——— Prisoners of hope; an exposition of Dante's Purgatorio. London. 1906. 8°. pp. xxvii, 511. 2 plates.
- \***Casini, Tomm.** Il canto i dell' Inferno letto nella sala di Dante in Orsanmichele. Firenze. [1905.] 8°. pp. 30. (Lectura Dantis.)
- \***Castle, Marie Louise Egerton.** Dante. London. 1907. 16°. pp. 110. Portrs. (Bell's miniature series of poets.)
- Chaytor, Henry John.** Literary criticism among the troubadours and its influence upon Dante. (Proceedings of the Literary and philosophical society of Liverpool, 1904-1905, lviii. 1-11.)
- \***Chiappelli, Ales.** Dalla trilogia di Dante. Firenze. 1905. sm. 8°. pp. vii, 286. Plates.
- Chiara, Stanislao de.** Il canto x del Paradiso letto da Stanislao de Chiara nella sala di Dante in Orsanmichele. Firenze. [1906.] 8°. pp. 48. (Lectura Dantis.)
- Gift of the author.
- Chiarini, Cino.** Di una imitazione inglese della Divina commedia, la Casa della fama di Chaucer. Bari. 1902 [1901]. 16°. pp. 114. Front. (port. of Chaucer).
- Previously published in the *Rivista d'Italia*.
- \***Chiose di Dante le quali fece el figliuolo co le sue mani.** See **Alighieri, Jacopo.**
- \***Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inediti o rari, diretta da G. L. Passerini.** Vol. lxxv-lxxxiii. Firenze. 1902-1907. 8°.
75. **Paperini, G. F.** Lezione sopra Dante. Par. ii. 46-148. 1902.
76. **Lamma, E.** Di un frammento di codice del secolo xv. 1903.
- 77-78. **Alighieri, Pietro.** Rime. 1903.
- 79-82. **Torre, Arnaldo della.** La giovinezza di G. Boccaccio. 1905.
83. **Bartoli, Cosimo.** Letture. 1907.



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# A SUBJECT INDEX TO THE TITLES OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES ADDED TO THE DANTE COLLEC- TION IN HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

1890-1908

AS RECORDED IN THE SUCCESSIVE REPORTS OF THE DANTE SOCIETY

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In the Index the heavy-faced figures indicate the number of the Report in which the title is to be found, the lighter figure (if any) following the author's name showing which title under that author is referred to.

Under the heading DANTE are placed only general works, divided into six sections to give some little clew to their character. Additional references to articles on special points should be looked for under *Birth, Exile, Family, History, contemporary, House, Loves, Military experience, Politics*; — *Epitaphs, Monuments, Portraits, Tomb*; — *Catholicism, Heresy, Learning, Natural history, Patriotism, Philosophy, Religion, Theology*; also *Arezzo, Bologna, Florence, Padua, Paris, Pistoia, Rome, Siena, Verona*; also *Dramas, Fiction, Musical compositions, Poems*; also *Lectures, Letters, Societies, Study of Dante*, etc.

For works on the DIVINA COMMEDIA see, in addition to the references under that head, the subjects *Allegory, Angels, Astronomy, Beatific Vision, Characters* (also names of individual persons and characters), *Chronology, Earthly Paradise, Geography, Moral structure, Music, Punishments, Satan, Shades, Sins, Sources*, etc.; also *Bibliography, Commentators, Concordances, Dictionaries, Editions, Illustrations, Imitations, Translations*; — *Controversial works, Lectures, Letters, Reviews*; — also *Language, Prosody, Rhyme, Similes*. For works on single cantos and for comments on single passages see the second part of the Index.

For the compilation of this Index the Society is indebted to the patience and care of Miss Mabel P. Cook of Lexington.

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TWENTY-EIGHTH  
ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
DANTE SOCIETY  
(CAMBRIDGE, MASS.)

1909

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ACCOMPANYING PAPERS

PROFESSOR CHARLES ELIOT NORTON  
*By William Roscoe Thayer*

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER  
*By Jefferson Butler Fletcher*

AMERICAN DANTE BIBLIOGRAPHY (MAY, 1896 — MAY, 1908)  
*Compiled by Ethel Dane Roberts*

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## STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

(From May 19, 1908, to May 18, 1909)

Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May 19, 1908 . . . . .	\$654 19	
Membership fees till May 18, 1909 . . . . .	425 10	
Received of Mr. A. C. White (for clerical work on the Concordance) . . . . .	200 00	
Copyrights, etc. . . . .	<u>52 06</u>	
		\$1331 35
Paid Messrs. Ginn and Company . . . . .	\$245 59	
Money refunded from sales of Dr. Fay's Concordance . . . . .	28 00	
Paid for clerical work on the Latin Concordance	174 13	
Printing, postage, etc. . . . .	21 65	
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May 18, 1909 . . . . .	<u>861 98</u>	
		\$1331.35

## BY-LAWS

---

1. This Society shall be called the DANTE SOCIETY. Its object shall be the encouragement of the study of the Life and Works of Dante.

2. Any person desirous to become a member of this Society may do so by signifying his or her wish in writing to the Secretary, and by the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

3. An Annual Meeting for the election of officers shall be held at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of May, of which due notice shall be given to the members by the Secretary.

4. Special meetings may be held at any time appointed by vote of the members at the Annual Meeting, or by call from the President and Secretary.

5. The officers shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Librarian, who, together with three members thereto chosen, shall form the Council of the Society. All these officers shall be chosen at the Annual Meeting, and their term of service shall be for one year, or until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled for the remainder of the year by the Council.

6. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice President, or, in the absence of both, any member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council.

7. The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep a record of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, shall collect and receive all dues, and keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the Society, shall give notice of meetings, and shall perform all other duties appropriate to his office.

8. The Council shall hold meetings at such times as it may appoint, shall determine on the use to be made of the income of



the Society, shall endeavor to promote the special objects of the Society in such ways as may seem most appropriate, and shall make an annual report of their proceedings, including a full statement of accounts, at each Annual Meeting. This report shall be made in print for distribution to the members.

9. No officer of the Society shall be competent to contract debts in the name of the Society, and no expenditure shall be made without a vote of the Council.

10. A majority of the Council shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. Any person distinguished for his interest in the purposes of the Society, or who has rendered it valuable service, may be chosen an Honorary Member at any regular meeting of the Society, and shall be entitled to all its privileges without annual assessment.

12. The preceding rules may be changed at any time by unanimous vote of the Council.

## THE DANTE PRIZE

---

The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars for the best essay by a student in any department of Harvard University, or by a graduate of not more than three years' standing, on a subject drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1909-1910 the following subjects were proposed:

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*
12. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
13. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
14. *A criticism of Torracca's edition of the Divina Commedia.*

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., on or before the *first day of May*.

Essayists are at liberty to write on any one of the subjects which have been proposed in the years during which the Dante Prize has been offered, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

On the title-page must be written an assumed name and a statement of the writer's standing, i.e. whether he is a graduate or an undergraduate (and of what college or university); if he is an undergraduate, to what class he belongs, and to what department of the college or university. Under cover with the essay must be sent a sealed letter containing the true name and address of the writer, and superscribed with his assumed name.

The essays must be written upon letter paper, of good quality, of the quarto size, with a margin of not less than one inch at the top, at the bottom, and on each side, so that they may be bound up without injury to the writing. The sheets on which the essay is written must be securely stitched together.

The judges of the essays are a committee of the Dante Society.

In case the judges decide that no essay submitted to them deserves the full prize, they are at liberty to award one or two prizes of fifty dollars, or to award no prize.

The Dante Society has the privilege of retaining and depositing in the Dante Collection of the Harvard College Library any or all essays offered in competition for the Dante Prize, whether successful or not.

Since its establishment the Dante Prize (in full or in part) has been awarded to the following persons :

HEINRICH CONRAD BIERWIRTH . . . . 1887.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas*.

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888.

For an essay entitled *The Interpretation and Reconciliation of the Different Accounts of his Experiences after the Death of Beatrice, given by Dante in the Vita Nuova and the Convito*.

CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM . . . . 1890.

For an essay entitled *A Translation into English of Dante's Letters, with Explanatory and Historical Comments*.

THE DANTE PRIZE

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KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894.

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo*.

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Influence upon Spanish Literature during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*.

ANNETTE FISKE . . . . 1897.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to Old French and Provençal Lyric Poetry*.

ARTHUR NEWTON PEASLEE . . . . 1900.

For an essay entitled *A Metrical Rhyming Translation of the Three Canzoni of the Convito*.

HENRY LATIMER SEAVER . . . . 1901.

For an essay entitled *A Translation of the Canzoni in the Convito*.

ALAIN CAMPBELL WHITE . . . . 1902.

The Latham Prize for an essay entitled *A Translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra, and a Discussion of its Authenticity*.

ALPHONSO DE SALVIO . . . . 1902.

For an essay entitled *The Verse Endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch' erano appo gli altri dicitori usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS . . . . 1903.

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

CHANDLER RATHFON POST . . . . 1906.

For an essay entitled *The Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature*.

ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS . . . . 1907.

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova*.

RALPH HAYWARD KENISTON . . . . 1909.

For an essay entitled *The Dante Tradition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*.

## ANNUAL REPORT

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The Report now issued is for the year ending May 18, 1909. During that year the Society sustained heavy losses in the death of Professor Norton, its third President, and of Professor Carpenter, for a number of years its Secretary and afterwards its Vice President.

Professor Norton, from the time of the organization of the Society, was most active in its councils, and during the sixteen years of his presidency he was the very center of its life. By his long career as a teacher, and by his published work in the translation and critical interpretation of Dante, he undoubtedly contributed more than any one else in America to the upbuilding of Dante scholarship. An essay commemorating chiefly this part of his life work was written by Mr. Thayer for the twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Society, and is printed with the present Report.

With Professor Carpenter the cultivation of Italian learning was only an avocation. But he found time, in his short and extremely busy life, to become one of the most accomplished Dante scholars among the members of the Society. What he did for the study of the poet and what that study meant in his own development is

described in an article, also published herewith, by his friend and colleague Professor Fletcher.

The usual business was transacted at the annual meeting, which was held May 18, 1909, at Professor Sheldon's residence in Cambridge. Professor Sheldon was elected President and Professor Grandgent Vice President of the Society, and Mrs. William Carver Bates was elected to the Council in place of Miss Jackson. The regular reports were received from the various officers and committees and from the editors of the Latin Concordance. At the present date of writing the Concordance is almost ready for the press, and a circular has been issued to members, asking for subscriptions at a price not to exceed six dollars a copy. These subscriptions should be sent to the Secretary, from whom members may also obtain copies of Professor Sheldon's Concordance at the original subscription price of seven dollars.

The Dante Prize was awarded in 1909 to Mr. Ralph Hayward Keniston for an essay on "The Dante Tradition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries."

The Council are glad to publish with this Report, in addition to the papers of Mr. Thayer and Mr. Fletcher, a bibliography of American Dante scholarship from 1896 to 1908, compiled by Miss Ethel Dane Roberts, of the Wellesley College Library. Miss Roberts's article is a continuation of that published by Mr. Koch with the Fifteenth Annual Report.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

*Secretary*

JULY 1, 1910



## PROFESSOR CHARLES ELIOT NORTON

By WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Professor Charles Eliot Norton died in Cambridge, at Shady Hill, his birthplace and lifelong home, on October 21, 1908. He was born November 16, 1827, the son of Andrews and Katherine (Eliot) Norton; was graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1846; and after pursuing for nearly thirty years the life of scholar, citizen, and humanist, he was appointed, in 1875, Professor of the History of Art, at Harvard. This chair he resigned in 1898, owing to failing strength; but he continued for the next two or three years to offer to picked students a course in Dante. The first mention of this course appears in the Harvard catalogue for 1882-1883, but he did not give it that year nor the next. During the late winter and spring of 1886, however, Mr. Norton took Professor James Russell Lowell's place, and thenceforth, for some fifteen years, with only a few intermissions, his annual interpretation of *The Divine Comedy* was one of the chief jewels in the Harvard curriculum.

Down to 1877 Mr. Lowell had included Dante among his courses, but in that year he went on leave of absence as United States minister to Spain, whence he was transferred to London. During the late seventies and early eighties Mr. Norton used to meet a voluntary class of Dante students at his house, and for several seasons he gave public readings in English of *The Divine Comedy*. Out of these sprang his translation, published in 1891.

Mr. Norton's admiration for Dante went back to his undergraduate days, when Longfellow taught Spanish and Italian to students who chose to elect these subjects. A short visit to Italy in 1850 stimulated his interest in Italian, and during a second visit, in 1855-1856, of which he has left an attractive record in his *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy*, he perfected himself in the Italian language and in Dante lore. When he returned, his dear friend, Lowell, was installed as Smith professor, and thenceforth they pursued side by side their study of "the loftiest Poet who, like an eagle, soars above the others." A little later, in the

early sixties, Longfellow took up his translation of *The Divine Comedy*, and Lowell, Norton, and a few others gathered on Wednesday evening every week in the study at the Craigie House, listened to the new section of translation, pondered it, and gave to Longfellow suggestions, some of which, as he acknowledged, he gladly adopted. Mr. Howells, in his delightful volume, *Literary Friends and Acquaintances*, has described these meetings of the "Dante Club," to which he, then recently settled in Cambridge, was invited. "Those who were most constantly present," he says, "were Lowell and Professor Norton, but from time to time others came in, and we seldom sat down at the nine o'clock supper that followed the reading of the canto in less number than ten or twelve. The criticism, especially from the accomplished Dantists I have named, was frank and frequent."

Even before this Mr. Norton himself undertook to translate *The New Life*, the first specimens of which he printed in 1859. Thenceforward his quality as a Dantist was publicly recognized, and he promoted Dante culture through articles in the *North American Review*, of which he was a joint editor from 1862 to 1868, and later in the *Nation*. Thus he had been for many years an adept in Dante before, from his chair at Harvard, he gave such interpretations not merely of *The Divine Comedy*, but of the epoch and world out of which it arose, as have had no counterparts in America.

A few years ago I asked him for information in regard to the founding of the Dante Society, and he replied in a letter dated July 29, 1904, from which I quote :

It was, I think, in 1880 that some members of the class which I was conducting in *The Divine Comedy*, hearing me speak of the possible service which a club for the promotion of Dante studies might render, came to me to say that they wished such a club might be founded, and would be glad to do what might be in their power to give it a good start. (I recall especially John Woodbury [now secretary of the Metropolitan Park Commission] and Professor Hart as interested in the matter.) I told them that I thought that the success of the effort would depend on whether Mr. Longfellow would consent to take the presidency of the proposed society, and that I would consult with him about it. Longfellow was cordial in his approval of the scheme. He saw in it, especially, the means by which the Dante library of Harvard might be strengthened and steadily increased, and also he believed that such a society as was proposed might justify its existence by undertaking the publication of the *Comment*

on *The Divine Comedy* of Benvenuto da Imola, of which only fragments had hitherto been printed. This had long been an object of desire with him, and he and I had often talked of how to bring it about. The existence of a society, the members of which could be appealed to, to contribute to the cost of copying the manuscript of the *Comment* and to the further cost of printing it, seemed to open the way to the accomplishment of a work of the first importance to all students of *The Divine Comedy*.

Longfellow readily consented to be president of the society. A few persons were asked to become members. A meeting of them was held at the Craigie House, and Longfellow was, as usual, the most genial and delightful of hosts. I think more than one meeting was held there; bylaws were adopted, officers were elected, circulars were prepared, the aims of the society were thoroughly discussed, it was determined to send to Florence for a copy of the Benvenuto manuscript of the *Comment*, and, if I remember rightly, Longfellow undertook to defray the cost of the copy.

So was founded the Dante Society, which for nearly thirty years has persevered in the mission then laid down for it. It has called out several important studies in Dante, achieved two invaluable concordances, stimulated by its annual prize the zeal of university students for research and criticism, and contributed to the assembling in the Harvard Library of a Dante collection accessible to scholars throughout the East and second in range only to that given by Professor Willard Fiske to Cornell University. In his account of the founding, Mr. Norton, with characteristic modesty, attributes to Mr. Longfellow's coöperation the element indispensable to success; but, in fact, as the original members will be the first to testify, it was Mr. Norton himself whose active sympathy created the society and caused it to flourish as long as he lived. Mr. Longfellow served it as its first president, — a beautiful and willing figurehead, lacking neither in helpful counsel nor in practical support. On his death, in 1882, James Russell Lowell was chosen to succeed him; but Lowell was then in England, nor did he ever, after coming home in 1885, take root again in Cambridge. But his name shed a far luster, and his favor and advice sustained the prestige of the society. When he died, in 1891, Mr. Norton became president.

Thenceforward, every May, on the evening of the third Tuesday of the month, he held the annual meeting at Shady Hill, and nobody who attended one of those meetings will ever forget the way in which he presided, so informally, yet with that unflinching dignity of which he alone

seemed to have the secret. In a few penetrating sentences he would review each of the half dozen Dante books of the year; point out new work that the society might undertake; praise, in words which held no flattery, the labors of Professor Sheldon and his colleagues on the concordance; and summarize the quality of the essays handed in to compete for the Dante Prize. Until a year or two ago, — indeed, until last year, — though he seemed at each season a little frailer in body, we noticed no slackening of intellectual vigor; but last year, while his mind was as clear as ever, he asked Professor Grandgent to give an account of the new publications which he had himself been unable through illness to keep abreast of. To the end, however, the "gracious amity and unequaled intuitions," which Mr. Howells recalls of him at the meetings at Longfellow's forty years before, shone in his manner and in his criticism. Almost his last words, before the meeting of the society in 1908 broke up, were to urge that Dante be read *naturally*, for his evident meaning, and especially for his significance to us to-day, and neither as a maker of linguistic and philological puzzles, nor as a conscious exploiter of recondite theories.

In 1891 Professor Norton published his prose translation of *The Divine Comedy*, — a work which at once took its place as the best. It is hardly likely to be superseded, for metrical translators of Dante sacrifice too much of his meaning in order to give us a metrical residue which in nowise corresponds to his *terza rima*. It is significant that the best metrical version in English, Longfellow's, in hendecasyllabic blank verse, comes nearest to prose. Readers to whom the originals of the few world masterpieces are inaccessible will more and more resort to the best prose renderings. Among these Norton's *Divine Comedy* unquestionably belongs. To understand the care with which he worked, one should compare the first edition of his translation with the last. In the intervening ten years he literally went over every word afresh, weighed every phrase, listened to every new suggestion, and made even commas serve instead of exegesis. His critical faculty was so delicate and so exacting that he was satisfied with nothing short of perfection in his own writing. "It is the final thumb-nail touches," he used to say to me, "that count."

Besides his translation of *The Divine Comedy* he brought out a revision of *The New Life*, and he contributed to Warner's Library a monograph, unfortunately too brief, on Dante's career and genius. The latter fragment

was compiled in part from lectures delivered by him on the Turnbull Foundation at Baltimore. He could never be persuaded to amplify them into a volume which should transmit to posterity the interpretation and criticism of the foremost English-speaking Dantist of his time.

I call Mr. Norton the foremost Dantist advisedly, for I had the rare privilege of being a pupil both of him and of Lowell, whom Norton himself called his master. But Lowell was never the minute and indefatigable searcher of texts that Norton was; and Lowell never felt Dante as Norton felt him. Lowell's essay will long deserve to be read, not only because it is one of the best literary essays produced in America, but also because in its wit, in its flashes of insight, in its occasional waywardness, and in its Romanticist exuberance, it is characteristic of his brilliant talents. But to read Dante with Mr. Norton was almost an act of worship. There was in his voice something wonderfully stirring and wholly incommunicable. As he reached a favorite passage his face became radiant and his tones more tender. He explained fully from every side, — verbal, textual, literary, spiritual; and even when he did not pause to suggest the parallel between Dante's examples and our modern instances, he left no doubt of their pertinence to ourselves. Yet with all this there was no hint of preaching, no attempt, so common among German exponents, to twist Dante's text to fit a theory.

Looking back upon those hours of high instruction, I find it hard to say whether the final impression Mr. Norton's illumination of *The Divine Comedy* made upon me concerned the spiritual significance or the supreme beauty of the poem. That one should blend into the other was, after all, what he intended, for he never divorced the spiritual from the beautiful. If he held that those who would render Beauty didactic surely destroy her charm, he knew also the origin and the function of Art-for-Art's-sake Beauty. In his interpretation of Dante he had one immense advantage which neither Lowell nor any other English-speaking Dantist has possessed: he had a specialist's knowledge of medieval art. So the thirteenth century lived for him not merely in its poetry, theology, and chronicles, but in its paintings and statues, in its churches and town halls, in its palaces and dwellings. These arts, needless to say, had then an extraordinary representative value which they do not possess at all to-day; and only he who knows them intimately can compass the whole circle of the experience and the ideals of that world of which *The Divine*



*Comedy* is the supreme expression in language. Mr. Norton had this erudition, but, as was his wont, he never gave it out as mere erudition; he always vitalized it by his sympathy, and so endued it with immediate human interest. He scorned loose thinking; he despised inaccuracy or misstatement. His critical keenness made him instinctively take care to be sure of his facts, but he unconsciously presented his facts with charm, as Nature hides pollen or seeds in her flowers.

Let us hope that this society which he founded, this outpost of culture which he cherished for nearly thirty years, will continue in the work he desired for it. He felt, as every one must feel who has drawn close to Dante, that it is of immense importance that the study of *The Divine Comedy* should be promoted. The contrast it sets up between our transitional society and that of thirteenth-century Italy; its embodiment of what was for more than a thousand years the religion of Christendom; the pure delight of it as poetry; and the fact that, better than any other literary masterpiece, it teaches the supreme knowledge, — how a man may make himself eternal; these are some of the reasons, if reasons be required, for dedicating ourselves to the perpetuation of Dante's epic. And as long as any of us who knew Charles Eliot Norton survive, we shall feel that his benign influence accompanies us and bids us Godspeed.

## GEORGE RICE CARPENTER

By JEFFERSON BUTLER FLETCHER

By the death of George Rice Carpenter, which took place at his home in New York City on April 8, 1909, the Dante Society has lost one of its most devoted and distinguished members. While an undergraduate at Harvard University, Carpenter, under the inspiring guidance of Professor Norton, acquired an enthusiasm for the poetry of Dante which lasted throughout his life. Heavily burdened as he became with manifold intellectual and practical obligations, he never allowed a year to pass without rereading *The Divine Comedy*; and to the end he kept himself intelligently informed upon all essential scholarship touching Dante. Although in later years he published nothing on Italian literature, modestly deprecating his attainments in that field, many a friend and fellow student will bear grateful witness to the stimulating and clarifying ideas which discussion on the subject always elicited from him. Yet it was less as a scholar than as a disciple that Carpenter felt towards the great Florentine. He was most concerned to cut through the crust of accidental mediæval convention and of alien metaphysical theory to Dante's essential and, if I may so say, pragmatic thought and feeling, and to square Dante's answer to the riddle of life, so simplified, with his own. And fundamental sympathy there was between the mediæval master and the modern pupil. Born on the rugged Labrador coast of missionary parents, upheld through an unrelenting life of work by a rigid sense of duty, ever resolutely subduing to cool reasonableness and practical efficiency a temperament naturally wayward and passionate, with the imagination of a poet, dreaming dreams, this gentle unpretentious teacher, more and more as he grew with the years, came, for those who knew him best, to grow one in spirit with the master whom he loved. For him, as for that master, renunciation, as no ascetic penance but for self-effacing service, revealed itself as the secret of highest living. Puritan-mystic, he also might have said at the end:



All'alta fantasia qui mancò possa :  
 ma già volgeva il mio disiro e il velle,  
 sì come ruota che igualmente è mossa,  
 L'Amor che muove il sole e l'altre stelle.

If Dante taught, or powerfully helped teach, Carpenter the ideal of renunciation, it may truly be said that one of the greatest renuncements of Carpenter's life was that of the study of Dante as a vocational end. He was always dreaming of a time when he might conscientiously withdraw from undergraduate teaching and academic administration enough to devote himself again seriously to Dante scholarship. But others — who shall say how wisely ? — decided for him his greater serviceableness, and he always ended by yielding his own inclination. That inclination was indeed strong. He indulged it so far as he dared — and more than he should have dared — in hours stolen not indeed from his duties but from what ought to have been his rest. Within a month of his death he had concocted a scheme by which a slight increase of pressure all along the line was to yield an extra hour a day for a serious study of mediæval Italian poetry. Alas, he had sat on the safety valve too long.

Carpenter's actual contribution to our knowledge of Dante and his times thus came to be rather a fair promise than, in view of his wide learning and rare sympathy, a ripe fulfillment. His beginning indeed was brilliant. In the spring of 1888 he won the prize offered by this society with an essay entitled *The Episode of the Donna Pietosa, being an Attempt to reconcile the Statements in the Vita Nuova and the Convito concerning Dante's Life in the Years after the Death of Beatrice and before the Beginning of the Divina Commedia*. Of this essay an eminent Italian Dante scholar has written, "Più che un semplice saggio, ella è questa una dotta dissertazione che molto onora il Carpenter." The praise was certainly merited. Young Carpenter — he was only twenty-five — cut through the tangles of conflicting evidence and precarious surmise which had gathered about this crucial period of Dante's life with a clearness of vision and a sureness of touch only too rare among veteran scholars. And his argument, whether or no its conclusions be accepted, is one to be reckoned with still.

The essay at once won its author prominence in this society, which he served as secretary and treasurer from 1890 to 1893, and as vice president from 1893 to his voluntary retirement in 1904. He was

intrusted with the editing of the important *Documents concerning Dante's Public Life*, published in the tenth and eleventh annual reports of the society (1891-1892); and of C. S. Latham's translation of *Dante's Eleven Letters* (1891). During the winter of 1892-1893 he delivered a course of lectures at the Lowell Institute in Boston on early Italian lyric poetry. The substance of these he later, at Columbia University, incorporated into a course on the general development of European lyric poetry. For the *Columbia Literary Monthly*, April, 1895, he wrote on Lorenzo da Ponte, the earliest critic of Dante in America. In 1900 he translated and edited, for the Grolier Club of New York City, Boccaccio's *Life of Dante*.

Such, apart from occasional reviews of Italian books, is the sum of Carpenter's actual enunciation on Dante and on Italian literature, tantalizingly meager when we think what he, given opportunity, might have done. Yet if he was able to write but little of Dante, the influence of Dante is, I think, not obscurely felt in all his other writings and in his teaching. His style was austere direct and simple. Although generously prompt to probe through others' confused or imperfect expression of their underlying ideas, he refused to himself the privilege of being obscure. His final utterance was so simple, so natural, as to seem — to the common mind — commonplace; but the better informed his reader, the deeper and richer appeared the meaning. Yet with this instinct for clarity, this solicitude for filtering his thought into complete transparency, he combined an ever-present sense of realities, which, by taking thought however honestly and earnestly, we can but realize as through a glass darkly. In the sense that Dante was a mystic, he was a mystic. It was the mystic in him that drew him as a youth to the Hebrew writers, to Arabic, and to Dante, that gave him as a man a clew to the deeper things in Walt Whitman's poetry. It was the mystic in him, disciple of Dante, that made his beautiful clearness of thought placid and deep, never superficial or wholly seen through, like the clearness of shoal waters. Deeply though reticently religious, he lived the faith which Dante defines:

Fede è sustanzia di cose sperate,  
ed argomento delle non parventi.



# AMERICAN DANTE BIBLIOGRAPHY

May, 1896–May, 1908

(Supplementing the American Dante Bibliography compiled by T. W. Koch and published in the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Dante Society.)

COMPILED BY ETHEL DANE ROBERTS

NOTE. In continuing the bibliography begun by Mr. Koch I have followed in the main the lines laid down by him, with certain exceptions. I have made no attempt to include anything published outside of the United States, as in Canada, Mexico, or South America; consequently I have not included articles by or about American writers in foreign periodicals. I have chosen to enter reviews of books under the name of the reviewer when obtainable, whether the books reviewed were of American or foreign origin. Unsigned reviews I have noted under the book in question. I can hardly hope, however, to have included every unsigned review that has appeared.

As far as newspaper material is concerned, I have included all that I have found entered in the Cornell and Harvard catalogues and in the foreign bibliographies consulted, together with any other references of the sort that have come to my notice. I have made no systematic attempt to go farther than this.

With these reservations I have endeavored to include everything published in the United States since Mr. Koch's bibliography was printed. I am, of course, particularly indebted to the catalogue of the Dante collection at Cornell and to the various lists published by the Dante Society, which include the catalogue of the Harvard collection.

ETHEL DANE ROBERTS

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Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May		
17, 1910 . . . . .	<u>729.16</u>	
		\$1371.91

## BY-LAWS

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1. This Society shall be called the DANTE SOCIETY. Its object shall be the encouragement of the study of the Life and Works of Dante.

2. Any person desirous to become a member of this Society may do so by signifying his or her wish in writing to the Secretary, and by the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

3. An Annual Meeting for the election of officers shall be held at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of May, of which due notice shall be given to the members by the Secretary.

4. Special meetings may be held at any time appointed by vote of the members at the Annual Meeting, or by call from the President and Secretary.

5. The officers shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Librarian, who, together with three members thereto chosen, shall form the Council of the Society. All these officers shall be chosen at the Annual Meeting, and their term of service shall be for one year, or until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled for the remainder of the year by the Council.

6. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice President, or, in the absence of both, any member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council.

7. The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep a record of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, shall collect and receive all dues, and keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the Society, shall give notice of meetings, and shall perform all other duties appropriate to his office.

8. The Council shall hold meetings at such times as it may appoint, shall determine on the use to be made of the income of

the Society, shall endeavor to promote the special objects of the Society in such ways as may seem most appropriate, and shall make an annual report of their proceedings, including a full statement of accounts, at each Annual Meeting. This report shall be made in print for distribution to the members.

9. No officer of the Society shall be competent to contract debts in the name of the Society, and no expenditure shall be made without a vote of the Council.

10. A majority of the Council shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. Any person distinguished for his interest in the purposes of the Society, or who has rendered it valuable service, may be chosen an Honorary Member at any regular meeting of the Society, and shall be entitled to all its privileges without annual assessment.

12. The preceding rules may be changed at any time by unanimous vote of the Council.

## THE DANTE PRIZE

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The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars for the best essay by a student in any department of Harvard University, or by a graduate of not more than three years' standing, on a subject drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1910-1911 the following subjects were proposed:

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*
12. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
13. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
14. *A criticism of Torraca's edition of the Divina Commedia.*

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., on or before the *first day of May*.



Essayists are at liberty to write on any one of the subjects which have been proposed in the years during which the Dante Prize has been offered, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

On the title-page must be written an assumed name and a statement of the writer's standing, i.e. whether he is a graduate or an undergraduate (and of what college or university); if he is an undergraduate, to what class he belongs, and to what department of the college or university. Under cover with the essay must be sent a sealed letter containing the true name and address of the writer, and superscribed with his assumed name.

The essays must be written upon letter paper, of good quality, of the quarto size, with a margin of not less than one inch at the top, at the bottom, and on each side, so that they may be bound up without injury to the writing. The sheets on which the essay is written must be securely stitched together.

The judges of the essays are a committee of the Dante Society.

In case the judges decide that no essay submitted to them deserves the full prize, they are at liberty to award one or two prizes of fifty dollars, or to award no prize.

The Dante Society has the privilege of retaining and depositing in the Dante Collection of the Harvard College Library any or all essays offered in competition for the Dante Prize, whether successful or not.

Since its establishment the Dante Prize (in full or in part) has been awarded to the following persons :

HEINRICH CONRAD BIERWIRTH . . . . 1887.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas*.

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888.

For an essay entitled *The Interpretation and Reconciliation of the Different Accounts of his Experiences after the Death of Beatrice, given by Dante in the Vita Nuova and the Convito*.

CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM . . . . 1890.

For an essay entitled *A Translation into English of Dante's Letters, with Explanatory and Historical Comments*.

KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894.

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo*.

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Influence upon Spanish Literature during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*.

ANNETTE FISKE . . . . 1897.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to Old French and Provençal Lyric Poetry*.

ARTHUR NEWTON PEASLEE . . . . 1900.

For an essay entitled *A Metrical Rhyming Translation of the Three Canzoni of the Convito*.

HENRY LATIMER SEAVER . . . . 1901.

For an essay entitled *A Translation of the Canzoni in the Convito*.

ALAIN CAMPBELL WHITE . . . . 1902.

The Latham Prize for an essay entitled *A Translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra, and a Discussion of its Authenticity*.

ALPHONSO DE SALVIO . . . . 1902.

For an essay entitled *The Verse Endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch' erano appo gli altri dicatori usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS . . . . 1903.

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

CHANDLER RATHFON POST . . . . 1906.

For an essay entitled *The Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature*.

ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS . . . . 1907.

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova*.

RALPH HAYWARD KENISTON . . . . 1909.

For an essay entitled *The Dante Tradition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*.

## ANNUAL REPORT

The twenty-ninth annual meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday evening, May 17, 1910, at the residence of Professor Sheldon, in Cambridge. The usual reports of officers and committees were presented, and other routine business was transacted. All the officers were reëlected for the ensuing year.

There was some discussion of the advisability of holding, from time to time, special meetings of the Society, and the matter was referred to the Council with a favorable recommendation. During the following year one such special meeting was held, by invitation of Mrs. Gardner, at Fenway Court. Professor Grandgent read a portion of the address he delivered in 1910 in Or San Michele, in Florence, and an opportunity was given to members to examine Mrs. Gardner's Dante collection.

The editors of the Latin Concordance, at the meeting in May, 1910, were able to report that the work was nearly ready for the press. At the present date of writing, the printing is far advanced, and it is expected that copies will be ready for distribution in the winter. Members who have not yet subscribed for the volume may still send their subscriptions to the Secretary, who can also supply copies of Professor Sheldon's Concordance, to members only, for the original subscription price of seven dollars.

Of the papers printed with the present Report, two have reference to the new Concordance and are contributed by the editors. Dr. Wilkins explains the method of its compilation, and Professor Rand, in an essay, part of which he read at the annual meeting in 1910, discusses the evidence furnished by the Concordance on questions of authorship and chronology. Professor Grandgent contributes explanatory notes on the Divine Comedy, and Dr. Toynbee publishes a version, hitherto not examined or discussed, of Bruni's lives of Dante and Petrarch.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

*Secretary*

AUGUST 20, 1911

## METHODS IN MAKING A CONCORDANCE

The editors of the concordance to the Latin works of Dante have come to the end of their task with a strong belief in the value of concordances, an entire willingness to leave to others the carrying on of the good work, and a certain stock of opinions as to methods in concordance-making which it seems desirable to record here for the possible benefit of future laborers.

With regard to the functions proper to a concordance we are entirely in agreement with the opinions expressed by Professor McKenzie in a recent report of this society: <sup>1</sup> a concordance may enable one who has in mind part or all of a phrase to ascertain readily the whole phrase and its location; it may serve as a register of the author's linguistic usage; and it may provide a full index of the subjects treated in the work or works covered. The value of the second function is illustrated in the accompanying article by Professor Rand. The value of the third may be instanced by the control of Dante's ideas as to the freedom of the will afforded by the series of articles *liber* to *libertate* in the three Dante concordances.

Among the problems best decided before the actual beginning of registration is that as to whether the several forms of an inflected word shall be presented in different groups or under a single heading: for example, whether the forms *aberat*, *abesse*, *absit*, and *absum* shall have each a separate article, or be grouped all under *absum*. Professor Fay in the *Concordance of the Divina Commedia* followed the first method; Professor Sheldon, in the concordance to Dante's minor Italian works, the second. We hold strongly with Professor Sheldon and Professor McKenzie <sup>2</sup> for the second method. It is an open question whether the first or second method better serves the first of the three concordance functions, and the second and third functions are much better served by the second method.

<sup>1</sup> *Means and End in making a Concordance*, in the *Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Dante Society* (for 1906), p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 35-40 of the article referred to.

Most words in a concordance have a line of context given for each occurrence. Such treatment is, however, obviously inappropriate for the common pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and certain other particles. The question as to what words shall receive less than complete treatment, and as to the extent and manner of treatment to be accorded them, is a difficult one. Full context should be given for all words which a user of the concordance might select as means of identification of a given passage, and for all words of any rarity in the work or works treated. For words of merely linguistic interest, in general, a complete series of references without context should be given. Such words, however, often assume a special importance, as for example *quia* in "State contenti, umana gente, al *quia*" (*Purgatorio* iii. 37), or in "Scientes *quia* rationale animal homo est" (*De vulgari eloquentia* ii. 10. 1). Such occurrences should have full context. To the occurrences thus allowed full context may well be added a few others typical of the author's general use of the word. Other occurrences of distinct but minor linguistic interest, for which brief context is sufficient, may well be registered in parentheses following the line references. This treatment is especially appropriate for favorite combinations of particles and for brief stock phrases. A series of articles containing such parentheses will afford intimate acquaintance with the author's linguistic individuality. Words of this type should therefore have in the concordance two divisions: a first division consisting of a series of occurrences with full context, and a second division consisting of a series of line references, some of which are followed by parentheses. A very few words, finally, are of such frequent occurrence that a student investigating their usage would find a list of references of no advantage. For these words occurrences of special importance should be registered, and the others disregarded. The only words so treated in our concordance are *et*, the relative *qui*, and *sum*. An initial decision as to which words shall receive which treatment can hardly be more than tentative. It should err rather by assigning too many than too few to the class not receiving full context, and rather by assigning too few than too many to the class of those to be in general disregarded.

The propriety of according treatment to direct quotations appearing in the work or works in question has been doubted. We feel that they



should be treated. Quotations in indirect discourse or in partial paraphrase are necessarily treated; it seems illogical not to extend the same treatment to direct quotations. Moreover, a user of the concordance might very possibly desire to determine the form or location of a quotation, and the content of a quotation often adds to our knowledge of the author's knowledge of a given subject, or illuminates his linguistic usage. In the registration of words occurring in a direct quotation the fact of such occurrence should in some way be noted. In the case of words having full context, the quotation marks should be retained as in the text. In the case of words for which references only are given, the line reference in question may be included in quotation marks.

The cards for use in the preparation of a concordance should be plain rather than ruled, and about six inches by two inches in size. Before the actual work of registration is begun, a rough estimate of the number of words in each chapter (or equivalent subdivision) should be made; then for each chapter a number of cards equal to the estimated number of words in that chapter should be stamped in the lower left-hand corner with a reference consisting of the abbreviated name of the work (if more than one work is treated), the book or part, and the chapter: for example, for the first chapter of the *De vulgari eloquentia* 200 cards should be stamped *V.E.* i. 1. This work, of course, may be done by an assistant without special knowledge.

Next, each word in the text (except the very few that are to be disregarded) should be registered on a card by writing in the upper left-hand corner the word in question in its proper index form (nominative singular, present infinitive, or present indicative first singular, as the case may be), and adding to the stamped book and chapter reference in the lower left-hand corner the proper line reference. This work may be done by an assistant who writes a clear hand and has enough linguistic knowledge to reduce the words to the proper index form. The accuracy and completeness of the work thus done should then be verified. It will prove more economical, both in time and in mental energy, to verify first the index forms on the whole series of cards and then the line references on the whole series of cards, than to verify card by card first with regard to the index form and second with regard to the line reference. This verification should be done by two persons, one reading from the text, the other handling the cards.

The next step should be, in our opinion, the insertion of the context upon all cards except those for words to which it has been tentatively decided to accord less than complete treatment. The writing of the contexts while the cards are in textual order rather than after alphabetization makes it possible to deal once for all with particular difficulties in thought and in syntax, and facilitates consistency in the treatment of similarly conditioned words.

The context for a single occurrence should not be so long as to run over one line in the printed concordance. A maximum length must be decided upon: with us it was 64 letters, — roughly, a line and a half of the Oxford Dante. It is desirable that all contexts should approach fairly closely the maximum length, since, if they do, the use of leaders on the printed page will be unnecessary, and the right-hand edge of the column of contexts will be agreeably even. In case a word occurs twice within a passage which is twice the length of the standard context passage, we think it wise, in most cases, to make the context for the two occurrences continuous, indenting the second line of it, rather than to divide the passage into two separate contexts.

In the writing of contexts, the use of omission dots is often necessary, but should be limited as strictly as possible, since the user of the concordance, if confronted with a context containing omission dots, is likely to have the fear that the portion of text omitted may contain something which concerns him. It will save much space to denote omission not by three dots but by two, as in the Oxford English Dictionary and in Mr. Rayner Storr's *Concordance to the De Imitatione Christi*.<sup>1</sup>

We think it unwise to rely upon assistants, however competent, to do the original writing of the contexts. Before the cards for our concordance were given into our hands, nearly all the contexts had been written out, some fifty assistants sharing the work. With all due appreciation of the generosity with which this work was done, we judge that it cost us more time and energy to correct, standardize, and revise the work thus presented, than it would have taken to do the work ourselves in the first place. If assistants are to be employed at all for the writing of contexts, it should be only after the editors have done enough of the work to have established certain well-defined principles of context selection; and even so, the assistant should work under the direct supervision of an editor.

<sup>1</sup> Oxford, 1910.

If principles of context selection change considerably in the course of the work, as is very likely to be the case, a revision of the contexts should follow immediately upon the completion of their original registration.

In the alphabetization, colored cards with projecting caps should be used to head the several articles, each colored card having written upon the cap the word in question in its index form.

Immediately after alphabetization, the words to which it was tentatively decided to accord less than complete treatment should be studied; final decision should be reached as to which of these words, if any, should be accorded full treatment; and, in the case of the remaining words, decision should be reached as to which occurrences should be accorded full context, which accorded parenthetical treatment, and which indicated by reference only.

The concordance should then be typewritten on the largest available size of typewriter paper. This expense we think fully justified: it insures the existence of the concordance in duplicate, it affords a clear copy for the typesetter, and it enables the editors to standardize the several articles and to anticipate the look of the printed page far better than can be done with cards.

The first context of each article should be typewritten upon the same line as the caption of the article, since this arrangement is necessary on the printed page in order to avoid expensive waste of space. In case the combined length of a caption and an initial context is so great as to make the context run over the line, the length of the context should be reduced in the final revision referred to below.

The typewriting once done, a careful verification of its accuracy should follow, one person reading from the cards and another following the typewriting, or vice versa. This work can be done by competent assistants.

There should then follow a final revision of the concordance, with the particular object of attaining consistency in treatment within each article.

E. H. WILKINS



# THE LATIN CONCORDANCE OF DANTE AND THE GENUINENESS OF CERTAIN OF HIS LATIN WORKS

Recent scholarship is surely tending to the view that *Epistola* x and the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra* are genuine works of Dante. I need not repeat the arguments set forth by Moore, Shadwell, White, Boffito, Biagi, and others; I wish to confirm them, so far as may be, by an appeal to the Concordance of Dante's Latin works which Dr. Wilkins and I are about to publish. Further, I should like to show that the evidence there accessible fits better with the theory that the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (= *V.E.*), *Epistola* x (= *Ep.* x), *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra* (= *A.T.*), *De Monarchia* (= *M.*), were written in the order indicated than in any other order. On different grounds, other scholars have reached the same conclusion. For instance, — I am attempting no elaborate bibliography here, — Wicksteed and Howell<sup>1</sup> assign *V.E.* to the year 1304; *Ep.* x is placed by different scholars between the years 1316 and 1319;<sup>2</sup> *A.T.* must have been written shortly after the subject of the treatise was discussed by the author at Verona, January 20, 1320, which date the work itself gives us. The date of *M.* is the most mooted of all. Some put it fairly early, as Wicksteed and Howell<sup>3</sup> who decide tentatively for 1309, but others<sup>4</sup> regard it as a work of the last years of Dante's life (1318–1321). One bit of evidence on which the last-named theory depends may be corroborated, I believe, by the Concordance.

<sup>1</sup> *A Translation of the Latin Works of Dante*, 1904, p. 119. See also Paget Toynbee, *A Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matter in the Works of Dante*, Oxford, 1898, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> See Moore, *Studies in Dante*, Third Series, 1903, p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 289.

<sup>4</sup> See Scartazzini, *Enciclopedia dantesca*, 1898–1899, vol. ii, p. 1268, and also various references in Pasquale Villari, *Il "De Monarchia" di Dante Alighieri in Nuova Antologia*, vol. xlv (1911), pp. 393 ff. Villari himself thinks books i and ii were written in 1300 and book iii after 1308. There is no support for this theory in the evidence which I offer in the present article.

In *M.* i. 12. 42, Dante apparently makes a direct reference to the *Paradiso*. He remarks:

Hoc viso, iterum manifestum esse potest, quod haec libertas, sive principium hoc totius libertatis nostrae, est maximum donum humanae naturae a Deo colatum, *sicut in Paradiso Comediae iam dixi*; quia per ipsum hic felicitamur, ut homines, per ipsum alibi felicitamur, ut Dii.

So read Witte's manuscripts, save that in two of them — P (saec. XIV) and F (saec. XV) — lacunæ are indicated, showing apparently that part of the reference to the *Paradiso* was erased, either by the writers of these manuscripts or, perhaps, by those of their originals. F has *sicut in . . . quia*; P has *sicut . . . commedie iam dixi, quia*.

Now Marsilio Ficino in his translation of 1467 has nothing at all for the phrase *sicut . . . dixi*, and the early editions, of which the earliest appeared in 1559, have not the clause. Witte thinks that merely the words *sicut dixi* are genuine, and he is followed by Moore. The real reference, Witte states, is not to the *Paradiso*, but to the beginning of this very chapter of the *Monarchia*, where Dante has declared *primum principium nostrae libertatis est libertas arbitrii*. But beyond the repetition of these words which state the proposition proved in the first part of the chapter, there is no reference to it in the later sentence. Nothing has been said before about "the greatest gift conferred by God on man," to which sentiment the *sicut dixi* applies. If now we turn to *Paradiso* v. 19 ff., we find an unmistakable connection.

Lo maggior don, che Dio per sua larghezza  
Fesse creando, ed alla sua bontate  
Più conformato, e quel ch'ei più apprezza,  
Fu della volontà la libertate,  
Di che le creature intelligenti  
E tutte e sole furo e son dotate.

This much is cited by Witte. Perhaps we may go a bit further and see in the concluding clause of the Latin passage, *quia . . . alibi felicitamur, ut Dii*, an allusion to the last part of the same canto, where Beatrice and Dante come upon a thousand radiant beings replete with divine love, and Beatrice tells him to "Speak, speak securely and trust even as to gods." If Dante has not in mind this passage in the *Paradiso*, which is altogether apposite, his reference is most puzzling; for there is no other passage which is apposite, certainly none in *M.*



If Witte wanted to omit anything, he should have cast out the entire clause, *sicut . . . dixi*, as Ficino and the early editors did. But why did they? Not necessarily because prompted thereto by critical or hypercritical acumen. They both might well have had manuscripts in which some such mutilation had occurred as we find in F and P. Unable to make any meaning out of the remnant of the clause, they left it out entirely. That would be a critical procedure quite in keeping with the practice of those times. That the omission in the manuscripts was due to accident rather than hypercriticism is shown by its fragmentary nature. I submit, therefore, that it is incumbent upon us to accept this reference at its face value until it has been absolutely proved worthless. That, however, is not the case. I will not deny that the problem needs further investigation and that, in particular, the relation of the different manuscripts to one another should be fixed. As F and P seem clearly related elsewhere, I am tempted to trace their different mutilations of the *sicut . . . dixi* clause to an original mutilation, or obscurity, in their common archetype, from which the manuscripts used for the *editio princeps* and likewise for Ficino's translation descended. But, again, this part of the subject demands fresh treatment.

Meanwhile, let us appeal to the Concordance to see if there is any reason why Dante could not have said *sicut in Paradiso Comediae iam dixi*. We find, first of all, that he uses a *sicut* clause of this sort not infrequently in all the four works (*V.E.*, *Ep.* x, *A.T.*, *M.*), when referring to the works of another writer. Thus:

*sicut dicit* Thomas in tertio suo contra Gentiles (*M.* ii. 4. 5); *sicut dixit* Philosophus in secundo Metaphysicorum (*Ep.* x. 101).

Further, he uses the phrase in referring to his own works, or at least to the work in which the phrase appears:

*Sicut inferius ostendimus* (*V.E.* i. 8. 24); *sicut inferius ostendimus* (*V.E.* i. 12. 55); *sicut dictum est* (*V.E.* i. 14. 21); *sicut in superioribus est peractum* (*M.* iii. 2. 2).

Now I will not deny that an interpolator might notice this habit of Dante's and observe it in his own interpolation, or that, unconscious of Dante's usage, he might have happened to adopt it. But I am specially interested to note that the phrase is *sicut . . . dixi*, and not the plural, *sicut . . . diximus*. If it were the latter, there would be a distinct



probability that the words are spurious. How so, one may ask, when we have just observed the plural in two passages from the *V.E.*? The facts are as follows, and they may be seen in the Concordance under *nos*, *ego*, *noster*, and *meus*.

In *V.E.* the word *ego* occurs just once, and does not refer to Dante. He uses it in an illustration: *ut: Piget me cunctis pietate maiore*, etc. (*V.E.* ii. 6. 36). But Dante tells us about himself not infrequently in *V.E.* He uses for the purpose the plural *nos*, which occurs thirty-eight times. One of these instances is a quotation. In some of the others the word has a general sense, "we men in general," and sometimes includes both the author and his readers, whom he has invited to join him in an imaginary hunt for the *vulgare illustre*. But in about twenty cases it refers clearly to Dante himself. A specially good illustration is *Nos cui mundus est patria* (i. 6. 17), where the plural *nos* is followed by the singular relative. The same holds true for *noster*, while *meus* does not occur at all. The same holds true for *dico*, for which he always has *dicimus*. Other verbs in the first person are plural, though there may be an exception or two besides the rather striking one I have noticed:

*Nec dubitandum reor modo in eo quod diximus temporum, sed potius opinamur tenendum* (*V.E.* i. 9. 60).

Now in all his other works, — and I think that however their order be determined, few would object to calling them later than *V.E.*, — there is only *one* occurrence of this usage, i.e. *Ep.* x. 85:

*Sed zelus gloriae vestrae, quam sitio, nostrum parvipendens* ("But zeal for your glory [i.e. that of Can Grande], for which I thirst, recking little of my own.")

*Nos* and *noster* occur elsewhere in *Ep.* x, *A.T.*, and *M.*, but always in the general, never in the special, sense. Thus:

*Hoc etiam est insinuat nobis* in Matthaeo ("We are given to understand," *Ep.* x. 548); in die Solis . . . quem . . . Salvator . . . *nobis* innuit venerandum (*A.T.* 24. 19); licet ostensa sit *nobis* haec ab humana ratione, quae per philosophus *nobis* innotuit (*M.* iii. 16. 65, 66).

When Dante wishes to say "I" in his later works, he used *ego*, though that word and *meus* are used very rarely in all of them, apart from quotations, which of course do not concern us here. So though I have not proved that Dante must have written the *sicut* . . . *dixi* clause, I could at

least congratulate an interpolator on not having said *sicut . . . diximus*. Surely the burden of proof lies altogether on those who would expunge the words from the text, and as no real proof has appeared, we have a right to draw from the words the chronological inferences which they contain.

I will assume, then, that the *Monarchia* was written in Dante's later period, at least after the fifth canto of the *Paradiso* was written. Other scholars have placed it there on other grounds, particularly for various connections with the subject matter of the *Paradiso*; if it is put as late as this, nothing compels us to place it before rather than after *A.T.* I am inclined to place it after, for a reason that will later appear, and thus to regard it as the last of all Dante's works.

Supposing, then, as others have done, that *V.E.*, *Ep. x*, *A.T.*, and *M.* were written in the order in which I have named them, I will appeal to various stylistic peculiarities not to prove this order, but to show at least that it is plausible. Proof is impossible. An array of peculiarities common to *A.T.* and *M.* does not necessarily prove that the two treatises were written in the same period; these peculiarities may depend merely on the nature of the subject treated. But it is at least possible that similar habits of mind resulting in similar traits of expression were not far separated in point of time. I think I can show, that, granting the chronological order assumed by others, the various stylistic evidence makes for that order rather than any other; and whatever value this point of the discussion may have, I am confident that the material soon to be accessible in the Concordance will establish beyond cavil the weighty arguments already adduced for the genuineness of *Ep. x* and *A.T.*

One point deserves special emphasis at the outset. *A.T.* was first published by Moncetti in 1508; the manuscript which he professed to have used is not extant to-day. The author of the work both at the beginning and at the end declares himself as Dante. If the work is really spurious, we are concerned with a deliberate forgery, not merely a case of mistaken attribution on the part of either the original scribe or Moncetti. If, then, the work is a forgery, it is more probable that Moncetti is the guilty person than that in his innocence he happened to find what some one else had forged either in his own day or at some earlier period. I will not deny the possibility of such a circumstance, but it is extremely improbable. Our most natural dilemma is that *A.T.* is either the fiction of Moncetti or a genuine work of Dante.

The case is exactly the same with *Ep.* x. That was first published by Baruffaldi in 1700, but he surely did not invent it; it is found in its entirety in three manuscripts of the fifteenth century, and the introductory part (§§ 1-4) is found in two manuscripts of the fifteenth century. The first mention of the letter is probably that of Villani at the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Now in the salutation of the letter the author purports to be Dante, and even granting that this salutation might be a later addition, a writer who gives an elaborate description of the third part of a poem of his which he calls *Cantica tertia Comoediae Dantis, quae dicitur Paradisus* (l. 257) evidently either is or assumes to be Dante. So, as with *A.T.*, the hypothesis of mistaken attribution must be ruled out at the start. Either this letter is a forgery by Villani or some other writer of the fourteenth century, or it is the authentic work of Dante.<sup>2</sup>

By "stylistic evidence" I mean not merely coincidence in noticeable phrases. For instance, in *M.* (i. 14. 78) we have the phrase *cum Deus velit quod melius est*, and in *A.T.* (13. 39) *cum Deus et natura semper faciat et velit quod melius est*, the combination *Deus et natura* occurring also in several places in *M.* A coincidence of this sort is interesting, but not a proof of authorship, since the phrase is just what an imitator, seeking to give his forgery verisimilitude, would notice. We must find, if possible, indubitable traits of a minor nature which no imitator could detect, and which therefore bespeak the genuineness of the work. Again, I will not say prove. Stylistics and statistics taken alone must be handled with the utmost caution. Added, however, to the other varieties of evidence in our problem, they come as near to certainty as human methods can. Approaches to an investigation of this sort have been given by Moore,<sup>3</sup> and by Biagi in his recent and very elaborate edition of *A.T.* (1907), which he concludes with a word-index, apparently complete except for some of the minor words, giving parallel passages or phrases in the other works of Dante; in this undertaking he found the concordance of Fiammazzo valuable. The result shows, he declares, *la perfetta identità*

<sup>1</sup> For the above facts, see Boffito's edition, 1907, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I am neglecting, as I think I have a right to neglect in the present discussion, theories of a composite origin of *Ep.* x. See Moore, *Studies in Dante*, Third Series, pp. 347 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Studies in Dante*, Second Series, 1899, pp. 346 ff.; Third Series, pp. 324 ff.

*lessicale e sintattica* between *A.T.* and the other works. This perfect identity may be still more minutely shown.

I will treat the subject under two heads: 1, Dante's vocabulary; 2, his constructions. As a preliminary, we should note that the works under discussion differ in length, but that if we take for comparison not the entire *M.* or *V.E.*, but the books of these works, the units in question will be more nearly commensurable. Thus *M.* i has ten pages of Moore's edition; ii, ten and a half; iii, thirteen and a half; *V.E.* i, eleven and a half; ii, ten and a half; *Ep.* x, six and a half; *A.T.* eight. It will be seen that even when so considered we have smaller amounts of text in *Ep.* x and *A.T.* than in a book of *M.* or *V.E.* and hence should not expect so many instances of any given peculiarity. We have enough material for profitable investigation, however. The pages in Moore are closely printed. In the *editio princeps*, in which likewise no space is lost, *A.T.* takes up thirteen and a half pages. I will not always apportion my statistics to the different books, but the reader should keep these general proportions in mind.

Coming first to the vocabulary of the Latin works, we must remember above all that a genius like Dante is bound to vary his phraseology. If it were true that all the words in *A.T.* and *Ep.* x occurred elsewhere in Dante, that would indicate the spuriousness rather than the genuineness of those treatises. Let us begin by testing as specimens the Latin words, whatever their nature, that begin with A, and note those that are found only in some one of the different works. I do not consider here the Latin quotations in Dante's Italian works. The number of occurrences, if greater than one, is indicated in the parentheses after each word.

#### ECL. I

*abscondo, adusque, alveolus, Aonius, astricola, attritus* = 6.

#### ECL. II

*acernus, Achaemenides, Acis, Adria, Aemilis, Aetna, Aetnaeus, Aetnicus, agrestis, Alphesiboeus, alumnus, ango, annosus* (2), *aridus, arrideo, arundo, arundineus, arvum, avidus* = 19.

#### ECL. I AND II

*anhelus* (2), *armentum* (2). Total for *Ecl.* = 27.

## M. I

*abeo*, *abstractum*, *acceptabilior* (2), *acceptabilissimus*, *actuo* (2), *acuo*, *adulescentia*, *aegroto*, *agibilis*, *agito*, *albedo*, *algor*, *amplior* (2), *analytice*, *ancillor*, *apprehendo* (2), *apprehensivus*, *Arago*, *aristocraticus*, *assequor* (2), *auxiliatio*, *Averrois* = 22.

## M. II

*abrumbo*, *Abydos*, 'acerbe,' 'acies,' *adoptio*, 'adveho,' *adversor*, *Aeacides*, *Aeneis* (2), 'aes,' *aestivus*, 'aethereus,' *Afri*, *Africa* (6), *Africanus* (2), *agon*, *agonista*, *Albanus* (3), *altrinsecus*, 'amabilis,' *amissio*, *Anchises*, *ancile* (2), *Andromache*, *anhelo*, *Antaeus* (2), *ante adv.*, *approbo*, *aptus*, *arbiter*, 'ardentior,' *artificiose*, *Assaracus*, *assentio*, *Assyrius*, 'asto,' *Atalanta*, *athleta* (6), *athletizo* (3), *athlotheta*, 'Atlantis,' 'auratus,' *Ausonia*, 'Ausonius,' *avia*, *avus* (2) = 46.

## M. III

*abnego*, *absolute* (3), *absumo*, *abundanter*, *abundantia*, *accidentalis*, 'acuso,' *acquiesco*, *adeptio*, *adhibeo*, *advoco* (3), *aequivalentia*, *aequivaleo* (4), *afficio*, 'affluens,' *Agatho*, *alienatio*, *alieno* (2), *altar*, *altercatio*, *annihilo*, *apostema*, *applico*, *archipresbyter*, *architectus*, *areola*, *Asianus*, 'attexo,' *auctorizo* (6), *auditio*, 'azyma' = 31.

## M. I AND II

*acquirō* (7), *aestus* (2), *annexus* (2).

## M. I AND III

*activus* (2), *ambitus* (7), *assimilo* (3), *aureus* (2).

## M. II AND III

*adiuvo* (5), *artifex* (4). Total for *M.* = 108.

## V.E. I

*abmotim*, *accentuo*, *accola*, *acerbitas* (2), *adiectio*, *adinvenio* (2), *admoveo*, *Aduaticus* (2), *adultus*, *advena* (2), *advenio*, *adverbium*, *aedificatio* (2), *aequator*, *aequo*, *aetas*, *affirmo* (4), *Alamania*, *Alamannus*, *Alexandria*, *allego*, *allubesco*, *alteratio*, *alterno*, *altriplex*, *Alvernia*, *ambages*, *amentia*, *amicabilis*, *amoenior*, *amoveo*, *amussis*, *Anconitanus* (3), *Anglia*, *Anglicus* (2), *angulus* (2), *anterioritas*, *antiquior*, *apocopo*, *Apulia*, *Apulus* (5), *Aquileiensis* (2), *Aragonia*, *architector n.*, *architector vb.*, *argumentor* (2), *Arturus*, *aspiro*, *associo*, *assuefacio*, *assuefio*, *asylum*, *audacter*, *augustus*, *avidissimus*, *Azzo* = 56.

## V.E. II

*accensio, acutus, additio, admissio, aemulor, Aeneidorum* (2), *aequalitas* (3), *allevio, alloquor, alterus, angelicus, animalis* (2), *antecedens* adj., *aporio, appendo, Aquinum, armonia* (2), *armonizo* (6), *Arnaldus* (5), *artificiatus, ascensus* (2), *asper, aspiratio, astripetus, aulice, austeritas* = 26.

## V.E. I AND II

*accentus* (4), *amplissimus* (2), *anterior* (2), *Arctinus* (4), *arrogro* (2), *assiduitas* (2) = 6. Total for V.E. = 88.

## EP. I

*adiaceo, affectuosissimus, affluentia, Albus, attento* = 5.

## EP. II

*alipes.*

## EP. III

*abstineo, assiduus.*

## EP. IV

*acceptus.*

## EP. V

'*acceptabilis*,' *affectuosius, agellus, alba, almus, Alpes, amplexor, ancillor, animositas, anne, annuo, Argus, arrigo, assurgo* (2), *attenuo* = 15.

## EP. VI

*advento, advolo, aedificium, altissime, amarissime, amens, antiquitas, Aprilis, aries, armo, arrogantia, atqui, augustalis, avolo* = 14.

## EP. VII

*accumulo, Agag* (2), *aggrego, Alcides, alimentum, allicio, Amalech* (3), *Amata, Amos, amplexus, amputatio, angustissimus, angustus, arbor, area, aresco, ascio, assevero, avello* = 19.

## EP. VIII

*abigo, abominabilis, abvium, accuratissime, aestimo, aeternitas, affigo, aggenero, Alcimus, Ambrosius, ara, aranea, arca* (2, 'I'), *aspergo* n., *astronomus, auriga* = 16.

## EP. IX

*absolutio, affectuose.*



## EP. X

*absolutus, accuratus, admirabilitas* (2), *allecturus, allegoria* (2), *allegoricus* (2), *alleon, A(lpha), amicitia* (7, '1'), *amodo, anagogicus, analogia, analogus, angustia, Apollo* (3), *ascensio, attentio, attentus* (2), *attollo, auditor* (2) = 20.

## A.T.

*accessus, adaequatio* (5), *adimitor, aequivoce* (2), *altior* (20), *antarcticus, Antepredicamenta, apparentia, appensio, arcticus, astrologus, attractio, attraho* = 13.

The above list shows that *Ep. x* and *A.T.* agree with the accepted works in their use of a dozen words or more which occur nowhere else in Dante. The number of such words varies considerably in the different books of the accepted works; *Ep. x* in proportion to its size has more than *M. i* and less than *M. ii*. *A.T.* has a sufficient number, though less, as we might expect from the subject, than in any book of *V.E.* or *M.* The longer letters show a high proportion, but *Ep. iv*, most probably genuine, has in its page of text only one word not elsewhere used.

I now subjoin a list of words which illustrates Dante's general vocabulary and which shows that *Ep. x* and *A.T.* conform to the accepted works in the use of words and senses, whether frequent or rare, in Dante. I do not include everything here, but aim especially to show Dante's use of minor words and particles and his technical phraseology — his argumentative apparatus — though some words here registered do not come under this heading. Each word occurs in at least three of the four works and sometimes elsewhere. If a word occurs in *Ep. x* but not in *A.T.*, *Ep. x* is added in parenthesis; *A.T.* is added if the word occurs there but not in *Ep. x*; if no work is mentioned in parenthesis, the word occurs in both *Ep. x* and *A.T.* In a few cases, e.g. *amplius*, more exact statements are made. If the word is printed in italics, it occurs not more than five times in any of the works in which it appears. If it is in black roman type, it occurs from six to fifteen times in some one of the works; if in black italic type, sixteen to twenty-five times; if in capitals, over twenty-five times. "Arg." denotes a logical or argumentative term, "phil." a philosophical term.

*Accedo* (*Ep. x*), *accipio* (arg., *Ep. x*), *actus* (*A.T.*), *adduco* (arg., *Ep. x*), *adhuc* (arg., rare; frequent in St. Thomas Aquinas), *agens, ago* (arg. and phil.), *aliqualis* (*Ep. x*; cf. *aliqua-liter M., V.E.*), *aliquando, amplius* (arg., rare; *M., Epp. iii, vi*; frequent in St. Thomas Aquinas), *apparet* (arg.), *appello*,



**argumentum**, **asserō** (Ep. x), **coepio** (A.T.), **communiter**, **CONSEQUENS** (*per consequens* and *consequens est* in all four), **considero**, **deinde**, **denique**, **destructio** (arg.), **differentia** (A.T.), **e** (rare; generally in the phrase *e converso*, which occurs in all four works), **efficio** (A.T.), **elementum**, **eo quod**, **equidem** (A.T.), **evidentia** (only in the phrase *ad evidentiam*; cf. *evidens* M., *evidenter* M., V.E.), **existimo** (Ep. x), **exordium** (Ep. x), **extra**, **facilior** (Ep. x), **frustra** (A.T.), **gradus**, **huiusmodi**, **ibi**, **IDEM**, **ideo**, **immediate** (Ep. x; cf. *immediatus* M., V.E.), **immo**, **impossibilis**, **inferius** adv. (A.T.), **influo** (phil.), **innuo** (arg.), **inspicio** (arg.), **INTENDO**, **intra** (Ep. x), **intueor** (arg., A.T.), **invicem** (Ep. x), **ita** (rare), **magis**, **manifesto** vb., **materia**, **melius** adv. (Ep. x), **minus** (A.T.), **minus**, **MODUS** (*nullo modo* M., V.E., A.T.; *per modum* with genitive in all four works), **motor** (phil.), **motus**, **multo** (A.T.), **NATURA**, **naturalis**, **ne**, **NEC**, **neque** (very rare), **nihil**, **nil** (rarer than *nihil*; Ep. x), **nonne** (rather poetical, Ecl., M. ii, V.E., Epp. v, vi, vii, ix, x), **nonnullus** (Ep. x), **nosco** (Ep. x), **nunc** (arg.), **numquid**, **omitto** (arg.), **oppositum** (arg., A.T.), **OSTENDO**, **philosophia**, **philosophor** (A.T.), **plus** (very rare; Ep. x), **pono** (arg.), **POST** prep., **postquam** (rare; Ep. x), **potius**, **praefatus** (A.T.), **praemitto** (arg., Ep. x), **praenoto** (arg.), **praesens**, **praeter**, **praeterea** (rare; A.T.), **primo** (*primum* is very rare, see list for V.E. and M., p. 31), **principaliter** (Ep. x), **PRINCIPIUM**, **prior** (A.T.), **prius**, **procedo** (arg. and phil.), **propono** incl. *propositum* (arg.), **PROPRIUS**, **proptereaquod**, **QUAERO**, **quaestio** (A.T.), **qualis** (rare), **quantitas**, **quantumcumque** (Ep. x), **quilibet**, **quidem** (Ep. x), **QUI QUIDEM**, **quin** (rare; M. but none in bk. i, V.E., Epp. v, vi, vii, viii), **quippe** (Ep. x), **quisquam** (rare; Ep. x), **quisque** (rare; Ep. x), **quo**, **quomodo** (rare; Ep. x), **quoniam** (rare; Ep. x), **RATIO**, **recipio** (arg. and phil.), **recte** (A.T.), **requiro**, **RES** (phil.), **respectus** (*per respectum ad* V.E., Ep. x, A.T.), **saltem** (A.T.), **satis**, **scientia**, **scio** (in two thirds of the instances, the gerundive *sciendum* is found; Ep. x and A.T. conform), **scribo** (introducing quotations), **secundo**, **semper**, **sensus**, **sermo**, **seu** (rare, see *sive*; Ep. x), **SICUT**, **significo** (Ep. x), **similis**, **similiter**, **similitudo**, **simplex** (cf. *simplicissimus* V.E., *simplicitas* M., V.E.), **simpliciter**, **simul**, **singulus** (A.T.), **SIVE** (cf. *seu*), **soleo** (A.T.), **species** (A.T.), **speculor** (Ep. x), **spiritualis** (Ep. x), **SUB**, **subiectum**, **substantia**, **subtiliter** (A.T.), **sufficienter** (A.T.; cf. *sufficiens* A.T., *sufficiencia* M., V.E.), **sufficio**, **super** (rare; *super* = *de* is very rare), **superius**, **talis**, **tam** (rare, generally *tam . . . quam*), **tango** (arg.), **TANTUS**, **teneo** (arg.), **totaliter**, **tractatus**, **tum** (rare; A.T.), **tunc** (a bit more frequent than *tum*), **ubique**, **ulterius**, **universum**, **universus**, **unusquisque** (A.T.), **usque** (A.T.), **utrum** (A.T.), **VEL** (cf. *aut*), **vere** (A.T.), **VERITAS**, **verso** vb. (Ep. x), **VERO** (*verum* very rare; Ecl. ii, M. i, ii, Epp. vi, vii, x), **VERUS**, **via** "method" (arg., A.T.), **virtus** = *potentia* (phil.), **volo** (arg.).

Having shown sufficiently by testing Dante's Latin vocabulary that *Ep. x* and *A.T.* conform in this regard to accepted works, let me now refer

to various constructions in which they all manifest a striking similarity. I will begin with *si*.

*Si* occurs in each of the seven books between twenty and sixty times. The indicative is used in a simple condition, protasis and apodosis, in all the books. Conditions contrary to fact, with imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive, occur in all the works save *Ep.* x. A usage not common in classical Latin is that of the indicative in the apodosis and the present subjunctive in the protasis.<sup>1</sup> Thus:

*si contingat peccatum in forma artis, materiae imputandum est* (*M.* ii. 2. 22).

This present subjunctive is clearly not the less vivid future, but hortatory or concessive. The indicative of the apodosis is generally either future, or some form implying future time, like the gerundive. A favorite formula in *M.* is *si* with *considero*, e.g. *si enim consideremus unum hominem . . . videbimus* (*M.* i. 5. 22). This appears in *V.E.* also, which work and *Ep.* x have *inspicio* in the same sense. In *M.* the apodosis is almost always of the nature described. In *V.E.* and *Ep.* x the usage is somewhat freer, the present indicative appearing oftener than in *M.* instead of a tense implicitly future: e.g.

*si quis autem quaerat . . . respondemus* (*V.E.* i. 10. 40); *si inspiciamus . . . videtur* (*V.E.* i. 12. 15); *si ergo accipitur . . . manifestum est* (*Ep.* x, 364); *si essentia sit intellectiva, virtus tota est unius* (*Ep.* x, 395).

This construction explains the apparent abnormality of *A.T.* 12. 19:

*Si igitur aqua erit in A, et habeat transitum . . . movebitur ad B.*

The curious use of the future indicative *erit* with the present subjunctive *habeat* as a second member of the *si* clause is a comment on the meaning of this subjunctive, a proof that it is not less vivid future. Of the many occurrences of the present subjunctive in conditions, every one is most naturally explained as hortatory-concessive. Dante's substitute for the present subjunctive in less vivid future conditions is a lax use of the imperfect, as:

*Et si quis instaret . . . inutilis est instantia* (*M.* iii. 7. 23); *Quod si cuiquam . . . videretur indignum, Spiritum sanctum audiat* (*Ep.* x. 35); *Si igitur aqua moveretur ad B . . . movebuntur* (*A.T.* 12. 45).

What later forger could have penetrated so deeply into Dante's feeling about the conditional subjunctive? I may add that despite the brevity

<sup>1</sup> There are certain approaches in classical usage. See E. F. Clafin in *Classical Journal*, 1911, pp. 305-307.

of *Ep.* ii, which prevents any extensive application of stylistic evidence in its case, the sentence *si considerentur . . . lux . . . exoritur* (28), speaks for its genuineness.

In *V.N.* 7. 43 Dante quotes a sentence from the Vulgate in which *si* takes the indicative in an indirect question, and himself uses this lax construction in *V.E.* i. 4. 46, *recordetur si numquam dixit*, but not in his later works. A collocation likewise found in *V.E.*, but not later, is *puta si*.

In the compounds of *si*, the same principles are observed. *Ac si* and its equivalents take in classical Latin the present subjunctive in present time; it is the same hortatory-concessive subjunctive which in Dante's usage had spread to all clauses with *si*, and which in Boethius was well on its way to this development. In Dante these particles, which are very rare, take either the present or imperfect subjunctive, as in *M.* iii. 15. 34 : *Quod non sic intelligendum est, ac si Christus . . . non sit dominus*; and just below : *Velut si aureum sigillum loqueretur. Ac si* appears in *Ep.* x, 504, and, though differing from the *ac si* clause just quoted from *M.*, shows that the writer understands Dante's real usage : *et similis modus arguendi est ac si dicerem*.

*Nisi* is most frequently used elliptically without a verb, as *quod esse non potest, nisi quando*, *M.* i. 8. 27, and is generally preceded by a negative. *Ep.* x and *A.T.* accord with the other works in this peculiarity. When *nisi* takes a verb, the same constructions are found as for *si*. Thus, to take examples of the hortatory-concessive subjunctive :

*Sed hoc esse non potest . . . nisi sit voluntas una* (*M.* i. 15. 56); *diesis esse non potest . . . nisi reiteratio unius odae fiat* (*V.E.* ii. 10. 31); *non potest esse concentrica terrae, nisi terra sit . . . gibbosa* (*A.T.* 13. 9).

*Etsi* is not used in *V.E.* and *A.T.* It appears in some of the letters, once in *Ep.* x with the present indicative in both clauses, and several times in *M.*, where either present indicative or present hortatory-concessive subjunctive is used. *Etiam si* occurs once in *V.E.*, with this same subjunctive, which is found likewise in two of the occurrences in *M.* Thus *Ep.* x and *A.T.* agree with the acceptedly genuine works not only in conforming to the constructions which Dante frequently employs in them, but in avoiding those which he avoids.

Another significant particle is *quod*, which occurs over four hundred and fifty times in all, the figures for the works in question being : fifty-eight

in *M.* i, fifty-four in ii, ninety-four in iii, fifty-eight in *V.E.* i, forty-two in ii, forty-five in *Ep.* x, seventy-four in *A.T.* A curious construction appears in *V.E.*, — *quod* with either indicative or subjunctive like *ut* of result. Thus: *angelus in illa, et diabolus in illo taliter operati sunt, quod ipsa animalia moverunt organa sua, V.E. i. 12. 47.* Other proleptic particles besides *taliter* in *V.E.* are *ita, adeo, tantus, in tantum.* The same peculiarity appears in *Ep.* x. 528: *intellectus in tantum profundat se in ipsum desiderium suum . . . quod memoria sequi non potest.* But there is no trace of this usage in Dante's latest works. In these, however, *quod* is used a few times like *ut* of purpose, thus: *oportet quod reducantur ad unum hominem, M. iii. 12. 11. Dato quod, Hoc supponatur quod, ad hoc quod* are the other phrases found in *M.*; the construction develops readily from the frequent use of *quod* in the sense of "that," plus a hortatory subjunctive. Dante had a model in a sentence from the Vulgate which he quotes in *M.* ii. 8. 63, — *hoc solum habemus residui, quod oculos nostros ad Te dirigamus.* Naturally the mood used is subjunctive, whereas *quod* in a clause of result takes the indicative in all but two instances, in one of which (*V.E.* i. 15. 56) the subjunctive is the apodosis in a conditional sentence, in the other of which (*V.E.* i. 6. 3) the verb *intelligantur* is perhaps due to an easy scribal error, though Rajna may be right in following the manuscripts.<sup>1</sup>

Now just as *Ep.* x conforms to *V.E.* in the *quod* of result, so we find *A.T.* agreeing with *M.* in using a *quod* of purpose: *quod potest fieri per unum, melius est quod fiat per unum quam per plura (14. 34).* Likewise in *Ep.* iv. 51, a letter most probably authentic, we find: *quod contra Rhamnusiae spicula sis patiens te exhortor.* Certain instances in *V.E.* and *Ep.* x which also may belong here will be discussed below (page 23).

*Quod* occurs with the familiar causal sense, the usage being regular, but in the overwhelming majority of cases it signifies "that," and ranges through all shades of meaning from the classical use of *quod* after a verb like *miror* (*Ecl.* ii. 24), to the freest constructions in indirect discourse. The indicative mood is regularly used, but if the statement is doubtful or denied, the subjunctive. Thus:

Sed dicere quod Ecclesia sic abutatur patrimonio . . . est valde inconveniens (*M.* iii. 13. 76); sed dicere quod in excellentissima Itorum curia sit libratum,

<sup>1</sup> Note, however, that the two manuscripts T and G read *intelligatur*, which might well arise from a misreading of *u* with superscribed stroke (= *un*) as *a*.

videtur nugatio (*V.E.* i. 17. 43); potest etiam probabiliter ostendi, quod aqua non habeat gibbum (*A.T.* 13. 32); Credunt enim vulgares . . . quod aqua ascendat (*A.T.* 23. 43).

In two of these instances, it will be noticed, the *quod* clause precedes. Dante has a further practice of using the subjunctive if the *quod* clause precedes, whatever the nature of the statement. This rule is abundantly exemplified in all the works. Thus:

Quod autem Monarcha potissime se habeat ad operationem iustitiae, quis dubitat? (*M.* i. 11. 141); Quod autem verum sit . . . sic declaro (*M.* iii. 2. 29); Et quod unum fuerit a principio confusionis . . . apparet (*V.E.* i. 9. 14); Quod autem de divina luce plus recipiat, potest probari per duo (*Ep.* x. 453); Quod etiam sequatur ipsum substatere . . . sic declaro (*A.T.* 16. 44).

The reason for this peculiarity is probably that by placing the *quod* clause first, its substance is made a kind of subject for debate, just as a *quod* clause with the subjunctive is frequently used as the title of a chapter. A question is asked, and the prevailing atmosphere is one of uncertainty, which does not clear till the positive statement is given in the main verb. But put the main verb first and the situation changes; the feeling is one of assurance and the *quod* clause following expresses that feeling by the indicative. An exception which proves the rule is *V.E.* ii. 8. 80: *Quod autem dicimus tragica coniugatio, est quia*, etc. (Cf. *M.* iii. 5. 13.) Here, apart from the semicausal force of *quod*, there is no possible doubt of the truth of the statement, and the indicative naturally appears.

Naturally the subjunctive may appear with *quod* when necessitated by other constructions, as when the verb is also the apodosis of a conditional sentence contrary to fact (*V.E.* i. 9. 67; 13. 48; *Ep.* ix. 17; *A.T.* 10. 1, 5, 7). So, too, a hortatory or concessive subjunctive occurs, — a point which I have already discussed and may further illustrate by contrasting the two sentences following:

sicut ad hoc: Quod nemo . . . absque fide salvari potest (*M.* ii. 8. 28); sicut ad hoc: Quod homo pro salute patriae seipsum exponat (*M.* ii. 8. 11).

*Exponat* in the last sentence is the equivalent of *exponere debet*. It is an excessive feeling of the categorical imperative that results in the statement: *videtur quod quisque versificator debeat ipsum* [sc. *vulgare illustre*] *uti* (*V.E.* ii. 1. 20), where either *utatur* or *debet* would suffice. An interesting case is *A.T.* 16. 19–20: *dicamus quod non distet; et ponamus*



*quod* . . . *distet*, where the hortatory force in the subjunctive of the main verb flows over, unnecessarily, into the subordinate verbs. A bit looser still is *M.* iii. 2. 10: *Haec . . . veritas praefigatur, scilicet quod illud . . . Deus nolit.*

We have noticed that the present subjunctive with *si* is hortatory-concessive. Such a subjunctive influences that of *quod* in the sentences following: .

Et si obiciatur de serpente loquente . . . vel de asina . . . quod locuti sint . . . respondemus (*V.E.* i. 2. 45). Hoc . . . attendendum est . . . quod si eptasyllabum interseratur in primo pede . . . eundem resumat in altero (*V.E.* ii. 12. 74).

In the first of these examples there is also something of the flavor of indirect discourse. A similar and still more natural subjunctive by attraction appears when the main verb is apodosis of a conditional sentence contrary to fact, where the second subjunctive has more justification than in the preceding instances. Thus:

sequeretur . . . quod alterum scilicet esset frustra (*M.* ii. 6. 28; so i. 3. 43; iii. 6. 5; 10. 95); iam videretur quod Deus locutus exstisset (*V.E.* i. 4. 47); unde sequeretur . . . quod terra undique esset circumfusa (*A.T.* 16. 14).

The main verb in the subjunctive with a subjunctive in the *quod* clause occurs only in the instances I have quoted. In *A.T.* we find two cases of an antecedent subjunctive with an indicative in the *quod* clause:

Manifestum sit omnibus vobis quod, existente me Mantuae, quaestio quaedam exorta est (1. 1); Et praesciatur hoc, quod aqua non potest esse concentrica terrae (13. 8).

This is most natural; the categorical nature of the statement in the *quod* clause is so obvious, that an intruding subjunctive is not allowed. Remembering, however, *V.E.* ii. 12. 74, shall we say that the usage here is not Dante's? That were dangerous, especially as exact parallels may be found in *Ep.* vi. 57, and vii. 77, letters admittedly genuine. In *Ep.* vi. 180, the antecedent phrase *vestris animis infigenda supersunt* has exactly the force of *praesciatur* in the *A.T.* passage, and is followed by *quod* with the indicative. Again, these are the exceptions which prove the rule, and argue much more for the genuineness than for the spuriousness of *A.T.* I may now add that in one sentence in *M.*, although the main verb is not subjunctive, the indicative of the *quod* clause is preceded by a dependent

hortatory subjunctive, which, as in the example from the *A.T.*, fails to influence the mood of the following verb :

Dico ergo quod licet Luna non habeat lucem abundanter, nisi ut a Sole recipit, non propter hoc sequitur, quod, etc. (*M.* iii. 4. 130).

I have thus far shown that Dante, though not conforming to classical usage exactly, always means something by his subjunctives ; in fact he uses them subtly. There remains a curious usage in which a certain amount of fluctuation appears. The last quotation, completed, reads : *non propter hoc sequitur, quod ipsa Luna sit a Sole*. At first one might account for the subjunctive by the preceding negative, as in *M.* iii. 6. 39 ; 8. 70 ; and *A.T.* 23. 55 : *non propter hoc est necesse quod imitetur*. But the subjunctive is also found frequently after an affirmative form of *sequor*. Thus :

Ex quo sequitur, quod . . . Monarchia sit necessaria (*M.* i. 13. 69). Et ex hac conclusione sequitur . . . quod terra aequaliter . . . distet . . . et quod sit substans (*A.T.* 16. 7-10). Compare also *M.* i. 11. 88 ; ii. 2. 44 ; 7. 17 ; *A.T.* 12. 57.

There may be a touch of Dante's favorite categorical imperative in this subjunctive ; or it may be that in stating the conclusion of an argument he has in mind the subjunctive *quod* clause in which the original proposition might appear at the head of a chapter — a construction which may, as we have seen, explain the subjunctive in a *quod* clause preceding the verb. At any rate, the same usage appears after other expressions, besides *sequitur*, which indicate the drawing of a conclusion. Before turning to these, I wish to point out that the indicative is also used after *sequor*. The most striking instance is *M.* ii. 2. 47, 48, where the subjunctive has just been used :

Et . . . sequitur ulterius quod divina voluntas sit ipsum ius. Et iterum ex hoc sequitur quod ius . . . nihil est aliud quam similitudo divinae voluntatis. So *M.* i. 12. 93 ; 14. 17 ; iii. 2. 48.

May we not explain this difference thus, — that if he is thinking primarily of the process of drawing a conclusion, he uses the subjunctive, whereas if his attention is centered on the fact that he has proved, he uses the indicative ? The essence of the matter may be further illustrated by a passage in *A.T.* 6. 8-9 :

quare oppositum eius ex quo sequebatur est verum, scilicet quod aqua sit altior terra. Consequentia probatur per hoc, quod aqua naturaliter fertur deorsum.



The first *quod* clause with the subjunctive states a conclusion ; the second *quod* clause with the indicative states a premise, an established fact, of use in drawing a conclusion.

But to turn to other formulæ. *Consequens est* is evidently a synonym for *sequitur*. It takes *quod* with the subjunctive in *M.* i. 11. 139 ; iii. 16. 8 ; *V.E.* i. 4. 41 ; *Ep.* x. 106 ; *A.T.* 15. 15 ; 21. 34. *Rationabile est*, or *videtur esse*, has much the same meaning, particularly as we find the phrase in close connection with *consequens est* (*V.E.* i. 4. 37-41). It takes the subjunctive in the passage just cited, in *V.E.* i. 15. 29, and *A.T.* 7. 5. *Restat* means not "it remains to prove" but "it follows," in *M.* ii. 2. 28, 32, where it takes the subjunctive. Just so *relinquitur*, *M.* iii. 12. 13, *A.T.* 20. 44, and especially 4. 7-9 :

Et cum locus tanto sit nobilior [this amounts to a premise] . . . relinquitur, quod locus aquae sit altior loco terrae, et per consequens quod aqua sit altior terra.

*Colligitur* has the subjunctive with *quod* (*M.* iii. 15. 52) and also the indicative (*M.* i. 13. 33). *Unde fit quod* is surely a phrase denoting inference ; it is found only in *M.*, where it takes now the subjunctive (ii. 2. 50 ; iii. 3. 26 ; 16. 109), now the indicative (i. 13. 7 ; 15. 13). *Hinc est quod* has the subjunctive (*V.E.* i. 18. 39), or the indicative (*M.* i. 4. 19 ; 12. 27). *Inde est quod* occurs only in *Ep.* x. 479, 618, where it has the indicative. *Signum (est) quod* is a peculiarity of *V.E.*, where once it has the subjunctive (i. 8. 45), and once the indicative (ii. 5. 34). The usage of *V.E.* goes rather far in allowing the subjunctive after *apparet* (ii. 1. 31) or *videtur* (ii. 1. 20) (see above on the hortatory subjunctive, page 19),<sup>1</sup> and just so *Ep.* x in *Propter quod patet quod* with the subjunctive. In *M.* the indicative not infrequently appears where the subjunctive might be expected, especially in *M.* ii. 2. 39 ff., where we find *Ex his iam liquet quod* and the indicative, followed by *sequitur ulterius quod* and the subjunctive, and that by *Et iterum ex hoc sequitur quod* and the indicative (see above, page 22). *Concludo* is a word which on the above principle ought normally to take the subjunctive ; it appears with *quod* only in *A.T.* where once (23. 51) it has the subjunctive, and once (23. 17) the indicative. Surely this subtle conformity with Dante's usage and no less subtle divergence from it in *Ep.* x and *A.T.* bespeak the genuineness of these works. On

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the subjunctive with *videtur quod* betokens the doubtfulness of the statement, as often in St. Thomas, e.g., *Sum. Contrâ Gent.* iii. 46, 47.

finding in *A.T.* two instances of a pleonastic *quod*, which nowhere else occurs, I regard the proof not as weakened, but as strengthened. Thus:

Dico ergo, quod si aqua sit in A, et habeat transitum, quod naturaliter movebitur ad B (*A.T.* 12. 19, 20; so 21. 32, 34).

Another detail deserves mention here. In one or two instances we note that *A.T.* and *V.E.* show a common peculiarity which is seen in none of the other works. Thus *credo quod, respondetur quod, rationabile est* (or *videtur esse*) *quod*, the last phrase with its peculiar subjunctive, are found in *A.T.* and *V.E.* but not elsewhere. Significant concurrences of this sort are especially worth noting in view of the date of publication of these two works. Moncetti published *A.T.* in 1508. As *V.E.*, of which only two manuscripts are known to-day, was not published in translation and was hardly known till 1529, and as the Latin text did not appear till 1577, it is not likely that Moncetti was acquainted with the work. Noting then the minute agreements between *V.E.* and *A.T.* which I have indicated, and others which will later appear, we must abandon once for all the supposition that Moncetti forged the *A.T.* Moreover, it is at least doubtful whether Moncetti knew *M.*, for although Marsilio Ficino had translated the work at the end of the fifteenth century, the *editio princeps* did not appear till 1559. If Moncetti did not know *M.*, we must add to the coincidences between *A.T.* and *V.E.* a vastly more numerous array, as we shall see, of coincidences between *A.T.* and *M.* which could not possibly have arisen by chance.<sup>1</sup>

Not much chronological evidence may be found in the *quod* constructions. We have noted that the use of *quod* and the indicative in a result clause is rather frequent in *V.E.*, but appears only once later, in *Ep.* x. Another characteristic of *V.E.* is the use of *secundum quod*, which occurs eight times in Book i and eight times in Book ii, and only scatteringly in the later works.

I subjoin a list of the different words followed by *quod* in the sense of "that."

*V.E.*, *Ep.* x, *A.T.*, and *M.*; consequens est, dico, manifestum est, patet, probo, scio.

*V.E.* and *A.T.*; credo, rationabile est (or esse videtur), respondetur.

<sup>1</sup> Only the *Convivio* had been printed when *A.T.* appeared, as Moore remarks, *Studies in Dante*, Second Series, p. 307. Of course it should not be forgotten that *M.* was accessible in a fairly large number of manuscripts.

*V.E.*, *A.T.*, and *M.*; apparet.

*V.E.* and *M.*; hinc est, testor (also in *M.* testis est, testimonium perhibet), video.

*V.E.* alone; allego, argumentor, attendo, considero, ecce, fateor, indagor, obicitur, palatur, praetereo, in mente premo, in promptu est, signum est.

*Ep.* x, *A.T.*, and *M.*; praenoto.

*Ep.* x and *M.*; constat, oportet.

*Ep.* x alone; inde est, praenuncio.

*A.T.* and *M.*; arguo, declaro, ostendo, relinquitur, sequitur, scilicet.

*A.T.* alone; concludo, imaginor, necesse est, praescio, pono.

*M.* alone; adverto, ait, assero, canto, comprobo, colligo, dato, deprehendo, dubito, habeo, innotesco, liquet, memini, non obstante, praefigo, satis persuasum est, planum est, restat, revelatum est, scribo, suppono, unde est, unde fit, vaticinor.

*Quia* is used less frequently (one hundred sixty-nine times) in Dante than *quod* (four hundred fifty-three times). It also differs in meaning. From *Purg.* iii. 37: *State contente, humana gente, al quia* (= τὸ ὅτι, "simple fact")<sup>1</sup> one might imagine that Dante generally used *quia* in the sense of "that" and not "because." The reverse is true. It means "that" in only nine instances. Thus:

Satis igitur declarata subadsumpta principali, patet quia conclusio certa est (*M.* i. 11. 147; so *V.E.* ii. 10. 1, 2).

In *M.* iii. 6. 19, it is plainly used for variety or clearness, as a *quod* "that" immediately precedes in the same clause. *M.* iii. 9. 132 is a quotation from the Vulgate; iii. 9. 75 and 117 are virtually quotations. In *V.E.* i. 2. 31 a *quod* "that" clause precedes. In *V.E.* i. 18. 18 (*Quia vero aulicum nominamus, illud causa est*), the particle is semicausal, as in *Ep.* x. 94 (*Cuius ratio est quia*). Thus *quia* "that" is practically excluded by Dante, nor does St. Thomas use the particle often in this sense.<sup>2</sup> A hasty glance at Albertus Magnus and Duns Scotus indicates that their practice is similar. Can it be that Dante uses *quia* in the *Purgatorio* not as meaning "that," a symbol of mere fact, but as meaning "since," and suggesting an appeal to some assured principle which the logician employs in drawing a conclusion? Thus:

Verum quia omnis veritas, quae non est principium, ex veritate alicuius principii fit manifesta; necesse est, etc. (*M.* i. 2. 16).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pope, *Moral Essays*, i. 99: In vain the sage, with retrospective eye,  
Would from th' apparent What conclude the Why.

<sup>2</sup> See L. Schüss, *Thomas-Lexikon*, 1881, p. 285.

This usage is extremely frequent in the three authors mentioned. Dante's remark might mean, therefore, "Be content, human race, with established principles, and spend not too much time in seeking new truth by ratiocination." But lest this explanation be thought more subtle than scholasticism itself, I would rather take *quia* in the usual fashion, since it does occur, even though very rarely, in the sense of "that," and since Dante needs a rime-word here. It would be interesting to know whether any author of the period used the word regularly in indirect discourse.

As to other uses of *quia*, I will note merely that in all the four works the particle not infrequently is initial, with the force of *nam*: and that in all the verb is now and then omitted, as:

Cum ergo Monarcha sit universalissima causa inter mortales, ut . . . bene vivant, quia principes alii per illum, ut dictum est (*M. i. 11. 138*); non est extra materiam naturalem, quia inter ens mobile (*A.T. 20. 11*).

In *Ep. x. 221-222*, this usage is so extended that the particle almost means "to wit":

Nam si ad materiam respiciamus, a principio horribilis et foetida est, quia Infernus; in fine prospera . . . quia Paradisus.

In *M. iii. 5. 4*, the meaning is surely "to wit":

dicentes, quod de femore Iacob fluxit figura horum duorum regiminum, quia Levi et Iudas.

A study of all the constructions used by Dante in indirect discourse would be interesting, but I cannot undertake it here. That there is probably no fixed ratio between the use of the infinitive and *quod* appears in the constructions with *dico*, which will be found in the Concordance. Also apparent in all his works is the fondness for using the direct discourse after *dico*. An interesting combination of a *quod* clause and an infinitive clause occurs in *M. i. 14. 17*:

Sequitur, non solum melius esse fieri per unum . . . sed quod fieri per unum est bonum, per plura simpliciter malum.

This may be matched with *Ep. x. 344*:

ubi dicit se fuisse in primo coelo et quod dicere vult de regno coelesti quid quid . . . potuit retinere.

There should be no semicolon after *coelo*, as in Moore's edition.

I have selected only a few syntactical peculiarities for discussion, but the reader of the Concordance will find many other matters to strengthen his faith in the authenticity of *Ep. x* and *A.T.* by examining, for instance, the articles *cum*, *dum*, *ubi*, *ut* (*uti*), *licet*, *quamquam*, *quamvis*, *quando*, *quare* with indirect question, and indirect questions in general, the reflexives *sui* and *suus*, and the auxiliary use of the perfect of *sum*. The evidence therein contained, added to what we have already noted, should dispose once for all of the possibility of forgery on the part of a later writer like Moncetti, who lived at a time when Latin style had undergone a thorough transformation. One who would declare *A.T.* and *Ep. x* spurious is thus driven to the supposition that both treatises are forgeries of the fourteenth century. But even then the burden of proof would rest upon him: he must explain away the many minute coincidences with Dante's genuine writings. Complete evidence cannot be presented until further study is made of the writers of Dante's time, that common traits of the period may be distinguished from peculiarities of Dante. It would be profitable, for instance, to examine the writers quoted by Biagi<sup>1</sup> who were interested in the subject discussed in *A.T.* I will appeal to one example of an almost contemporary style, a style at least antedating the new humanistic Latinity,<sup>2</sup> namely that of Villani. The opening sections of his commentary on the *Inferno* are of special interest, seeing that his material is based in part on *Ep. x*. I note certain resemblances to Dante's usages; the use of a present subjunctive in a *si* clause seems similar. But a rapid glance reveals several important details in which Villani is not at one with Dante. One is a frequent use of *siquidem*, generally post-positive, in the sense of *enim*, which I find in Villani wherever I turn; Dante does not use *siquidem* (or *si quidem*) at all. Another striking fact is that in Villani *quod* "that" hardly occurs. In the first thirteen chapters of the *Comento*, a section surely larger than *Ep. x*, I have discovered only *two* after a hasty search, and there cannot be many more. One of these is especially interesting. It occurs in chapter x (p. 34 Cugnoni) where Villani is defining *comedia*. He says:

Ad quorum intelligentiam scire debemus, quod ab hoc greco nomine comos, quod latine villa sonat, et oda, cantus dicitur comedia, hoc est villanus cantus.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 181 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See G. Cugnoni's edition of Villani's *Comento al Primo Canto dell' Inferno*, 1896, in Passerini, *Collez. di Opusc. Dant.*, vol. xxxi, pp. 18 ff.



But this is virtually a quotation of Dante's words (*Ep.* x, 190 ff.):

Ad cuius notitiam sciendum est, quod comoedia dicitur a *comus*, *villa*, et *oda*, quod est *cantus*, unde *comoedia* quasi *villanus cantus*.

It is curious that the author of *Ep.* x should use *sciendum est*, which is very frequent in Dante, while Villani should change this to *scire debemus* which Dante never uses. A bit later (*l.* 218) Dante declares:

Et per hoc patet, quod Comoedia dicitur praesens opus.

This time Villani (p. 35) changes the construction to one more familiar to him:

Bene igitur, si diligenter opus totum nostri comici spectetur, rite comedia titulabitur.

If Villani forged *Ep.* x, as some believe,<sup>1</sup> he possessed both tremendous intuition and a most curious method. Rather he is dealing with a source, and the personality of the forger, as in the case of *A.T.*, must be pushed further back, — back, I believe, until it loses its hypothetical existence and merges with that of Dante himself.

But I turn now from syntax to Dante's vocabulary again, in the hopes of finding evidence not only for the genuineness of the disputed works, but for the chronological order assumed at the beginning of this paper. Let me state again that I mean this as deductive, not inductive, proof; starting with the order *V.E.*, *Ep.* x, *A.T.*, *M.*, I aim merely to show that stylistic traits are in conformity with it.

Assuming *V.E.* to be the earliest of the four works, we find the following words or idioms used exclusively (black letter) or largely (italics) in this work, but rarely or never in the three later works; occurrences elsewhere than in the four works are sometimes indicated in parentheses. As in the general list given above (p. 15 f.) I have excluded words which seem primarily demanded by the nature of the subject, though in this matter it is hard to draw the line.

**affirmo**, *attendo*, **brevissimus**, **brevius**, *ceu*, *circa*, **comminiscor**, *conceptio*, **conceptus**, **conicio**, **consensus**, **consequenter**, **contanter**, **convinco** (arg.), **corporaliter**, *cunctus*, *deinceps*, *demum*, **diffinio** (*V.E.* ii), *directe*, **discretive**, **discussio**, **disiunctim**, **disiungo**, **dissentio**, **dissero**, **dissuasorie**, *doctrina*, *dumtaxat*, **elucido**, *etenim* (rare in *M.*, *A.T.*, not in *Ep.* x), *examino*, **excellens** (*excellentior* *Ep.* x), **excellenter**, **excellencia** (*A.T.*), **excellētissime**, **excellētissimus**, **excellētius**,

<sup>1</sup> See Moore, *Studies in Dante*, Third Series, p. 345.

excello, exinde, extimatio, extrinsecus adj. (*extrinsecus* adv. Ep. ii), extrorsum, factura, falsissimus (but cf. *fallo* etc. under A.T. and M., pages 33, 34), fateor, fere, figurate, fortassis, forte (contrast *forsan*, *fortasse*, M., *forsitan* M., Ep. x), frequentior (cf. *frequens* Ecl. ii), frequenter (*frequentius* Ep. iii), frequento, gratulanter, habituo, idcirco, imitatio (cf. *imitor* M., V.E., A.T., *imitabilis* A.T.), imperfecte (cf. *imperfectus* M.), incongruus, inconvenienter (cf. *inconveniens* M.), incunctanter, individuum, innovo, ironice, irregularis, lector (vocate), membratim, mentio, mixtura (*mixtio* A.T.), mox, multimode, necnon (very rare in the other works), necubi, nempe, nequicquam, ni, nugatio, num, omnimode, oretenus, orientaliter, paene, partim, passim, paulatim, pendo, penitus, penso, perpendo, perplures, perscrutor, perspicaciter, perspicio, persuasio, persuasorie (*persuadeo*, *persuasor*, M.), pertracto (once in M., Ep. x), pessime, posterus (*in posterum* V.E., Ep. i), postmodum, praecedenter (*praecedens* M., V.E., *praecedo* M., V.E., A.T.), praeimmediatus, praepono, praerogativa, praerogo, praetermitto, primitus, principio vb., progressio, progressive, proinde, prorsus, puta, puto, quamplures, quapropter, quare (cf. especially initial *quare* in the sense of *igitur*), quicquid (elsewhere *quidquid*. But are our texts certain on this point?), quis indef. (distinctly less frequent later), quomodocunque, quotquot, raro (*rarius* Ep. ix), rarissime, ratiocinor, rationabiliter, rationabilus, rationabilis (A.T.), rationalis, recolo, reviso "to review," saepissime, secundarius (*secundario* M.), segregatim, seligo, sensibilis, sensualis, sensualitas, significatus, singulatim, spirituatus, subintelligo, subsecundarius, successio, successive, *successivus*, supercedo, superexcellencia, taliter, tenus (only in *superficie tenus* V.E. ii), tot, tottot, tracto, trifarie, trifarius, utrinque, utrobique, verumtamen, vestigo, videlicet (*scilicet* is more frequent in M., Ep. x, A.T.), videtur (arg.), vilipendo, voco.

One interesting peculiarity I reserve for the last, — Dante's use of *venor*. In V.E. he engages his readers in an imaginary hunt for the *vulgare illustre*. *Decentiorem atque illustrem Italiae venemur loquelam*, he declares (V.E. i. 11. 3), and after the search, *postquam venati saltus et pascua sumus Italiae* (i. 16. 1). The word is used thus figuratively ten times in all, and it is not surprising that later, in M., he should twice revert to it in a general sense: *Ad bene quoque venandum veritatem quaesiti* (ii. 8. 1) and *hanc veritatem venantes* (iii. 3. 113). Clearly these passages are later than those in V.E., granting that Dante is the first to use *venor* thus colorlessly.

The above instance is typical of a certain quality in V.E., namely an endeavor to substitute the picturesque — sometimes the grandiloquent — for the technical terms of argumentation. There is a seasoning of poetry in the style of V.E. This peculiarity is not maintained later on, even in



*M.* ii, which in theme and in spirit is even nearer to poetry than *V.E.* is. I will quote one more of many possible instances. Contrast *Postquam . . . de veritate primae . . . inquisitum est, instat nunc* (*M.* ii. 2. 3) with *Praeparatis fustibus . . . nunc fasciandi tempus incumbit* (*V.E.* ii. 8. 2). Other instances of this picturesqueness or grandiloquence may be found under *cribro, decerpo, depompo, divarico, extricatus, perplexus, potio, progressio*.

The above list of favorite expressions of *V.E.* which occur rarely or not at all later may be supplemented by a list of those developed later, being found rarely or never in *V.E.* Various instances have already been given in the general list above (page 15 f.). To these I would add the following:

*arguo* (*argumentor* appears only in *V.E.*), *manifestus, sic* (fewer in *V.E.* i than later).

*V.E.* and *Ep.* x, according to the hypothesis that I am following, were separated by twelve years or more. We shall therefore not expect to find many significant peculiarities in which they agree against the other works. The following, however, may be mentioned:

**Affinitas, alias, alternus, breviter, congruus, ergo** (In *V.E.* and *Ep.* x *ergo* is almost always postpositive. In A.T. and *M.* Dante shows a preference for initial *ergo*, especially in A.T. and *M.* ii. When it is used postpositively in A.T. and *M.*, the part preceding is almost always a minor word, e.g. *cum, ubi, si, est, dico*. In the earlier works the usage is freer in this respect; e.g. *oportuit, rationabiliter, praesumpsit, trilingues*, etc. in *V.E.*; *praeferens, differt, dividitur, vidit*, in *Ep.* x), **generalis, generaliter, hucusque, libet, plerumque, postea, praelibo** (arg.), **praetereo, primordium, que** (rare in Dante except in poetry or in poetically flavored prose, such as *V.E.* i [twenty-two times], ii [ten times], *M.* ii [twenty-seven times, of which nineteen are quotations], *Ep.* vi [seven times]). It is not strange that *que* does not occur in A.T.; in *M.* iii it occurs only twice. *Ep.* x with eight instances conforms to *V.E.* ii), **quidni, quod** with the indicative in a clause of result (see above, page 19), **quoque** (cf. *que*. Found in Ecl., twice; *V.E.*, fifteen times; *Ep.* x, twice; none in A.T. or *M.* except three in *M.* ii), **recordor, sector** (arg.), **trado** ("set down," "give," deriving from the meaning "hand down," which we find in *M.*: *ut Lucas in Evangelio suo tradit*. Cf. *V.E.*: *Volentes igitur modum tradere quo*, etc., and *Ep.* x: *Volentes igitur introductionem tradere*, etc.).

From the above occurrences one could never prove that *V.E.* and *Ep.* x were written at the same time. They are useful indications, however, that the two works are by the same author.

We have noticed before the significance of coincidences between *A.T.* and *V.E.* if, as is well-nigh certain, Moncetti was not familiar with the latter work. To those already given I may add the following, which, as with the list just given, indicate identity of authorship though not adjacent dates of composition.

*Accido, aequivocatio, artificialis, cognitio, consimilis, contra* (arg.), *diversifico, diversimode, diversitas, excellentia* (cf. *excellens* etc. in *V.E.*), *donec, identitas, instruo, praescio, quasi* "almost" (*V.E.* i. 8. 34; cf. *A.T.* 19. 60, 63), *rationabilis, refert, regularis, resulto, stultitia, ultra* adv., *versus* prep.

The following coincidences between *V.E.* and *M.* are worth noticing :

*Abhorreo, absurdus, accidens, actio, adeo* adv., *adiutorium, aequalis, aliquatiter, antequam, ascisco, astruo, attestor, beneplacitum, converto* (arg.), *distinguo* (arg.), *dubito, dubius, dummodo, dupliciter, edoceo, elicio* (arg.), *enucleo* (arg.), *expresse, facile* adv., *gradatim, informo, ingredior, innotesco, intentatus, iterum, manifeste, medium* (arg.), *mensura* (arg.), *mensuro, minime, modo, necessario, nemo, nuncupo, obicio, obiectum, paucus, plerique. prae, praeallegatus, praesertim, primum, priusquam, probatio, procul dubio, prorsus, qualiter, quodammodo, rectius, regula, resumo* (arg.), *singularis, solutio, speculatio, statim, subsisto, testor, testimonium, ubicumque, ullus, unicus, unquam.*

Once more, while this list shows significant coincidences in minor usages which bespeak a common authorship, one could not prove from them that the two works were written in close succession. Some of the peculiarities are, as noted, found in other works as well, and the number of those that remain is no greater proportionally than that given for *V.E.* and *A.T.*, which is not one third the length of *M.* There is thus no confirmation here of Wicksteed's theory as to the date of *M.* I can add that though *V.E.* i and ii show individual differences, just as the books of *M.* do, there is nothing to indicate that, as some have supposed, they were written in different periods.

Turning now to *Ep.* x, we find just as with its general vocabulary, tested by words beginning with A, so with the minor peculiarities in question, that the individuality of the author is shown by certain words or usages which occur mainly or only here. The list is :

*causo, circumlocutio, circumloquor, connaturalitas, consideratio, consonanter, consuesco, convertibilis* (arg.), *corporalis, credulitas, definitivus, descriptivus, digressivus, dispar, divisivus, doctrinalis, dogma, duplum, excellentior* (cf. *excellens* etc. in *V.E.*), *excessivus, excessus, executivus, existentia, exordior,*

expono (arg.), *expositio*, *exterminium*, *fictivus*, *formabilis*, *formativus*, *formula*, *improbativus*, *incertitudo*, *inchoo*, 'infinite', *insinuo*, *investigatio*, *literalis*, *literaliter*, *metaphorismus*, *negotium* (phil.), *nimis*, *nullatenus*, *obvio*, *percenso*, *persaepe*, *polysemus*, *positivus*, *possibilitas*, *posterius*, *praenunciatio*, 'primarius', *probativus*, *risibilis* (phil.), *sempiterno* vb., *sententio* vb., *seorsim*, *subtilis*, *suppositio*, *transumptivus*, *votivus*. A fondness for adjectives in *ivus* (*tivus*) appears in *Ep. x*, with which only *M.* may be compared in this respect.

I have noted only few coincidences between *Ep. x* and *A.T.* not elsewhere found, and owing to the brevity of these works we should not expect many.

The following are the most significant:

*adaequo*, *designo*, *ad evidentiam dicendorum*, *ethica*, *magnitudo*, *materialis*.

For *Ep. x* and *M.* there is a much longer list, from which, however, we could not infer that the dates of these two works lay in close proximity.

*Allegorice*, *amplio*, *antecedens* n., *aperte*, *assigno*, *assumptio* (arg.), *at*, *causo*, *compendiose*, *competit*, *connecto*, *defectus*, *devenio* (arg.), *discurro*, *dispositio*, *doceo*, *elongo*, *essentia*, *exprimo*, *factum*, *forsitan* (cf. *forte* etc. in *V.E.*), *in corruptibilis*, *infinite*, *intellectivus*, *intellectualis*, *intelligentia*, *introitus* (arg.), *intuitus*, *iuxta*, *licentio*, *liquet*, *manifestatio*, *mediate*, *moralis*, *mysticus*, *nequaquam*, *notitia*, *perduco* (*ad vitam aeternam* *M.*, *ad statum felicitatis* *Ep. x*), *practicus*, *praeemineo*, *praeeminentia*, *praefigo*, *processus* (arg.), *propterea*, *prosequor* (arg.), *quinimmo*, *relativum*, *saepe*, *salutatio*, *specialis*, *speculativus*, *suadeo*, *subicio* (arg.), *supra* adv.

I have found no significant evidence whatsoever from stylistic peculiarities against the genuineness of *Ep. x*.

The individual peculiarities of *A.T.* are:

*certior* (cf. *certitudo* *M.*, *A.T.*), *circiter*, *citissime*, *citra*, *concupiscibilis*, *confinjo*, *continue*, *demonstratio* (*M.*), *demonstro* (*M.*), *disco*, *disputo* (cf. *disputatio* *M.*, *A.T.*), *exaro*, *homogeneous*, *idealiter* (cf. *idea* *M.*), *inaginatio*, *imaginor*, *imitabilis* (cf. *imitatio* etc. in *V.E.*), *impossibilitas*, 'incomprehensibilis', *indiscussus*, *indubitabiliter* (cf. *indubitabilis* *M.*), *inductio*, *innatus*, *inobedientia* (phil.), *membrum* (arg.), *miscibilis*, *mixtio*, *mobilis* (cf. *mobile* *M.*, *A.T.*), *neuter* (arg.), *obedibilis* (phil.), *obedio* (phil.), *ostensivus* (cf. *ostensive* *M.*), *potentia-tus*, *privatio*, *probabiliter* (cf. *probabilis* *M.*), *qualifico*, *restringo* (arg.), *sensitivus*, *substo*, *sufficiens*, *terminabilis*, *uniformiter* (cf. *uniformis* *M.* and *A.T.*), *virtualis* (*virtuo*, *virtuosius*, only in *M.* and *A.T.*).

It will be noticed that about a fourth of these words appear also or have analogues in *M.* Coming now to a complete, or nearly complete, list of coincidences between *A.T.* and *M.*, one cannot fail to be impressed by its length and significance.

**admitto** (arg.), **adverto**, **aequaliter**, **aequinotialis**, **alibi**, **ambo**, **apud** (cf. *apud negantes divinam bonitatem*, *apud oblique politizantes*, *M.*, and *apud recte philosophantes A.T.*), **certitudo**, **circulatio**, **complexionatus**, **conclusio**, **confirmo**, **consequentia**, **declaro**, **deorsum**, **destruo** (arg.), **determinatio**, **determino**, **dispensator**, **dispenso**, **disputatio**, **dissolvo** (arg.), **distinctio** (arg.), **documentum**, **efficacia** (arg.), **efficiens** (phil.), **ens**, **ex** (is rare in *V.E.* and *Ep. x* and is used only four times in the former, never in the latter, in argumentative phrases, as *ut ex praemissis manifestum est*. But in *A.T.* there are fourteen instances of *ex* in this sense, while the occurrences in the different books of *M.* are more numerous still. The phrase *ex parte* 'with respect to' [e.g. *ex parte boni . . . ex parte vero mali*] is found only in *A.T.* and *M.* The phrase *ex notioribus nobis* [used of drawing an inference] is found in *A.T.* 20. 20 and *Ep. v.* 122), **excludo** (arg.), **experientia**, **facilis** (*facile est A.T.*, *de facili M.*), **facillime**, **fallo**, **falsitas**, **figura** (*per primam* or *secundam figuram*), **finalis**, **fundo** vb. (arg.), **generabilis**, **genero**, **ibidem**, **include**, **influentia**, **infra** adv. (*ut infra patebit M.*, *A.T.*), **inquisitio** (*inquiri* in all four works), **instantia**, **insto** (arg.), **insum**, **insuper**, **item** (arg.), **maior** (arg.), **manifestissimus**, **melius est**, **mendacium** (arg.), **minor** (arg.), **mobile** (cf. *mobilis A.T.*), **multoties**, **naturaliter**, **necesse**, **notus**, **nullus** adj. ("nothing worth," as *dico quod sua probatio nulla est* and *et sic . . . instantia nulla est M.*; *sed talis instantia nulla est A.T.*), **opinio**, **opinor**, **particularis** (cf. *particulariter*, *particulo*, *M.*), **possibilis**, **potentia** = δύναμις (cf. *potentiatus A.T.*), **potissime**, **potissimus**, **praedicare** (arg.), **principalis** (arg.), **prohibeo**, **proportio**, **propositio**, **propter primum** (*propter primam partem Ep. x*), **quaestio**, **recipio** (phil.; *in quantum propria natura [natura rei] recipere potest [recipit] M.*, *A.T.*), **relinquitur quod**, **removeo** (arg.), **secundum quid**, **solvo** (arg.), **sophisticus**, **subiaceo** (phil.), **subiectus** (phil.), **subtiliter** (cf. *subtilis Ep. x*, *subtilius V.E.*), **suppono** (arg.), **sylogismus**, **tango** (arg., *quod [ut] superius tangebatur M.*, *A.T.*), **theoremata**, **totalis** (*totaliter* in all four), **ultra** prep., **uniformis** (cf. *uniformiter A.T.*), **unitas**, **universalis**, **valde**, **virtuo** (*virtuans M.*, *virtuatus A.T.*; cf. *specificatus M.*, *spirituatus V.E.*), **virtuosius**, **vis** (arg.).

This is too long a list of coincidences, it seems to me, to explain merely by the fact that *A.T.* and *M.* are nearer in theme to one another than to the other works. Exact statistics in a matter of this sort are impossible, but it is safe to say that the number of significant coincidences with *M.* in *A.T.* is twice that in *Ep. x*, and twice that in *V.E.*; this latter reckoning, further, should be more than doubled since *V.E.* is more than twice



as long as *A.T.* I am tempted, therefore, to regard as the explanation not merely the fact that Dante at two different periods argues abstrusely and hence falls upon the same terms; *M.* ii is quite as poetical in feeling as *V.E.*, and yet it conforms in these peculiarities to the style of the other books. My theory would be that Dante, impelled by the nature of the subject, employed logical terminology more systematically in *A.T.* than he had done before, and that he continued this style and developed it in the work that immediately followed, namely his last work, *M.* The mood in which he had written *A.T.* was still on him.<sup>1</sup>

As with *Ep.* x, I have found no stylistic usages in *A.T.* which argue against the genuineness of that work.

Let us finally consider the peculiarities of *M.*, which not unnaturally outnumber those of any other work.

*aut* (until *M.* *vel* is far more frequent), *commode*, *compositio*, *comprobo*, *concorditer*, *conscribo*, *consequor* (arg.), *consonat*, *consonus* (cf. *consonanter* *Ep.* x), *constituo*, *constitutivus*, *construo* (arg.), *contradictorium*, *contrarietas*, *contrarior* (cf. *contrarius*, *contrarium*, *M.*, *V.E.*, *A.T.*), *cooperatio* (phil.), *corruptivus*, 'credibilis,' *declaratio* (cf. *declaro* especially in *M.* and *A.T.*), *definitio*, *destructive* (arg., cf. *destructio* *M.*, *Ep.* x, *A.T.*, *destruo* *M.*, *A.T.*), *deviatio*, *differentialis* (cf. *differentia* *M.*, *V.E.*, *A.T.*), *directivum*, *directivus*, *diremtio* (arg.), *dispono*, *distinctivus* (cf. *distinctio* *M.*, *A.T.*), *distribuo* (arg.), *distributio* (arg.), *dubitatio* (cf. *dubito* *M.*, *V.E.*, etc.), *efficax* (arg.), *efficacissimus* (cf. *efficacia*, *efficiens*, *M.*, *A.T.*, *efficio* *M.*, *V.E.*, *A.T.*), *erga*, *erro* (cf. *error* *M.*, *V.E.*, *Ep.* x, etc.), *evidens*, *evidentissime* (cf. *evidenter* *M.*, *V.E.*, *evidentia* *M.*, *V.E.*, *Ep.* x, *A.T.*), *executor*, *expressus* (cf. *expresse* *M.*, *V.E.*), *extensio* (phil.), *extremitas* (arg.), *de facili*, *facilius*, adv. (cf. *facile est* *A.T.*), *facile* adv. (*facilior* *M.*, *V.E.*, *Ep.* x, *facillime* *M.*, *A.T.*), *factibilis*, *falsus*, (*A.T.* etc., cf. *fallo* *M.*, *A.T.*, etc., *falsissimus* *V.E.*, *falsitas* *M.*, *A.T.*, etc.), *figuro* (cf. *figurata* *V.E.*), *finco*, *finitus* (phil.), *formale*, *formaliter*, *formo*, *forsan*, *fortasse* (cf. *forsitan* *M.*, *Ep.* x, etc., *fortassis* *V.E.* *forte* *V.E.* etc.), *fundamentalis*, *fundamentum* (cf. *fundo* arg., *M.*, *A.T.*), *habitualis* (phil.), *habitus* = ἕξις (used differently in *V.E.*), *iam* (arg., *M.*, *V.E.*?), *idea* (cf. *idealiter* *A.T.*), *illatio* (arg.), *immanifestus*, *imperfectus* (cf. *imperfecte* *V.E.*), *importo*, *imputo*, *inconveniens*, *incorruptibilitas* (cf. *incorruptibilis* *M.*, *Ep.* x), *incredibilis*, *indispositio*, *indispositus*, *indubitabilis* (cf. *indubitabiliter* *A.T.*), *inductivus* (cf. *inductio* *A.T.*), *infallibilis*, *infero* (arg.), *infra* prep. (cf. *infra* adv., *A.T.* etc.), *inopinabilis*, *inquam*, *intentio* (*A.T.* etc.), *interemptio* (arg.), *interemptivus*, *interimo* (arg.), *introduco*, *irrationabilis*, *irrefragabilis*, *iterum* (arg., *V.E.*?), *iuxta*, *logicalis*,

<sup>1</sup> I will not deny the possibility, suggested by Dr. Wilkins, that Dante began *M.* first and wrote it and *A.T.* at the same time.

logicus, longe, medio vb., *medium* (arg.), **memini**, **minoratio**, **narro** (cf. *narratio* Ep. x), **necessito** (cf. *necessitas* M., V.E., Ep. x, A.T., etc., *necessarius* M., V.L., A.T., etc., *necessario* M., V.E.), **nefas**, **negatio**, **nihilominus**, **nimitas**, **nondum**, **ob**, **oblique** (arg., cf. *obliquus* M., V.E.) **obsto** (only in *nulla vi* . . . *obstante, non obstante quod*), **omnino**, **operatio** (once in V.E.), **operativus**, **optime**, **ordino** (V.E., A.T., etc.), **ostensive** (cf. *ostensivus* A.T.), **otiose**, **otiosus** (phil.), **pariter et**, **partialis**, **particulariter**, **particulo** (cf. *particularis* M., A.T.), **parentissimus** (arg.), **' paulo,'** **per prius**, **perago** (arg.), **perhibeo**, **persaepe** (cf. *persaepeius* Ep. x), **perseitas**, **personalis** (cf. *persona* M., Ep. x, A.T.), **persuadentior**, **persuadeo**, **persuasor** (cf. *persuasio, persuasorie*, V.E.), **pertinaciter** (arg.), **pertingo** (phil.), **philosophicus** (cf. *philosophia* Ep. x, A.T., etc.), **placet** (as *ut Philosopho placet*, cf. *placuit* A.T. etc.), **pluralitas**, **plurimum** adv., **'porro,'** **post** adv., **praedicatum** (cf. *praedico* M., A.T., etc.), **praeoperor**, **praeostendo**, **praepeditivus**, **praesentialiter**, **produco** (phil.), **productio**, **profecto**, **prohibitio**, **prohibitivus** (cf. *prohibeo* M., A.T.), **proprietas**, **proprius** adv., **'quamdiu,'** **quatenus**, **quousque**, **realis**, **rectrix**, **recurso** (arg.), **redarguo**, **reduco** (arg., V.E., Ep. x, A.T., etc.; cf. *habere reduci* M., A.T.), **refello**, **refuto**, **regulatrix**, **renarro**, **resolvo** (arg.), **respective**, **rursus** (arg.), **sane**, **scriba** (cf. *scribo* M., Ep. x, A.T., etc.), **secundario** (cf. *secundarius* V.E.), **sortior** (arg.), **specialiter** (cf. *specialis* M., Ep. x), **specificatus**, **specto**, **sponte**, **stricte** (arg.), **stultum est**, **suasio** (cf. *suadeo* M., Ep. x, etc.), **subadsumo**, **subdo** (arg.), **subinfero** (arg.), **subito**, **subsequens** (arg.), **substantialis** (cf. *substantia* M., V.E., Ep. x, A.T.), **superficialiter**, **superfluitas**, **supernaturalis**, **syillogisticus**, **syillogizo** (cf. *syillogismus* M., Ep. iv, A.T., *syillogizator* Ep. v), **tandem**, **tantummodo**, **terminus** (arg.), **testis**, **testimonium** (M., V.E., etc.; cf. *testor* M., V.E., etc.), **theologica**, **theologicus**, **theologus**, **totidem**, **typice**, **typus**, **ultimo**, **ultimum**, **ultimus**, **universitas**, **universalior**, **universalis**, **universalissimus**, **universaliter**, **utinam**, **vicis**, **volitivus**, **volo** (*velle* as noun), **voluntarie**, **voluntas**.

In proportion to its size, there are no more striking evidences of innovation in *M.* than in *V.E.*; but the innovation is of a different kind. Whereas in *V.E.*, as we have seen, Dante strives for the unusual and picturesque, in *M.* he starts with the ordinary vocabulary of the logician, which, according to my theory, he had just been using in *A.T.*, and then greatly develops that. Such a development is obvious from the foregoing lists, and I may further illustrate it by one striking example, — the uses of *patet*. The frequency of this word, in a variety of phrases, must, as Dr. Moore well remarks,<sup>1</sup> impress every reader of the Latin works of Dante. I will try to show also that these phrases form a crescendo.

Dante uses *pateo* in *V.E.* nine times. It is used either absolutely, or governs the infinitive, a *quod* clause, or an indirect question. It is found

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in Dante*, Second Series, p. 348.

in the following set phrases: *Et sic patet, Quare . . . patet, per quod patet, scitis etiam patere videtur*, and with *ut*; *ut per inferiora patebit*. Not to notice one occurrence in *Ep.* iv and one in *Ecl.* i, I pass to *Ep.* x, which has seventeen occurrences, a much larger proportion, with the same constructions as in *V.E.* and with set phrases as follows: *Et sic patet* (as in *V.E.*), *Et per hoc patet, Propter quod patet, Sic ergo patet, Patet ergo quomodo, Potest amodo patere quomodo*, and with *ut*; *ut patet de, ut patet per*. A dative is also used, as *Persaepius inspicienti patebit*. *A.T.* has the largest proportion of occurrences, thirty-three in all, with the same construction as in *V.E.* and *Ep.* x. For phrases it has *Et sic patet* (*Ep.* x and *V.E.*), *Per quod patet* (as *V.E.*, but nowhere else), *sic igitur patet* (cf. *sic ergo patet* as *Ep.* x), *et quod* and the subjunctive preceding *patet*. Phrases with *ut* are especially cultivated: *ut patet, ut infra patebit, ut patet ad oculum, ut de se patet, ut patet per* (as *Ep.* x), *ut patet ex, ut patet in, ut patet intuenti* (cf. *inspicienti patebit, Ep.* x). In *M.* the occurrences for the different books are: i, seventeen times; ii, twelve times; iii, twenty-one times. This is a less number proportionately than for *A.T.*, but the usages are distinctly more varied. Of the constructions that have already appeared we find the following: *et sic patet, et per hoc patet, propter quod patet, sic ergo patet, et quod* with the subjunctive preceding *patet, ut patet, ut patet de, ut patet per, ut patet ex, ut patet in, ut patet* with a dative, *ut infra patebit, ut de se patet*. Besides these are *patet quia* (as well as *quod*), *patet igitur quod, ex quo patet, ex iis ergo . . . patet, hinc etiam patet, et hinc etiam patere potest*. To the *ut* phrases, *ut statim patebit* is added; *sicut patet* appears for the first time, likewise *quod patet, quod patet de levi, quod de se patet*. Clearly there is a natural development, though not a rigid arithmetical progression, in the use of *pateo* from *V.E.* through *M.* The case is typical of what I am convinced is true of the style of *M.* in general.

Statistics, I would repeat, and especially statistics of stylistic peculiarities, are fraught with danger. They may at least serve as an imperfect symbol of the feeling which I have slowly formed about the works in question. Such a feeling on the part of the calculator of minutiae is to the calculator a most important element in the calculation, though it cannot be communicated directly.<sup>1</sup> From the evidence I have tried to set

<sup>1</sup> Compare what Dr. Moore says on this matter; *Studies in Dante*, Second Series, p. 355.



forth and from more that other readers of the Concordance may detect, I incline strongly to the belief that the chronological order of the four works we have been especially considering was *V.E.*, *Ep. x*, *A.T.*, *M.* Or at least, assuming this order, as some on other grounds have done, we may appeal to stylistic evidence for corroboration. Be that as it may, this evidence is enough to refute once and for all the hypothesis that *Ep. x* and *A.T.* are forgeries; coincidences so numerous and minute could have been vouchsafed a forger only by plenary inspiration, proceeding in this case from the Father of Lies. As that hypothesis fails, it follows as above stated, that *Ep. x* and *A.T.* are genuine works of Dante. The remaining letters are too brief to warrant definite conclusions, but I would state that I have found no certain evidence against the genuineness of any one of them. Various coincidences with peculiarities of the accepted works will be noted in the lists given above. A similar examination of the phraseology of Dante's Italian prose works might yield results of interest.

E. K. RAND

## TWO NOTES ON THE *COMMEDIA*

### 1. INFERNO, XXXIV, 127-139

In the *Rivista d'Italia*, Vol. xiii, no. 5, p. 701, Francesco D'Ovidio, with his usual masterly clearness and ingenuity, discusses the passage from Lucifer's feet to the Island of Purgatory, showing that in all probability the "buca d'un sasso ch'egli [il ruscelletto] ha roso" refers only to the crust of the earth under the island (the roof of the cavity opposite Hell), and that the "entrammo" of l. 134 may mean simply "started" or "proceeded." The cavern into which Satan's feet project is vaguely indicated by the poet. D'Ovidio conceives it either as a vast conical pit similar in size and shape to Hell, or as a cylindrical hole extending straight from the circular floor (the "picciola spera" of l. 116) to the earth's outer rind. Judging from ll. 124-126, one naturally thinks of it as equal in volume to the Mountain of Purgatory; but the dimensions of that mountain cannot be determined with any approach to exactness. Down the sloping side—or the vertical wall—of the abyss, runs, according to D'Ovidio, the guiding streamlet, either in a zigzag course like a path up a precipice, or winding spirally round and round the cavity. Both the "natural burella" of l. 98 and the "loco" of l. 127 he takes as referring to this whole cavern.

Now it is to be noted that throughout the *Inferno* Dante exerts his utmost cleverness to confuse his reader concerning vertical distances, his purpose evidently being to heighten the realism of his literal narrative by dissimulating the physical impossibility of traversing several thousand miles, largely on foot, in twenty-four hours. In two cases he represents himself as transported, we know not how far, in a swoon; in three, he dismisses the descent in a word or two, keeping the reader's attention fixed on the horizontal shelves; in one, he describes a downward flight, in which all sense of distance is lost, on the back of a dragon. But the most curious instance is that of the transfer from the eighth circle to the ninth, at the end of Canto xxxi. The giant Antæus, he says, picks up the two poets on the edge of the eighth and sets them down on the

floor of the ninth; only his stoop is described, as he bends first to take and then to deposit his passengers, and one would never imagine, from this passage, that he left his place. Yet Antæus is only about eighty feet tall, and the two circles must, according to what Dante tells us elsewhere, be separated by a precipice some miles in height.

Bearing in mind this tendency of our author, we may, I think, by carrying still further the line of argument so ably employed by D'Ovidio, remove at least two difficulties that remain even in his interpretation. How can a "place" that contains a part of Beelzebub be described as "remote" from him?

*Loco è laggiù da Belzebù remoto  
Tanto quanto la tomba si distende.*

Secondly, how can we account for a brook that descends a steep—perhaps vertical—precipice in a gentle zigzag or spiral, instead of pouring precipitously down? In ll. 97-99,

*Non era camminata di palagio  
Là 'v' eravam, ma natural burella  
Ch' avea mal suolo, e di lume disagio,*

Dante gives us a hint of a dark, disagreeable space on the other side of Hell; and he refers to it again, incidentally, in l. 125:

*Per fuggir lui lasciò qui il loco vuoto.*

After that, as I believe, he tells us nothing more about it, deliberately skipping, between lines 126 and 127, his whole ascent from Lucifer's feet to the earth's crust, and leaving the intervening space figuratively as well as literally in the dark. With l. 127 he takes a fresh start, and from this point on describes only the passage through the crust. The very phraseology, "Loco è laggiù," etc., indicates that he is speaking of something not previously mentioned, and that the "loco" of l. 125, which designates the same place as the "natural burella" of l. 98, is not identical with the "loco" of l. 127. If this be admitted, the "tomba" of l. 128 may be understood as referring to the great void under the Island of Purgatory: "There is a place down yonder (on the further side of the globe, beneath the surface) as far away from Beelzebub as his sepulcher stretches"—that is, separated from him by the whole depth of the grave he dug for himself in his fall.

## 2. PURGATORIO, XXXI, 144

When Beatrice finally unveils her face, in the Garden of Eden, Dante asks: "What poet could depict thee

. . . qual tu paresti  
Là dove armonizzando il ciel t'adombra,  
Quando nell'aere aperto ti solvesti?"

This seems to be generally understood, at the present day, as meaning "where Heaven, with its harmony, is thine image" — an interpretation which is satisfactory enough until one begins to question the significance of "là dove." Whether we take this phrase as "where" or "when," it appears to have no particular appropriateness. Heaven is always and everywhere harmonious and therefore a fit symbol of Beatrice. One does not see why its fitness should be restricted to the Terrestrial Paradise or to this occasion.

Another explanation, frequently proposed in the past, would make the line read: "Where harmonious Heaven encompassed thee," *adombra* being used for *adombrava*, as the present replaces the imperfect (in the rime) in several similar passages in the *Commedia*. The chief objection to this view is the apparent incongruity of the word *adombra*: the idea of Heaven as a canopy or background for Beatrice, as she stands on the chariot against the sky, is suitable and artistic, but why should the bright vault be said to "shadow" her? Possibly an answer may be found in the authors from whom Dante derived, in part, his conception of the figure.

In the *Convivio* Dante tells us that one of the two works with which he began the study of philosophy was the treatise *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* of Boethius; and, in fact, we see abundant evidence of the influence of this masterpiece on his ideas, his form of expression, and his representation of Lady Philosophy in the *Convivio* and of Beatrice in the *Purgatorio*. An Italian to whom Dante considered himself vastly indebted was Brunetto Latini, who "taught him how man makes himself eternal." Latini's *Tesoretto* not only presents the same general literary type as the *Commedia*, being a didactic poem in allegorical form, but also offers a few resemblances of detail. As a prelude to his vision, Brunetto loses himself in a strange wood (ii, 75-78), where he suddenly comes to his senses (iii, 1), and presently lifts up his eyes to the mountains. It may

be noted, further, that in iv, 18, he uses the word *consumare* in the same sense in which Dante, to the confusion of commentators, employs it in the *Inferno*, ii, 41.

When Lady Philosophy shows herself to the imprisoned and recreant Boethius (I, Pr. i), she appears at times to touch the sky with her head: "Nam nunc quidem ad communem sese hominum cohibebat, nunc vero pulsare cælum summi verticis cacumine videbatur; quæ cum altius caput extulisset, ipsum etiam cælum penetrabat respicientiumque hominum frustrabatur intuitum." This passage Brunetto Latini evidently remembered when he described the aspect of Lady Nature, as she reveals herself to the lost exile:

Talor toccava il cielo  
Sì che pareo suo velo.

And both of these figures would seem to have been present in Dante's mind when he depicted Lady Revelation, her head enveloped in sky, —

There where the harmonious Heaven is thine only veil.

C. H. GRANDGENT

## AN UNRECORDED SEVENTEENTH CENTURY VERSION OF THE *VITA DI DANTE* OF LEONARDO BRUNI

According to the bibliographers, the *Vita di Dante* (written in 1436) of Leonardo Bruni (otherwise known as Leonardo Aretino) was only twice printed in the seventeenth century; namely, at Perugia in 1671 (the *editio princeps*), together with the *Vita del Petrarca* (first printed in the edition of the *Canzoniere* issued at Padua in 1472 by Martinus de Septem Arboribus), from a manuscript in the possession of Giovanni Cinelli; and at Florence (together with the *Vita del Petrarca*) in the following year (1672), from a manuscript belonging to Francesco Redi. No mention is made of any other printed edition before 1722, in which year Redi's edition of the two lives was reproduced at Naples in a volume entitled, *Dialoghi d'uomini grandi ne i Campi Elisi, applicati ai costumi del presente secolo, dell'autore del 'Telemaco,' tradotti dal francese; con le vite di Dante e del Petrarca scritte da Lionardo Aretino, cavate da un manoscritto antico della Libreria di Francesco Redi e confrontate con altri testi a penna. . . .* (In Napoli, per Francesco Ricciardo, 1722.) The two lives were next printed in the first volume of the first issue of Volpi's edition of the *Divina Commedia* published by Comino at Padua in 1727, this being their first appearance in an edition of the *Commedia*.<sup>1</sup>

The *Vita di Dante*, however, though the fact appears hitherto to have escaped the notice both of bibliographers and of Dantists, was printed a third time in the seventeenth century, within seven years of the publication of the *editio princeps*. It made its appearance on this occasion

<sup>1</sup> See Haym, *Biblioteca Italiana*, 162. 4 (ed. 1771); Gamba, *Testi di Lingua*, No. 1058 (ed. 1839); Galletti, *Philippi Villani Liber de civitatis Florentiae famosis civibus . . . et de Florentinorum litteratura principes fere synchroni scriptores* (Florentiae, 1847), pp. 43-44; and A. Solerti, *Le Vite di Dante, Petrarca e Boccaccio scritte fino al secolo decimosesto* (Milano, s. a.), p. 97. See also T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, p. 152, where a list is given of more than forty editions of the *Commedia* in which Bruni's *Vita di Dante* is reprinted. A careful reprint of the Redi (1672) text of both the lives was issued with the *Second Annual Report* (1883) of the Dante Society.

under somewhat curious conditions, and in a version which differs very considerably in places from the traditional text.

In 1678 was published, with the imprint of Castellana (actually Geneva),<sup>1</sup> a work in three quarto volumes, entitled *La Bilancia Politica di tutte le Opere di Traiano Boccalini*.<sup>2</sup> The first two volumes of this work, which is described by Haym<sup>3</sup> as "edizione rara," and as having been placed on the Index,<sup>4</sup> consist of Boccalini's *Osservazioni Politiche* on Tacitus,<sup>5</sup> with the *Avvertimenti* of Louis du May.<sup>6</sup> The third volume consists of forty letters ascribed to Boccalini, and edited by Gregorio Leti,<sup>7</sup> two of which (Nos. XXI, XXII) contain Boccalini's *Pietra di Paragone* (first published at Venice in 1615), while seven others (Nos. XXIII-XXIX) contain a *Compendio* of his *Ragguagli di Parnaso* (first published at Venice in 1612-1613). Among the remaining letters are several on literary subjects, two of which are addressed to Pietro Anelli of Naples. The first of these (No. VI), we are told,<sup>8</sup> was written by Boccalini in response to a request from his correspondent for an account of the life and works of Dante; and the second (No. XIII) is alleged to have been written in response to a like request for information concerning the lives of Petrarch and Boccaccio.<sup>9</sup> In each case the desired

<sup>1</sup> See D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. iii, p. 538 (ed. 1895).

<sup>2</sup> Per Giovanni Hermano Widerhold.

<sup>3</sup> *Biblioteca Italiana*, 499. 13 (ed. 1771).

<sup>4</sup> "Vien registrato fra i Libri proibiti, forse per la libertà del May in materia di Religione, per riguardo della quale si fece lecito di alterare il testo del Boccalini."

<sup>5</sup> Vol. i contains "Parte prima, dove si tratta delle osservazioni politiche sopra i sei Libri degli Annali di Cornelio Tacito"; vol. ii contains "Parte seconda, nella quale si comprendono le Osservazioni, et Considerationi politiche sopra il primo Libro delle Storie di Cornelio Tacito, et sopra la Vita di Giulio Agricola scritta dal medesimo Autore"; the statement, "Il tutto illustrato dagli Avvertimenti del Cavalier Ludovico Du May," appears on the title-page of both parts.

<sup>6</sup> Louis du May (d. 1681), French Protestant historian and publicist.

<sup>7</sup> "Parte terza, contenente alcune Lettere Politiche et Historiche del medesimo Autore, Ricovrate, ristabilite, e raccomandate, dalla diligenza, e cura di Gregorio Leti."

<sup>8</sup> In the heading to the letter, which runs as follows: "Al Signor Pietro Anelli, Napoli. Questo Signore scrisse una sua al Boccalini supplicandolo di dargli qualche ragguaglio dell'opere, e vita del Dante, da cui ne ottenne la seguente risposta."

<sup>9</sup> This letter is headed: "Al Signor Pietro Anelli, Napoli. Havendo ricevuto questo Signore la Vita di Dante, speditale dal Signor Boccalini, restò talmente pago della lettura, che di nuovo il supplicò di volerlo favorire à mandargli anche quella del Petrarca, e del Boccaccio da cui restò sodisfatto."



information is supplied not from Boccacini's own resources, but from the lives of Dante and Petrarch by Leonardo Bruni, both of which are transcribed, so it is claimed, from originals, written apparently by the hand of Bruni himself, in the possession of Boccacini.<sup>1</sup>

On glancing through Boccacini's alleged transcript of the *Vita di Dante*, I was at once struck by the unfamiliarity of certain phrases, which I did not remember as occurring in the traditional version of Bruni's life of Dante; and on comparing the Boccacini transcript with the text of the *editio princeps*, as printed by Angelo Solerti in his critical edition of *Le Vite di Dante, Petrarca e Boccaccio scritte fino al secolo decimosesto*, I found that the two versions were by no means identical. A careful collation of the two revealed the fact that the Boccacini version, while embodying practically the whole of the traditional text, contained throughout a number of additions and amplifications which are not represented in any of the other printed versions. On turning to the letter containing the *Vita del Petrarca* I found that in this case also variations existed between the Boccacini version and the accepted text, the variations being, as in the *Vita di Dante*, chiefly in the form of expansions and additions.<sup>2</sup>

The question now presented itself how far credence could be given to the statements attributed to Boccacini as to the alleged source from

<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of Letter VI the writer, after mentioning the lives of Dante by Boccaccio and by Leonardo Bruni (or Leonardo Aretino, as he calls him), says: "Come io me ne trovo di detto Aretino una copia della compositione la mando à V. S. della stessa maniera, et eccola appunto"; at the end of the letter he says: "Hò stimato ancora à proposito di mandargli la copia, ugualissima all' originale dell' Aretino che n'è l'Auttoe." At the beginning of Letter XIII he writes: "Mi trovo appunto nella mia biblioteca di mano dell' Aretino che scrisse la vita che già gli mandai del Dante, anche quella del Petrarca et un poco del Boccaccio."

<sup>2</sup> It may be observed here that a reference to this version of Bruni's *Vita del Petrarca* is given by Solerti in the note at the head of his reprint of the *Vita* in the work mentioned above. He says: "Non va tralasciato di notare che essa è pure riferita intera, e con qualche varietà, in una lettera di Pietro Anelli di Napoli inserita ne *La bilancia politica* ecc. di Traiano Boccacini, Castellana, per G. A. Widerhold, 1678, Vol. III, p. 95." It does not appear, however, that Solerti had the curiosity to examine this version, otherwise he would hardly have dismissed it without further remark, nor would he have described the letter as having been written by instead of to Pietro Anelli. That he was unaware of the existence of the Boccacini version of the *Vita di Dante* is evident from the fact that he makes no mention of it whatever in the elaborate bibliographical note prefixed to his reprint of that life.

which these versions of the two lives were derived. In the first place, were the letters containing them actually written by Boccalini? Doubts on this point were at once suggested by the discovery that both letters, though signed with Boccalini's name in full ("Affettionatissimo et obligatissimo Servidore, Traiano Boccalini"), are dated several years after his death. Boccalini died in 1613. The first letter (No. VI) is dated "Firenze 3 Marzo 1617"; the second (No. XIII) is dated "Firenze 17 Agosto 1618." Consequently, either these dates are incorrect, or the letters were not written by Boccalini.<sup>1</sup>

What, then, is the history of these letters, which were now given to the world for the first time sixty-five years after the death of the alleged writer? On the title-page they are described as having been "Ricovrate, ristabilite, e raccomodate dalla diligenza, e cura di Gregorio Leti." Gregorio Leti, who was born at Milan in 1630, was a voluminous writer, for the most part on historical subjects, his published works amounting altogether to something like one hundred volumes. In 1657 he became a Calvinist, and, after marrying a Calvinist wife, in 1660 he went to reside at Geneva, where he remained for twenty years. Subsequently he visited England, where he was at first handsomely received; but the publication of his *Teatro Britannico* (a history of Great Britain), certain passages in which gave offense in high quarters, led to his expulsion. He thereupon took refuge in Amsterdam, where he died in 1701. The character of Leti's writings may be judged from the following account given by Tiraboschi in his *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*<sup>2</sup>:

Pochi autori sono stati fecondi di opere al par del Leti. . . . Oltre l'Italia, la Francia ancora, la Fiandra, la Gran Bretagna, l'Impero, la città di Ginevra, le reali case di Brandeburgo e di Sassonia, ebber da esso le loro Storie, e nondimeno non crederono di esser molto onorate da un tale scrittore, il quale volendo scriver moltissimo, dovea necessariamente scrivere con gran fretta; e volendo piacere a quelli a onor de' quali scriveva, poco curavasi di dire il vero, ma sol di dire ciò che potesse renderlo ad essi caro e gradito. Quindi in vano si cerca nelle Storie del Leti la sincerità e l'esattezza; e oltre ciò lo stile

<sup>1</sup> An examination of the remaining letters showed that five others are dated, of which four are signed with Boccalini's name. Of these, two only are dated before the year of Boccalini's death, namely Nos. I and XI, which are dated respectively, "Roma 8 Maggio 1612," and "Roma 22 Novembre 1605"; the remaining three, namely Nos. IX, X, and XX (of which the last is unsigned) being dated (also from Rome), "13 Novembre 1616," "26 Luglio 1622," and "19 Dicembre 1625."

<sup>2</sup> Ed. di Milano, 1824, tom. viii, pp. 582-583.

ne è sì prolisso e diffuso, che non vi ha più efficace rimedio a conciliare il sonno. La mordacità e la satira singolarmente contro la corte di Roma e contro la Religione Cattolica è il solo pregio che ne rende care ad alcuni le opere, le quali senza questo bell'ornamento rimarrebbero affatto dimenticate. Vuolsi ch'ei medesimo si vantasse di scrivere ciò che gli pareva più opportuno a ricreare i lettori, e che avesse l'impudenza di dire alla Delfina di Francia, la quale chiedevagli se vero fosse tutto ciò ch'egli avea scritto nella Vita di Sisto V, che una cosa ben immaginata era migliore e più piacevole che la verità.

This description of a writer who avowedly, when it suited his purpose, did not hesitate to substitute fiction for fact, is not exactly calculated to inspire confidence in Leti's methods as an editor, especially when coupled with the announcement on the title-page quoted above as to the part played by him in "recovering, restoring, and emending" these alleged letters of Boccalini. Our confidence is not increased when we learn from the editor himself the circumstances in which the letters were ushered into the world. It appears that they were included with the other works of Boccalini in the *Bilancia Politica* at the instance of Widerhold, the publisher, who in a letter addressed to Leti and printed at the beginning of the volume,<sup>1</sup> after speaking at length of the manuscript from which he had printed the contents of his first two volumes, writes :

Hora havendo inteso che V.S. tiene alcune lettere del Boccalini, vengo con questa mia à supplicarla di volermene partecipare il Manuscritto, quanto più sarà possibile purgato, per aggiungerlo con la stampa dell'altro, e come il suo parere è stato da me ricercato il primo, desiderarei che fosse anche nel fine il totale compimento dell'Opera, so che V. S. non vorrà che il publico resti privo di questo gran beneficio, ed io defraudato di quell'affetto che m'ha sempre testimoniato, da che hebbi l'honore d'essergli discepolo.

In his reply, which is also prefixed to this same volume,<sup>2</sup> Leti expresses himself on the subject of Widerhold's request for some letters of Boccalini for publication as follows :

Circa alla domanda che V. S. mi fa d'alcune Lettere del gran Boccalini che tengo appresso di me, per inserirle all'altra opera, gli dichiaro con verità che bramo corrispondere con tutto l'animo al suo desiderio, e però con sincerità gli aperirò tutto il mio cuore: è verissimo ch'io mi trovo alcune lettere Manuscritte del Signor Boccalini, ma sepolte trà una voragine di scritture, che quasi mi sarà impossibile di poterle senza la perdita di lungo tempo intracciare;

1 " Lettera scritta dal Signor Gio. Herm. Widerhold al Signor Gregorio Leti."

2 " Risposta al Signor Gio. Herm. Widerhold, Mercante Libraro."

oltre à questo sono così logorate dal tempo, e dalla pioggia che hanno sofferte nel tempo de' miei viaggi, che difficil cosa sarà d'investigarne il senso, mentre mi ricordo<sup>1</sup> benissimo che molte pagine son quasi del tutto scancellate, à segno che converrà cercarne un senso corrispondente à quel poco che si può leggere.

Ma quel che più importa, e che mi dà il più a pensare, [è] che trà le Lettere del Signor Traiano Boccalini, se ne trovano molte del Signor Ridolfo suo figliuolo, e come in molte manca la sottoscrizione, non è possibile di poter distinguere quelle che sono del Signor Traiano, ò del Signor Ridolfo, così anche sono mescolate, e confuse insieme.

In tanto per servirla dimane à sera subito che sarò di ritorno a Casa darò principio à cercarle, e trovate le copiarò di mia mano, per riparare col mio à quel tanto ch'è scancellato, e quando l'haverò posto all'ordine dovuto, senza alcuna confusione, non mancherò di rimetterli il tutto per sodisfare a' suoi desiderii. Sò che molti crederanno per certo che tali Lettere non sono state mai del Boccalini, et in fatti vi sarà nel mezzo un gran mescuglio del mio, e fuori sette lettere che posso testimoniare con sicurezza, che sono del Signor Traiano, le altre sono ò del Signor Ridolfo ò mie, ad ogni modo per torre ogni confusione si pubblicheranno tutte sotto il nome del Signor Boccalini, supplicando V. S. di fare una protesta di mia parte al Lettore, che trovando qualche cosa di buono, che non dubito, che ne dia assolutamente la gloria al Signor Boccalini, et al contrario son contento che sopra di me si scarichi tutta la censura di quel tanto che non aggradirà al senso d'esso Lettore, dalla cui grande benignità mi comprometto però che troverà perdono questo mio grand'ardire di mescolare la sconciatura dello mio stile, con la purissima penna d'un tanto huomo; ma spero che sarò degno d'iscusa, mentre protesto che non per altro aggiungo qualche cosa del mio, che per servir d'ombre acciò maggiormente s'accendesse l'altrui animo à voltarsi verso il sole della gran virtù del Boccalini.

Queste Lettere benchè necessariamente converrà rifarne molte, per esser come ho detto scancellate, e logorate in buona parte, con tutto ciò non potranno che aggiungere curiosità maggiore alla Lettera, nè altro in alcune vi sarà di differenza che nello stile; mentre il Boccalini stette sempre sù il medesimo stile di scrivere alto, et elevato, poichè scrivendo materie politiche non voleva renderle comunali ad ogni uno, contentandosi d'essere inteso da' più dotti, et intelligenti, dove che io procurerò di trasferire queste Lettere in uno stile historico, che possa senza difficoltà alcuna essere inteso da tutti: tanto più che lo stesso Boccalini non costumava alle volte di scrivere ad amici che familiarmente come l'osservo in trè, ò quattro Lettere che tengo di sua propria mano, che farò vedere à V. S. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Leti was away from home at the time of writing, as appears from Widerhold's letter, who says he shall approach Leti personally "quando sarà di ritorno," and also from what Leti himself says further on.

We have here, then, a frank avowal on the part of the editor, that of the forty letters printed in this volume he claims only seven to have been actually written by Boccacini;<sup>1</sup> that of the rest, some were written by Boccacini's son Ridolfo, and some by Leti himself, while others were re-written "in uno stile storico" by Leti, and to others he contributed a considerable admixture of his own composition; and that, these facts notwithstanding, "in order to avoid confusion," Boccacini's name was attached to all alike.

After this cynical confession, the shamelessness of which is in keeping with Leti's character as described by Tiraboschi and other literary historians, it is manifestly impossible, quite apart from the question of dates, to accept the letters containing the lives of Dante and Petrarch as authentic compositions of Boccacini, at any rate in the form in which they are here printed; and it is of course equally impossible to accept unreservedly the statements in the letters as to the manuscript sources of the lives in question.

Whether Boccacini had any hand in the composition of these two letters, and, if so, to what extent, it is not easy to determine. It is quite possible that he may in fact have possessed a manuscript of Bruni's, and may have transcribed the two *Vite* in some such letters to a literary correspondent, and that these, having come into Leti's hands, were afterwards "worked over" by him prior to publication. On the other hand, having regard to Leti's avowed unscrupulousness in literary matters, and in view of his own statements to Widerhold in the letter above quoted, it would not be beyond the bounds of probability to assume that these letters, among others, were concocted by Leti for the purpose of satisfying the demand on the part of the publisher of the *Bilancia Politica* for epistolary compositions from the hand of Boccacini. Leti's reason for affixing Boccacini's signature to letters not written by Boccacini has already been given in his own words. His motive for appending a date which is incompatible with the signature is not apparent. Possibly this was his method of indicating indirectly to the reader that these letters were among those referred to in his communication to Widerhold as not having in fact been the composition of Boccacini.

<sup>1</sup> It will be noted that Leti carefully abstains from specifying which were the seven letters as to which he was able "testimoniare con sicurezza che sono del Signor Traiano."



Leti, if he were the author of these particular letters,<sup>1</sup> would have found the material for them in the shape of Bruni's lives of Dante and Petrarch ready to his hand in the editions mentioned above as having been printed at Perugia and Florence in 1671 and 1672. The claim to have printed the lives from a manuscript of the author, and the additions and amplifications introduced into the text, would be characteristic devices on the part of an adept literary confectioner like Leti, in order to conceal his unblushing appropriation, and publication as original, of matter which had in fact already been before the public for several years.

However, be the author of the letters Boccalini or Leti, these versions of Bruni's two lives, whatever the actual source from which they were derived, have a peculiar interest of their own, which, coupled with the fact already mentioned that the work in which they are contained is one of considerable rarity, may be held a sufficient justification for reprinting them here.

In order that the additions and amplifications introduced in the Boccalini versions (as they may for convenience be called) may be easily distinguished, these are here printed in italics. Minor variations from the text of the printed editions of 1671 and 1672, that is, from the text of the Cinelli (C.) and Rediti (R.) manuscripts respectively, are registered in an *apparatus criticus* at the foot of the page. Insignificant differences in the matter of spelling have been ignored.

The Boccalini version of the life of Petrarch, which, though, as already mentioned, its existence has been recorded by Solerti, is practically unknown, is included with that of Dante, inasmuch as the two lives are in a sense complementary, Bruni having appended to his life of Petrarch an interesting parallel between the two poets, which is almost invariably omitted from the reprints of his life of Dante.

The interpolated matter, as will be seen, is of two kinds. The first consists merely of phraseological expansions and circumlocutions, which affect the style rather than the sense; such as (in the life of Dante) "con tanta furia e tempesta d'armi vinsero," for Bruni's "con tanta tempesta vinsero"; "ricchezze a grande abbondanza," for "ricchezze assai"; "non sarà cattivo di dire," for "ora diremo"; "con la dolcezza della sua lira," for "con la sua lira"; "di tutto questo bisogna sapere la cagione, che dirò," for "la cagione di questo è"; and so on. The second kind of interpolation is of a different nature altogether. This consists of the

<sup>1</sup> With the other letters contained in this volume we are not at present concerned.

introduction into the text of fresh matter, of which there is no hint or trace in any other printed edition of the lives. A few examples (also from the life of Dante) will suffice to show the character of these additions. Some of them, which do not immediately concern Dante, are of secondary interest; as for instance, the remark "*poiche tractant fabrilis Fabri*" appended to Bruni's "*la lingua pur va dove il dente duole, et a cui piace il bere sempre ragiona di vini*";<sup>1</sup> or the details as to Socrates' wife and second marriage, à propos of Bruni's reference to him as a married man.<sup>2</sup> A certain number of the additions, on the other hand, if they really possessed the manuscript authority claimed for them, would be of the first importance, as contributing entirely new details to the biography of the poet. We are told, for example, that Dante was in the habit of consulting the opinion of his friends on the subject of his compositions, and that he was sensitive to the judgment of the world at large concerning them, to the extent of laying aside any composition which did not meet with approval.<sup>3</sup> Again, in connection with Bruni's statement as to the seizure of Dante's goods after his condemnation, we are informed that the loss was a very heavy one, as Dante was a man of great substance, partly inherited from his father, and partly acquired by his own exertions, to say nothing of what came to him with his wife.<sup>4</sup> Yet again, Bruni observes that Dante was of a sociable nature, and "*conversò civilmente con li uomini*," to which the Boccacini version adds "*non meno compatrioti che stranieri*."<sup>5</sup> But the most remarkable, and the most interesting if it were authoritative (and, we may add, the most audacious if it were not), is the addition of another sentence to the well-known quotation from the beginning of Dante's letter to the People of Florence, a letter for which Bruni is our only authority. To the words quoted by Bruni, "*Popule mee quid feci tibi?*" according to the traditional text, the version before us adds, "*aut in quo molestatus<sup>6</sup> fui responde mihi*."<sup>7</sup>

In the life of Petrarch the interpolations, which are for the most part of much the same character as those in the life of Dante, are considerably more numerous, as a glance at the transcript will show.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 54.

<sup>6</sup> *Sic*; a misprint or misreading for "*molestus*." The words quoted by Bruni, as well as the continuation of the quotation in the Boccacini version, come from the Vulgate (*Micah*, vi. 3): "*Popule meus quid feci tibi, aut quid molestus fui tibi? responde mihi*."

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 59.



It may be noted here that, in addition to numerous minor misprints, the Boccacchini versions of the lives contain some remarkable blunders, which reflect little credit on the vigilance or perspicacity of the editor. For instance, in the life of Dante, "il libro intitolato *De Vulgari Eloquentia*," in Bruni's phrase, is transformed by the printers into "libro intitolato da' volgari *Eloquenzia*"<sup>1</sup>; while out of "Guittone Cavaliere Gaudente d'Arezzo," in the list of Italian poets before Dante, have been evolved two personages hitherto unknown to fame, namely "Guizzone Cavaliere" and "Gaudente d'Arezzo."<sup>2</sup>

We now give the *Vita di Dante* from Lettera VI; but before coming to the life itself it will be instructive to transcribe the following introductory paragraph in the letter, which is obviously more or less closely paraphrased from the *Proemio* prefixed by Bruni to his biography of the poet:

Veniamo hora alla Vita, studii, e costumi del Dante che desidera, e sopra che ho da dirli ch' il famoso Boccaccio scrisse di questo gran Poeta, appunto come se havesse havuto à scrivere il Filocolo, il Filostrato, ò la Fiammetta, cioè con uno stile tutto pieno d'amore, in che s' infiammò tanto che lasciò a dietro le parti più essenziali, ricordando le cose leggiere, e tacendo le gravi. Leonardo Aretino che successe al Boccaccio nella fama di Scrittore eminente, si diede à scrivere con maggior notitia la vita del Dante, non già per derogare à quello scritto havea il Boccaccio, ma per assupplire à quanto questo fatto havea, e come io me ne trovo di detto Aretino una copia della compositione la mando a V. S. nella stessa maniera, et ecola appunto.<sup>3</sup>

Then follows the *Vita di Dante*:

I maggiori di Dante furono in Firenze di molta<sup>4</sup> antica Stirpe, in tanto che lui par volere in alcun luogo<sup>5</sup> *delle sue Composizioni*, essere stati i suoi antichi<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Bruni says: "... mi venne alle mani un' Operetta del Boccaccio intitolata *Della vita, costumi, e studi del clarissimo Poeta Dante*. La quale Opera ... mi parve che il nostro Boccaccio, dolcissimo e suavissimo uomo, così scrivesse la vita e i costumi di tanto sublime Poeta, come se a scrivere avesse il Filocolo, o il Filostrato, o la Fiammetta: perocchè tutta d'amore, e di sospiri, e di cocenti lagrime è piena ... e tanto s' infiamma in queste parti d'amore, che le gravi e sustanzievoli parti della vita di Dante lascia indietro e trapassa con silenzio; ricordando le cose leggiere, e tacendo le gravi. Io dunque mi posi in cuore per mio spasso scriver di nuovo la Vita di Dante con maggior notizia delle cose stimabili. Nè questo faccio per derogare al Boccaccio; ma perchè lo scriver mio sia quasi un supplimento allo scriver di lui." (From Redi's text.)

<sup>4</sup> C. R. molto.

<sup>5</sup> R. alcuni luoghi.

<sup>6</sup> C. R. i suoi antichi essere stati.

di quei <sup>1</sup> Romani che fondarono <sup>2</sup> Firenze: ma questa è una cosa molta <sup>3</sup> incerta, e secondo *il* mio parere, *ciò* non <sup>4</sup> è altro che indovinare: *però* di quelli che s' ha notitia, <sup>5</sup> il Tritavo <sup>6</sup> suo fu Messer Cacciaguida Cavaliere Fiorentino, il quale militò sotto l' Imperadore Corrado. Questo Messer Cacciaguida hebbe due figliuoli <sup>7</sup> l' uno chiamato Moronto, l' altro Eliseo: di Moronto non si legge alcuna successione; ma da Eliseo nacque la <sup>8</sup> Famiglia nominata Elisei, <sup>9</sup> e forse anche prima avevano questo nome. Di Messer Cacciaguida nacquero gli Alleghieri, <sup>10</sup> così chiamati <sup>11</sup> da un suo figliuolo, il quale per Stirpe materna ebbe nome Aldighieri. Messer Cacciaguida, e fratelli, e loro antichi <sup>12</sup> habitaron quasi in sul cantone <sup>13</sup> di Porta San Pietro, <sup>14</sup> dove prima vi s' entra di <sup>15</sup> Mercato Vecchio, nelle Case ch' ancor' hoggi si chiamano degli Elisei, perche à loro rimase l' antichità. Quelli di Messer Cacciaguida detti Alleghieri <sup>16</sup> habitarono in sù la Piazza detta à <sup>17</sup> San Martino del Vescovo, dirimpetto alla via che v' à Casa Sacchetti, <sup>18</sup> e dall' altra parte si stendono vicino alle <sup>19</sup> Case de' Donati, e de' Givochi.

Dante nacque <sup>20</sup> negli anni del Signore <sup>21</sup> 1265. poco dopo la tornata de' Guelfi in Firenze, stati in Esilio per la sconfitta di Monte aperto. <sup>22</sup> Nella pueritia <sup>23</sup> nodrito liberalmente, e dato a' <sup>24</sup> precettori delle Lettere, subito apparve in lui ingegno grandissimo, et altissimo à cose Eccellenti. Il suo Padre Aldighieri gli mancò *ne' primi anni* della sua pueritia, <sup>25</sup> niente di manco confortato da' propinqui, e da Brunetto Latini valentissimo huomo *nel suo genere*, secondo quel tempo, non solamente à Letteratura, ma agli <sup>26</sup> altri studii liberali si diede, non <sup>27</sup> lasciando in dietro <sup>28</sup> *cosa alcuna necessaria* a render <sup>29</sup> l' Huomo eccellente, nè per tutto questo si racchiuse in otio, nè privossi del Secolo, ma vivendo, e conversando con gli altri giovini di sua età costumato, et accorto, e valoroso ad ogni esercizio giovanile si trovava.

In tanto che <sup>30</sup> in quella battaglia memorabile, e grandissima, che fu *fatta* à Campaldino, lui *benche* giovane stimatissimo <sup>31</sup> *con tutto ciò* si trovò nell' Armi,

<sup>1</sup> R. *quelli*.                      <sup>2</sup> C. R. *posero*.                      <sup>3</sup> C. R. *molto*.                      <sup>4</sup> C. R. *niente*.

<sup>5</sup> C. *indovinare: ma di quelli che s' abbia n.*; R. *indovinare: Di quelli che io ho n.*

<sup>6</sup> R. *tritavolo*.

<sup>19</sup> R. *verso le*.

<sup>7</sup> R. *fratelli*.

<sup>20</sup> R. *Nacque D.*

<sup>8</sup> R. *quella*.

<sup>21</sup> C. R. *anni Domini*.

<sup>9</sup> R. *gli Elisei*.

<sup>22</sup> R. *Montaperti*.

<sup>10</sup> R. *Aldighieri*.

<sup>23</sup> R. *puerizia sua*.

<sup>11</sup> C. *vocati*; R. *nominati*.

<sup>24</sup> R. *a*.

<sup>12</sup> R. *e i fratelli e i loro a*.

<sup>25</sup> C. R. *perdè nella sua puerizia*.

<sup>13</sup> C. R. *canto*.

<sup>26</sup> R. *a degli*.

<sup>14</sup> C. R. *Piero*.

<sup>27</sup> C. R. *niente*.

<sup>15</sup> R. *da*.

<sup>28</sup> C. *a dietro*.

<sup>16</sup> R. *Aldighieri*.

<sup>29</sup> C. R. *che appartenga a far*.

<sup>17</sup> C. R. *dietro a*.

<sup>30</sup> C. R. *si trovava; intanto chè*.

<sup>18</sup> C. R. *i S*.

<sup>31</sup> C. R. *e bene stimato*.

combattendo vigorosamente à cavallo nella prima schiera dove portò gravissimo pericolo *della vita*, perciò che<sup>1</sup> la prima battaglia fu delle Schiere equestri,<sup>2</sup> nella quale i<sup>3</sup> Cavaglieri ch' erano dalla parte degli Aretini con tanta furia e tempesta d' *Armi* vinsero, e soperchiarono la schiera de' Cavaglieri Fiorentini, che sbaragliati,<sup>4</sup> e rotti bisognò fuggire alla schiera Pedestre.

Questa rottura<sup>5</sup> fu quella che fe perdere la Battaglia agli Aretini, perciò che<sup>6</sup> i loro Cavalieri vincitori perseguitando quelli che fuggivano per grande distantia, lasciarono à dietro la sua<sup>7</sup> pedestre schiera sì che da quindi innanzi in niun lungo<sup>8</sup> intieri combatterono; ma i Cavaglieri soli, e da per se,<sup>9</sup> senza sussidio di Pedoni, et i Pedoni da per se<sup>10</sup> poi senza sussidio di<sup>11</sup> Cavaglieri *pugnarono*, e<sup>12</sup> dalla parte de Fiorentini successe<sup>13</sup> tutto il contrario, che per esser fuggiti i loro Cavalieri alla schiera Pedestre, si fero tutti un corpo, et agevolmente vinsero prima i Cavalieri, e poi i Pedoni.

Dante *con il suo solito naturale stile di scrivere* racconta questa battaglia<sup>14</sup> in una sua Epistola, e dice esservi stato à combattere; e disegna la forma della Battaglia; e per *maggior* notizia della cosa saper dobbiamo che Vberti, Lamberti, Abbati, e tutti gli altri usciti da<sup>15</sup> Firenze erano con gli Aretini; e tutti gli usciti d' Arezzo Gentil' huomini, e Popolani Guelfi,<sup>16</sup> che in quel tempo tutti erano cacciati,<sup>17</sup> furono<sup>18</sup> co' Fiorentini in questa battaglia; e<sup>19</sup> per questa cagione le parole scritte in Palaggio dicono, sconfitti i Ghibellini à Cerromondo,<sup>20</sup> e non dicono gli Aretini,<sup>21</sup> acciò che quella parte degli Aretini che fù col comune à vincere non si dolesse.<sup>22</sup>

Tornando dunque à<sup>23</sup> nostro proposito dico che Dante virtuosamente si trovò à combattere per la Patria in questa battaglia, e<sup>24</sup> vorrei che il nostro Boccaccio<sup>25</sup> di questa virtù più tosto<sup>26</sup> havesse fatto mentione, che<sup>27</sup> dell' amore di nove anni, e di simili leggerezze, per lui raccontate da<sup>28</sup> tanto huomo. Ma che giova il<sup>29</sup> dire? la<sup>30</sup> lingua pur va dove il dente duole, et a cui<sup>31</sup> piace il bere sempre ragiona di vini, *poiche* "*tractant fabrilia Fabri*." Dopo questa battaglia tornò<sup>32</sup>

1 C. R. *perocchè*.

2 R. adds cioè de' Cavalieri.

3 C. *e'*.

4 C. R. *sbarattati*.

5 C. R. *rotta*.

6 C. *perocchè*; R. *perchè*.

7 R. *loro*.

8 *Sic*; C. R. *luogo*.

9 C. R. *di per sè*.

10 C. *di per sè*; omitted by R.

11 C. R. *de'*.

12 C. *E*; R. *Ma*.

13 C. R. *addivenne*.

14 C. R. *Questa battaglia racconta Dante*.

15 R. *di*.

16 R. *e Guelfi*.

17 R. *scacciati*.

18 R. *erano*.

19 C. R. *E*.

20 *Sic*; C. R. *Certomondo*.

21 R. *sconfitti gli A*.

22 C. R. *non si potesse dolere*.

23 C. *adunque a*; R. *dunque al*.

24 R. *E*.

25 C. R. *il B. n*.

26 R. omits *più tosto*.

27 R. *più che*.

28 C. R. *che per lui si raccontano di*.

29 C. R. *a*.

30 C. R. *La*.

31 R. *chi*.

32 R. *tornatosi*.

Dante à Casa, à *seguire* gli studii più *accuratamente* che prima,<sup>1</sup> e niente dimeno, non tralasciò nulla delle <sup>2</sup> solite sue conversazioni Urbane, e civili: cosa in vero miracolosa,<sup>3</sup> che studiando continuamente à niuna persona pareva <sup>4</sup> ch'egli studiasse, *rispetto al suo modo di procedere lieto*, et alla sua conversazione giovanile, *et aggradevole*.<sup>5</sup>

*Ma già che sono su questo punto, non sarà fuor di proposito* di riprendere<sup>6</sup> l'errore di molti ignoranti, i quali credono non poter niuno studiare,<sup>7</sup> se non quelli che si nascondono in solitudine, et in otio, et io non mi ricordo d'aver mai veduto alcuno <sup>8</sup> di questi *tali* amuffati,<sup>9</sup> e rimossi dalla conversazione degli Huomini, che sapesse tre Lettere: l'ingegno alto, et elevato<sup>10</sup> non ha bisogno di tormentarsi così fattamente, essendo vera<sup>11</sup> conclusione, e certissima che quello che non impara tosto, non impara mai,<sup>12</sup> sì che lo straniarsi,<sup>13</sup> e levarsi dalla conversazione, è cosa di quei tali che non<sup>14</sup> sono atti col loro basso ingegno ad imparare.<sup>15</sup>

Il nostro Dante non solamente conversò civilmente con gli Huomini,<sup>16</sup> non meno compatrioti che stranieri, ma ancora tolse Moglie in sua gioventù,<sup>17</sup> e detta sua Moglie<sup>18</sup> fu Gentil Donna della *chiarissima* Famiglia de' Donati, chiamata per nome Donna<sup>19</sup> Gemma della quale hebbe più figliuoli, come in altro luogo dimostreremo.<sup>20</sup> Qui il Boccaccio non ha pazienza, e dice le Mogli esser contrarie agli studii, e non si ricorda che Socrate<sup>21</sup> il più sommo Filosofo della Grecia<sup>22</sup> hebbe Moglie, e figliuoli, et Uffici, e Dignità nella sua Repubblica,<sup>23</sup> e benche la sua Moglie fosse stata cattiva, e pessima dalla quale fu forzato di soffrir mille maltrattamenti, non lasciò con tutto ciò di rimaritarsi di nuovo, dopo morta la prima: et Aristotile che si può dire un fondo di sapienza e di dottrina<sup>24</sup> hebbe due Mogli in diversi<sup>25</sup> tempi, et hebbe figliuoli,

<sup>1</sup> C. e *alli studi più che prima si diede*; R. *alli s. più ferventemente c. p. s. d.*

<sup>2</sup> C. e *n. di manco niente t. delle*; R. e *nondimanco n. t. d.*

<sup>3</sup> C. *cosa miracolosa*; R. *E era mirabil cosa.*

<sup>4</sup> C. R. *sarebbe paruto.*

<sup>5</sup> C. R. *per l'usanza lieta e conversazione giovanile.*

<sup>6</sup> C. *Nella qual cosa mi giova riprendere*; R. *Per la qual cosa m. g. r.*

<sup>7</sup> C. R. *niuno essere studiante.* <sup>9</sup> C. R. *camuffati.*

<sup>8</sup> C. R. e *io non vidi mai niuno.* <sup>10</sup> C. *L' i. alio e grande*; R. *L' i. g. e a.*

<sup>11</sup> C. *di tali tormenti*; anzi è vera (R. *verissima*).

<sup>12</sup> C. *quello che non appara tosto, non appara mai*; R. *quelli che non apparano tosto, non apparano mai.*

<sup>13</sup> C. R. *Sì che s.*

<sup>14</sup> C. R. è *al tutto di quelli che niente.*

<sup>15</sup> C. R. *imprendere.*

<sup>16</sup> C. *Nè solamente c. c. con li u. Dante*; R. *Nè s. c. c. D. con gli u.*

<sup>17</sup> R. *giovanezza.*

<sup>20</sup> C. R. *in altra parte di quest' opera d.*

<sup>18</sup> C. R. *la m. sua.*

<sup>21</sup> C. *Isocrate.*

<sup>19</sup> C. *Mona*; R. *Madonna.*

<sup>22</sup> C. *il più sommo (R. nobile) f. che mai fusse.*

<sup>23</sup> C. R. *nella r. della sua Città.*

<sup>24</sup> C. R. *A. che non si può dire più là di s. e di d.*

<sup>25</sup> R. *vari.*

e ricchezze in grande abbondanza:<sup>1</sup> e Marco Tullio, e Catone, e Seneca, e Verrone<sup>2</sup> Filosofi così famosi trà Latini<sup>3</sup> tutti ebbero Mogli, figliuoli, et Offitii,<sup>4</sup> e Governi nella Republica: sì che mi perdoni<sup>5</sup> il Boccaccio, i suoi giuditii sono molto frivoli<sup>6</sup> in questa parte, e molto distanti dalla vera opinione: l' Huomo è Animale<sup>7</sup> civile, secondo piace a tutti i Filosofi, dalla prima congiunzione del quale<sup>8</sup> moltiplicata nasce la Città; nè può esser cosa perfetta dove non vi è la congiunzione del Marito, e Moglie;<sup>9</sup> e solo questo amore nel Mondo è Naturale legittimo e permesso.

Adunque havendo Dante tolto Moglie,<sup>10</sup> e vivendo con essa civile, honesta,<sup>11</sup> e studiosa vita, fu adoperato nella Republica in maneggi di grande importanza,<sup>12</sup> e finalmente venuto<sup>13</sup> alla debita età<sup>14</sup> fu creato uno de' Priori non per sorte come s'usa al presente, ma per elettione come in quel tempo si costumava fare.<sup>15</sup> Furono nell' Offitio del Priorato con lui Messer Palmieri Altoviti,<sup>16</sup> e Neri di Messer Jacopo degli Alberti, et altri Colleghi, e fu questo suo Priorato nel 1300. e da<sup>17</sup> questo Priorato nacque la cacciata sua dalla Città, et ancora hebbero origine tutte le altre sue avversità<sup>18</sup> che egli ebbe nella sua vita,<sup>19</sup> secondo che esso<sup>20</sup> medesimo lo scrive in una sua Epistola della quale le parole sono.<sup>21</sup>

" Tutti i mali, e gli<sup>22</sup> inconvenienti miei dagl' infausti Comitii del mio Priorato ebbono<sup>23</sup> cagione, e principio, del quale Priorato, benché per prudentia io non fossi degno, niente di meno per fede, e per età non ne ero<sup>24</sup> indegno, peroche dieci anni erano già passati dopo la battaglia di Campaldino nella quale la parte Ghibellina fu quasi del tutto<sup>25</sup> morta, e disfatta. dove mi trovai non fanciullo nell' Armi, dove<sup>26</sup> hebbi temenza molta, e nella fine allegrezza grandissima,<sup>27</sup> per li varii casi di quella battaglia."

Queste sono le proprie parole del Dante.<sup>28</sup> ora<sup>29</sup> la cagione della sua cacciata voglio particolarmente raccontare, per ciò che<sup>30</sup> è cosa notabile, et il Boccaccio se ne passa con piede asciutto,<sup>31</sup> che forse non gli era così nota come à noi per

<sup>1</sup> C. R. r. assai.

<sup>2</sup> Sic; R. Varrone e Seneca.

<sup>3</sup> C. R. Latini sommi f.

<sup>4</sup> R. moglie, ufici.

<sup>5</sup> C. R. Città, e marito e moglie; nè cosa può esser perfetta, dove questa (R. questo) non sia.

<sup>10</sup> C. R. D. a., tolta (R. tolto) donna.

<sup>11</sup> R. civilmente ed onesta.

<sup>12</sup> C. R. nella r. assai.

<sup>13</sup> R. pervenuto.

<sup>14</sup> C. R. età d.

<sup>15</sup> R. c. di f.

<sup>16</sup> R. degli A.

<sup>17</sup> C. R. Da.

<sup>18</sup> C. R. cacciata sua, e tutte le cose avverse.

<sup>19</sup> C. nella v. s.; R. nella v.

<sup>20</sup> C. s. e. m.; R. s. lui m.

<sup>6</sup> C. R. Sicchè perdonimi.

<sup>6</sup> R. fievoli.

<sup>7</sup> Solerti reads anima.

<sup>8</sup> C. R. la p. c. della (R. dalla) q.

<sup>21</sup> C. R. sono queste.

<sup>22</sup> R. e tutti l'.

<sup>23</sup> R. ebbero.

<sup>24</sup> C. R. era.

<sup>25</sup> R. al t.

<sup>26</sup> R. e d.

<sup>27</sup> R. g. a.

<sup>28</sup> C. R. Queste sono le p. sue.

<sup>29</sup> C. R. Ora.

<sup>30</sup> C. R. perocchè.

<sup>31</sup> R. passa così asciuttamente.



cagione della Storia che habbiamo scritta. Havendo prima havuto la Città di Firenze divisioni assai trà Guelfi, e Ghibellini, finalmente era rimasa nelle mani de' Guelfi, e stata assai lungo spatio <sup>1</sup> in questa forma sopravvenne un'altra <sup>2</sup> maledizione di parte infrà <sup>3</sup> Guelfi medesimi i quali reggevano la Repubblica, e fù il nome delle parti Bianchi, e Neri.

Nacque questa perversità ne' Pistoiesi in prima, <sup>4</sup> e massime nella Famiglia de' Cancellieri, et essendo già divisa tutta Pistoia, per porvi rimedio fù ordinato da' Fiorentini che i Capi di queste sette ne venissono <sup>5</sup> à Firenze, acciò che là non facessero maggior turbatione. Questo rimedio fù tale che non tanto di bene fece a' Pistoiesi per levarli <sup>6</sup> i Capi, quanto di male fece a' Fiorentini per tirarli <sup>7</sup> quella pestilenza; perocche havendo i Capi à Firenze <sup>8</sup> parentadi, et amicitie assai, subito accesero il fuoco con maggiore incendio per li favori diversi <sup>9</sup> che havevano da' Parentadi, dagli <sup>10</sup> amici, che non era quello che lasciato havevano à Pistoia, e trattandosi di questa materia in publico, e privato <sup>11</sup> mirabilmente s'apprese il mal seme, e divisesi tutta la Città <sup>12</sup> in modo che quasi non vi fu Famiglia Nobile, nè plebea che in se medesima non si dividesse, ne Uomo <sup>13</sup> particolare di stima alcuna, che non fusse dell'una delle sette, e trovossi in molti la divisione <sup>14</sup> essere trà <sup>15</sup> fratelli carnali che l'uno di quà, e l'altro di là teneva.

Essendo già durata la contesa più mesi, e multiplicati gli inconvenienti non solamente per parole, ma ancora per fatti dispettosi, et acerbi cominciati trà i giovini, <sup>16</sup> e distesi <sup>17</sup> trà gli Huomini di matura età, la Città tutta stava <sup>18</sup> sollevata, e sospesa, avvenne <sup>19</sup> ch'essendo Dante de' Priori, certa ragunata si fè per la parte de' Neri nella Chiesa di Santa Trinità: quello che trattassero fu cosa molto segreta, ma l'effetto fu di fare opera con Papa Bonifatio VIII. il quale allora sedeva, che mandasse à Firenze Messer Carlo di Valois de' Reali di Francia à pacificare, e riformare la terra. <sup>20</sup>

Questa ragunata sentendosi per l'altra parte subito <sup>21</sup> se ne prese suspizione grandissima in tanto che presero l'armi, e fornironsi d'amistà, et andarono a' <sup>22</sup> Priori aggravando la ragunata fatta, e l'havere con privato consiglio preso <sup>23</sup> deliberatione dello stato della Città, e tutto esser fatto dicevano per cacciargli di Firenze, et in tanto domandarono <sup>24</sup> a' Priori che facessero punire tanto prosuntuoso eccesso.

<sup>1</sup> R. *l. s. di tempo.*

<sup>2</sup> R. *di nuovo un' a.*

<sup>3</sup> R. *intra.*

<sup>4</sup> R. *prima ne' Pistoiesi.*

<sup>5</sup> R. *s. venissero.*

<sup>6</sup> R. *levar loro.*

<sup>7</sup> C. R. *tirare a se.*

<sup>8</sup> C. R. *in F.*

<sup>9</sup> C. *per gli d. f.*; R. *per d. f.*

<sup>10</sup> C. R. *parenti e d.*

<sup>11</sup> R. *publice et privatim.*

<sup>12</sup> R. *d. la c. t.*

<sup>13</sup> R. *ne vi fu u.*

<sup>14</sup> R. *omits in molti.*

<sup>15</sup> R. *tra'.*

<sup>16</sup> R. *trà g.*

<sup>17</sup> R. *discesi.*

<sup>18</sup> R. *la c. s. t.*

<sup>19</sup> C. *Addivenne.*

<sup>20</sup> R. *e a r. la città.*

<sup>21</sup> R. *p. de' Bianchi, s.*

<sup>22</sup> R. *a.*

<sup>23</sup> R. *presa*; Solerti reads *prese.*

<sup>24</sup> C. R. *pertanto domandavano.*

Quelli che havevano fatto<sup>1</sup> la ragunata temendo anche loro<sup>2</sup> pigliando<sup>3</sup> l'armi et appresso i<sup>4</sup> Priori si dolevano degli avversarii, che senza deliberatione publica s'erano armati, e fortificati, affermando che sotto varii colori gli volevano cacciare, e domandavano a' Priori che li facessero punire, si come perturbatori<sup>5</sup> del riposo publico,<sup>6</sup> *di modo che* l'una parte, e l'altra di Fanti, e d'Amistà forniti<sup>7</sup> s'erano, *onde* la paura, il terrore,<sup>8</sup> et il pericolo era grandissimo.

Stando<sup>9</sup> adunque la Città *così immersa* nell'<sup>10</sup> armi e ne<sup>10</sup> travagli i Priori per consiglio del Dante providdero di fortificarsi dalla<sup>11</sup> moltitudine del Popolo, e quando furono fortificati ne mandarono a'<sup>12</sup> confini gli Huomini de' principali<sup>13</sup> delle due sette che<sup>14</sup> furono *i seguenti*,<sup>15</sup> Messer Corso Donati, Messer Geri Spini, Messer Giachinotto de' Patti<sup>16</sup>: Messer Rosso della Tosa, et altri con loro: tutti questi erano della<sup>17</sup> parte Nera, e furono mandati a'<sup>18</sup> confini à Castel<sup>19</sup> della Pieve in quel di Peruggia: dalla parte de' Bianchi furono mandati a' confini à Serezzana Messer Gentile, e Messer Torriggiano de' Cerchi, Guido Cavalcanti, Baschiera della Tosa, Balduccio Aldimari,<sup>20</sup> Naldo di Messer Lottino Gherardini, et altri.

Questo *consiglio* diede gravezza<sup>21</sup> assai à Dante, e con tutto ch'esso<sup>22</sup> si scusasse<sup>23</sup> come Uomo senza parte, *e senza interesse*, niente di manco fu riputato che pendesse<sup>24</sup> in parte Bianca, e che gli dispiacesse il consiglio tenuto,<sup>25</sup> e *risoluto* di chiamare Carlo de Valois à Firenze, come materia di scandali,<sup>26</sup> e di guai alla Città, et accrebbesi<sup>27</sup> *con questi sospetti* l'invidia, perche quella parte de'<sup>28</sup> Cittadini, che fu confinata à Serezzana subito ritornò à Firenze, e l'altra parte confinata<sup>29</sup> à Castel<sup>30</sup> della Pieve si rimase di fuori.

A *tutte queste accuse*<sup>31</sup> risponde Dante, che quando quelli di<sup>32</sup> Serezzana furono rivotati, esso era fuori dell' Ufficio del Priorato, e che *però* à lui non si deve<sup>33</sup> imputare *tal successo*; di più dice che la ritornata loro fu per l'infermità, e morte di Guido Cavalcanti, il quale s'ammalò<sup>34</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R. fatta.

<sup>2</sup> R. ancora essi.

<sup>3</sup> C. R. pigliarono.

<sup>4</sup> R. a'.

<sup>5</sup> R. turbatori.

<sup>6</sup> C. R. della quiete pubblica.

<sup>7</sup> R. fornite.

<sup>8</sup> C. R. p. e il t.

<sup>9</sup> C. R. Essendo.

<sup>10</sup> C. R. in.

<sup>11</sup> R. della.

<sup>12</sup> R. a.

<sup>13</sup> C. uomini più p.; R. u. principali.

<sup>14</sup> R. i quali.

<sup>15</sup> C. R. f. questi.

<sup>16</sup> C. R. Pazzi.

<sup>17</sup> R. per la.

<sup>18</sup> R. a.

<sup>19</sup> R. al Castello.

<sup>20</sup> Sic; C. R. Adimari.

<sup>21</sup> C. gravezze.

<sup>22</sup> R. lui.

<sup>23</sup> C. R. si scusi.

<sup>24</sup> C. riputato pendesse.

<sup>25</sup> R. adds in Santa Trinità.

<sup>26</sup> R. scandalo.

<sup>27</sup> C. R. accrebbe.

<sup>28</sup> R. di.

<sup>29</sup> R. l'altra ch'era c.

<sup>30</sup> R. Castello.

<sup>31</sup> C. R. A questo.

<sup>32</sup> R. da.

<sup>33</sup> C. R. debba.

<sup>34</sup> C. R. ammalò.



à Serezana rispetto all' aria<sup>1</sup> cattiva di questo luogo, e poco appresso se ne morì.

Questa dissuguaglianza mosse il Papa à mandar Carlo di Valois<sup>2</sup> à Firenze, il quale essendo per riverenza del Papa, e della Casa di Francia ricevuto<sup>3</sup> nella Città, rimesse<sup>4</sup> i Cittadini confinati, et appresso cacciò la parte Bianca per<sup>5</sup> rivelatione di certo trattato fatto<sup>6</sup> da<sup>7</sup> Messer Piero Ferranti suo Barone, il quale disse essere stato richiesto da tre Gentil' huomini della parte Bianca, cioè, da Naldo di Messer Lottino Gherardini, da Bacchiera della Tosa, e da Baldinaccio Aldimari<sup>8</sup> d' adoperarsi<sup>9</sup> con Messer Carlo de Valois, che la lor parte rimanesse superiore nella Terra, e che gli havevano promesso di dargli Prato in governo se facesse questo.

Di tutta questa promessa e richiesta ne produsse scrittura,<sup>10</sup> con i propri sugilli di costoro, la quale scrittura io ho veduta nel suo proprio originale,<sup>11</sup> però che ancora hoggi è in Palaggio della Signoria, trà le altre<sup>12</sup> scritture pubbliche, ma quanto à me ella mi pare grandemente<sup>13</sup> sospetta, e credo per certo<sup>14</sup> ch' ella fusse<sup>15</sup> fittizia; pure quel che si fusse la cacciata,<sup>16</sup> seguitò di tutta la parte Bianca, mostrando sdegno Carlo di<sup>17</sup> questa richiesta, e promessa da loro con tante circonvensioni fatte.<sup>18</sup>

In questo tempo Dante<sup>19</sup> non era in Firenze, ma era à Roma mandato poco avanti Imbasciatore al Papa, per offerire la concordia, e pace<sup>20</sup> de' Cittadini; niente<sup>21</sup> di manco per isdegno di quelli,<sup>22</sup> che nel suo Priorato confiscati<sup>23</sup> furono dalla<sup>24</sup> parte Nera gli fu corso à Casa, e rubbata ogni sua cosa con pessimo sacco, et dato il guasto alle sue possessioni, et à lui, et à Messer Palmieri Altoviti dato bando della persona, per contumacia di non comparire, non per verità d' alcun fallo commesso.

La via del dar bando fu questa, che Legge fecero iniqua, e perversa, la quale si guardava in dietro, ch' il Potestà di Firenze potesse, e dovesse conoscere de' <sup>25</sup> falli commessi lo adietro<sup>26</sup> nell' ufficio del Priorato, con tutto che assoluzione fosse seguita: Per questa legge citato Dante per Messer Cante<sup>27</sup> de' Gabrielli, allora Potestà in<sup>28</sup> Firenze essendo absente, e non comparendo fu

<sup>1</sup> C. R. per l' aere.

<sup>2</sup> R. omits di Valois.

<sup>3</sup> R. onorevolmente r.

<sup>4</sup> C. rimise; R. di subito rimise dentro.

<sup>9</sup> R. di adoperar sì.

<sup>10</sup> C. R. e produsse scrittura (R. la s.) di questa richiesta e promessa.

<sup>11</sup> C. R. la quale s. originale ho io (R. io ho) v.

<sup>12</sup> R. con altre.

<sup>14</sup> R. credo certo.

<sup>13</sup> C. forte; R. forse.

<sup>15</sup> R. sia.

<sup>16</sup> C. R. Pure quel (R. quello) che si fusse, la c.

<sup>17</sup> R. m. C. grande s. di.

<sup>21</sup> R. non.

<sup>18</sup> C. R. fatta.

<sup>22</sup> R. coloro.

<sup>19</sup> C. R. D. in q. t.

<sup>23</sup> C. R. confinati.

<sup>20</sup> C. R. la pace.

<sup>24</sup> R. della.

<sup>5</sup> R. La cagione fu per.

<sup>6</sup> C. fatta.

<sup>7</sup> C. R. per.

<sup>8</sup> Sic; C. R. Adimari.

<sup>25</sup> R. i.

<sup>26</sup> C. R. per lo a.

<sup>27</sup> R. Conte.

<sup>28</sup> R. di.

condannato, e sbandito, e publicati i Beni suoi<sup>1</sup> con tutto che *della furia fossero stati* prima rubbati, e guasti, *che riuscì di notabilissima perdita perocché haveva Dante commodi grandi di fortuna, non solamente lasciati dal Padre, ma che di più haveva con sua industria acquistati, oltre à quelli della Moglie che non erano da disprezzare.*

*Hora che* habbiamo detto come passò la cacciata di Firenze del<sup>2</sup> Dante, e per qual<sup>3</sup> cagione, e per qual<sup>3</sup> modo, *non sarà cattivo di dire*<sup>4</sup> qual fosse la vita sua nell' esilio. Sentito<sup>5</sup> Dante *per via d'amici* la ruina sua<sup>6</sup> subito partì di<sup>7</sup> Roma, *di* dove era Imbasciatore, e caminando con celerità<sup>8</sup> ne venne à Siena: quivi intesa più chiaramente<sup>9</sup> la sua calamità, non vedendo alcuno riparo, deliberò accozzarsi con gli altri usciti, et il primo accozzamento fù in una Congregatione degli usciti, la quale si fè à Gargonza,<sup>10</sup> dove trattate molte cose finalmente fermaro la Sede in<sup>11</sup> Arezzo, e quivi fero capo<sup>12</sup> grosso, e crearono loro Capitano generale<sup>13</sup> il Conte Alesandro da Romena, e fecero<sup>14</sup> dodici Consiglieri, del numero de' quali fù Dante, e di speranza in speranza stettero per in fino<sup>15</sup> all' anno 1304: allora<sup>16</sup> fatto sforzo grandissimo d'ogni loro amistà, ne vennero per entrare<sup>17</sup> in Firenze con grandissima moltitudine, la quale non solamente d'Arezzo,<sup>18</sup> ma da Bologna, e da Pistoia con loro si congiunse, e giugnendo improvviso,<sup>19</sup> e subito<sup>20</sup> presero una porta di Firenze, e vinsero<sup>21</sup> parte della Terra, ma finalmente bisognò se ne ritornassero<sup>22</sup> *non solamente senza alcun frutto,*<sup>23</sup> *ma con qualche perdita.*

Fallita dunque tutta questa<sup>24</sup> speranza, non parendo à Dante più da perder tempo partì d'Arezzo, et andossene à Verona, dove ricevuto molto cortesemente da' Signori della Scala, fece<sup>25</sup> dimora alcun tempo, e ridussesi tutto humiltà,<sup>26</sup> cercando con buoni<sup>27</sup> opere, e con buoni portamenti racquistar<sup>28</sup> la gratia di poter tornare in Firenze, per ispontanea rivocatione di chi reggeva la Terra, e sopra questa parte s'affaticò assai, e scrisse più volte non solamente a' particolari Cittadini,<sup>29</sup> mà ancora al Popolo, e trà<sup>30</sup> le altre un' Epistola assai lunga, la quale<sup>31</sup> comincia<sup>32</sup> "Popole mi<sup>33</sup> quid feci tibi? *aut in quo molestatus*<sup>34</sup> *fui responde mihi.*"

Essendo in questa speranza Dante di tornare<sup>35</sup> per via di perdono sopravvenne l'elezione d'Arrigo di Luzemburgo<sup>36</sup> all' Imperio,<sup>37</sup> per la cui elezione prima, e

<sup>1</sup> R. *i s. b.*<sup>2</sup> C. R. *di.*<sup>3</sup> C. R. *che.*<sup>4</sup> C. R. *ora diremo.*<sup>5</sup> R. *Sentita.*<sup>6</sup> R. *la s. r.*<sup>7</sup> C. *da.*<sup>8</sup> R. *con gran c.*<sup>9</sup> C. omits *più.*<sup>10</sup> R. *Gargonza.*<sup>11</sup> R. *fermarono la sedia loro ad.*<sup>34</sup> *Sic.*<sup>35</sup> R. *s. di ritornare.*<sup>12</sup> R. *campo.*<sup>13</sup> R. omits *generale.*<sup>14</sup> C. *e fero*; R. omits *e.*<sup>15</sup> R. *s. infino.*<sup>16</sup> R. *e a.*<sup>17</sup> R. *rientrare.*<sup>18</sup> R. *da A.*<sup>19</sup> R. *improvvisi.*<sup>20</sup> C. *e subiti*; R. *subito.*<sup>21</sup> C. *vincono.*<sup>22</sup> C. R. *se n' andassero.*<sup>36</sup> R. *Luzinburgo.*<sup>23</sup> C. R. *s. f. a.*<sup>24</sup> C. R. *questa tanta.*<sup>25</sup> R. *con loro f.*<sup>26</sup> R. *a umiltà.*<sup>27</sup> *Sic.*<sup>28</sup> R. *riacquistare.*<sup>29</sup> R. *c. del reggimento.*<sup>30</sup> C. R. *intra.*<sup>31</sup> R. *che.*<sup>32</sup> C. R. *incomincia.*<sup>33</sup> R. *mee.*<sup>37</sup> C. R. *L. imperadore.*

poi per<sup>1</sup> la passata sua, essendo tutta l'Italia<sup>2</sup> sollevata in speranza di grandissima<sup>3</sup> novità, Dante non potè tenere il proposito suo dell'aspettar la<sup>4</sup> gratia, ma levatosi con l'animo altiero<sup>5</sup> cominciò a dir male di quei<sup>6</sup> che reggevano la Terra, appellandogli scelerati, e cattivi, e minacciando la<sup>7</sup> debita vendetta per la potentia dell'Imperadore, contro la quale dicea esser manifesto loro non havere alcuno scampo:<sup>8</sup> pure il tenne tanto la riverentia della Patria, che<sup>9</sup> venendo l'Imperadore contra<sup>10</sup> Firenze, e ponendosi à campo presso la<sup>11</sup> porta non vi volle essere 'secondo esso<sup>12</sup> scrive, con tutto che confortato<sup>13</sup> fosse stato di sua venuta.

Morto di<sup>14</sup> poi l'Imperadore Arrigo, il quale nella seguente estate morì à Buonconvento ogni speranza al tutto fu perduta da Dante, peroche di gratia egli<sup>15</sup> medesimo s'haveva tolta<sup>16</sup> la via per lo parlare,<sup>17</sup> e scrivere contro i<sup>18</sup> Cittadini, che governavano la Repubblica, e forza non ci restava la<sup>19</sup> quale sperar<sup>20</sup> potesse: sì che deposta ogni speranza, povero assai trapassò il resto di sua<sup>21</sup> vita, dimorando in varii luoghi per la Lombardia, e<sup>22</sup> per la Toscana, e per la Romagna sotto il sussidio di diversi<sup>23</sup> Signori, per in fino che finalmente si ridusse in<sup>24</sup> Ravenna, dove finì la sua vita.

Ma già che detto<sup>25</sup> habbiamo degli affanni suoi pubblici, et in questa parte mostrato il corso della sua<sup>26</sup> vita, diremo hora del suo stato domestico, e de' suoi costumi, e studii. Dante innanzi la cacciata sua di Firenze, non solo non fù povero, ma di più hebbe patrimonio non mediocre,<sup>27</sup> e sufficiente à<sup>28</sup> vivere onoratamente: ebbe un fratello chiamato Francesco Alighiere,<sup>29</sup> ebbe moglie come di sopra dicemmo, e figliuoli,<sup>30</sup> de' quali ancora hoggi resta<sup>31</sup> successione, e stirpe, come di sotto faremo mentione.

Case in Firenze hebbe assai decenti, congiunte con le Case di Geri di Messer Bello suo Consobrinò<sup>32</sup>: ebbe Possessioni in Camerata, e nella Piacentina, et in Piano di Ripoli, ebbe supellettile abbondante, e pretioso,<sup>33</sup> secondo egli<sup>34</sup> scrive: fu huomo molto polito, di statura decente, e di grato aspetto, e pieno di gravità; parlatore rado, e tardo, ma nelle sue risposte molto sottile:<sup>35</sup> la sua propria effigie<sup>36</sup> si vede nella Chiesa di Santa Croce, quasi al mezzo

<sup>1</sup> R. omits *per*.

<sup>2</sup> C. R. *t. I*.

<sup>7</sup> R. *loro la*.

<sup>9</sup> R. omits *che*.

<sup>10</sup> R. *contro a*.

<sup>11</sup> R. *alla*.

<sup>12</sup> R. *lui*.

<sup>13</sup> C. R. *confortator*.

<sup>14</sup> R. omits *di*.

<sup>27</sup> C. R. *Firenze, contuttochè di grandissima ricchezza non fusse, nientedimeno non fu povero, ma ebbe p. m.*

<sup>28</sup> R. *al*.

<sup>29</sup> *Sic*; C. R. *Alighieri*.

<sup>30</sup> R. *e più f*.

<sup>3</sup> C. R. *grandissime*.

<sup>4</sup> R. omits *la*.

<sup>8</sup> R. *m. che essi non avrebbon potuto avere s. a.*

<sup>15</sup> R. *lui*.

<sup>16</sup> R. *tolto*.

<sup>17</sup> R. *sparlare*.

<sup>18</sup> R. *a'*.

<sup>19</sup> C. R. *per la*.

<sup>20</sup> R. *più s*.

<sup>31</sup> R. *r. a. oggi*.

<sup>32</sup> C. R. *consorto*.

<sup>33</sup> R. *preziosa*.

<sup>5</sup> C. *altero*.

<sup>6</sup> R. *quelli*.

<sup>21</sup> R. *della suo*.

<sup>22</sup> R. omits *e*.

<sup>23</sup> C. R. *vari*.

<sup>24</sup> C. R. *a*.

<sup>25</sup> C. R. *Poichè d*.

<sup>26</sup> R. *di suo'*.

<sup>34</sup> R. *lui*.

<sup>35</sup> *Sic*; C. R. *sottile*.

<sup>36</sup> C. R. *e. s. p*.

della Chiesa dalla Mano sinistra, andando verso l'Altar maggiore, et <sup>1</sup> ritratta al naturale ottimamente per dipintore perfetto del tempo suo.<sup>2</sup> Dilettossi di Musica, e di suoni, e di sua <sup>3</sup> mano egregiamente disegnava. Fù ancora scrittore perfetto, et era la Lettera sua magra, e lunga, e molto corretta, secondo io ho veduto in alcune sue Epistole.<sup>4</sup>

Fu *molto carnale* nella sua giovinezza, *conversando quasi di continuo* con altri giovini innamorati,<sup>5</sup> che di <sup>6</sup> simil passione erano occupati,<sup>7</sup> *ben' è vero ch'egli faceva ciò non per libidine, ma per tenerezza* <sup>8</sup> di cuore, e *questa fu la causa che ne' suoi più teneri anni cominciò à scrivere alcuni versi d'amore,*<sup>9</sup> come veder si pote <sup>10</sup> in una sua Operetta volgare che si chiama "Vita nuova." Lo Studio suo principale fu Poesia, mà <sup>11</sup> non sterile, nè povera, nè fantastica, ma fecondata, et arricchita, e stabilita da vera scienza, e da moltissime <sup>12</sup> discipline.

E per darmi <sup>13</sup> ad intendere meglio *per maggior chiarezza* di <sup>14</sup> chi legge, dico che in due modi diviene alcuno Poeta: un modo si è per proprio ingegno,<sup>15</sup> agitato, e commosso d' <sup>16</sup> alcun vigore interno, e nascoso, il quale si chiama furore, et occupazione di mente: darò una similitudine di quello ch'io voglio <sup>17</sup> dire.

Il <sup>18</sup> Beato Francesco d'Assisi, non per iscienza, nè per disciplina scolastica, ma per occupatione, et estrattione <sup>19</sup> di mente, applicava di tal modo <sup>20</sup> l'animo suo à Dio, che quasi si trasfigurava oltre il <sup>21</sup> senso humano, e conosceva Iddio,<sup>22</sup> *molto più di quello* che i Teologi conoscono col mezzo di tanti loro studii, e tanti applicationi delle Lettere: <sup>23</sup> così *non altrimenti* nella Poesia alcuno per interna agitazione, et applicatione di mente, diviene *all'insensibile* Poeta <sup>24</sup>; e questa è <sup>25</sup> la somma, e la più perfetta, *et eccellente* specie di Poesia; *che però quelli che son ricchi di tal dono,* vengono chiamati da molti Poeti divini, *per esser naturali, concorrendo à formar la naturalezza, la divinità* et altri li chiamano sagri, ò pure vati,<sup>26</sup> e da <sup>27</sup> questa abstrazione e furore ch'io dirò <sup>28</sup> prendono l'appellatione.

Gli esempi che habbiamo <sup>29</sup> da <sup>30</sup> Orfeo, e da <sup>30</sup> Hesiodo de' quali l'uno, e l'altro fu tale, quale di sopra è stato da me <sup>31</sup> raccontato, e fu di tanta Efficacia

<sup>1</sup> C. ed è.

<sup>2</sup> R. di quel t.

<sup>3</sup> R. suo'.

<sup>4</sup> C. in alcune Epistole di sua mano propria scritte (R. di suo' p. m.).

<sup>5</sup> C. R. Fu usante in giovinezza sua con giovani i.

<sup>6</sup> C. R. e lui (R. egli) ancora di.

<sup>7</sup> C. R. s. p. occupato.

<sup>12</sup> R. molte.

<sup>17</sup> R. vo'.

<sup>8</sup> C. R. gentilezza.

<sup>13</sup> R. dare.

<sup>18</sup> C. omits II.

<sup>9</sup> C. R. n. d' a. a s. c.

<sup>14</sup> C. R. a.

<sup>19</sup> Sic; C. R. astrazione.

<sup>10</sup> R. può.

<sup>15</sup> C. R. i. p.

<sup>20</sup> C. R. sì forte applicava.

<sup>11</sup> R. omits ma.

<sup>16</sup> C. R. da.

<sup>21</sup> C. R. al.

<sup>22</sup> C. di Dio; R. d' Iddio.

<sup>23</sup> C. R. più che nè per istudio, nè per lettere conoscono i Teologi.

<sup>24</sup> C. R. poeta diviene.

<sup>25</sup> R. si è.

<sup>26</sup> C. R. Poesia; e qualunque (R. onde alcuni) dicono, i Poeti esser divini, e qualunque (R. alcuni) li chiamano sacri, e qualunque (R. alcuni) li chiamano vati.

<sup>27</sup> C. R. v. Da.

<sup>29</sup> C. gli e. li abbiamo; R. gli e. a.

<sup>28</sup> R. dico.

<sup>30</sup> R. d'.

<sup>31</sup> R. da me è stato.

Orfeo che i Sassi, le Selve,<sup>1</sup> e gli *Animali istessi* moveva con la dolcezza della sua<sup>2</sup> Lira, et Hesiodo essendo Pastore rozzo, et indotto, solamente bevuta<sup>3</sup> l'acqua della fonte Castalia, senza alcun'altro studio di *mastri* Poeta sommo divenne, del quale habbiamo l'opere ancora hoggi, e sono tali che niuno de' Poeti Letterati, e scientifici *dall'arte* può vantaggiarlo,<sup>4</sup> ò somigliarlo.

Dunque una specie<sup>5</sup> di Poeti è per interna abstrazione, et agitazione<sup>6</sup> di mente, l'altra specie è per iscienza, per studio, per disciplina, *per*<sup>7</sup> arte, e per<sup>8</sup> prudenzia; e di questa seconda spetie fù *il nostro sommo* Dante; perocche con lo studio<sup>9</sup> di Filosofia, Teologia,<sup>10</sup> Astrologia, et Aritmetica<sup>11</sup>; con la<sup>12</sup> lezione<sup>13</sup> di tante, e tante Storie, con la<sup>14</sup> revolutione di molti, e varii Libri vigilando, e sudando negli studii, acquistò la scienza, la quale doveva *poi* ornare, et esplicare con li<sup>14</sup> suoi versi.

Ma già che habbiamo detto della qualità de' Poeti,<sup>15</sup> *non sarà fuor di proposito* di dire hora<sup>16</sup> del nome, per lo<sup>17</sup> quale ancora si comprenderà la su- stanza: con tutto che queste sono<sup>18</sup> cose che difficilissimamente si possono dire<sup>19</sup> in volgare idioma, pur m'ingegnerò di darle ad intendere, perche secondo il parer<sup>20</sup> mio, questi nostri moderni Poeti,<sup>21</sup> *che vanno sorgendo in abbondanza*, non l'hanno bene intesa,<sup>22</sup> e ciò non deve portar maraviglia,<sup>23</sup> essendo ignari *per la maggior parte* della lingua Greca, *tanto necessaria a' Poeti*.

Dico adunque che questo nome Poeta è nome Greco, e tanto viene à signifi- care<sup>24</sup> quanto facitore: per haver detto fino<sup>25</sup> qui conosco che non sarebbe inteso il dir mio, si che più oltre bisogna aprire l'intelletto. Dico dunque che<sup>26</sup> de' Libri, e dell' Opere Poetiche, alcuni<sup>27</sup> Huomini sono legitori dell' opere altrui, e niente fanno da *per se*, come adiviene<sup>28</sup> al più delle genti: altri<sup>29</sup> *tutto al contrario*, sono facitori dell'<sup>30</sup> Opere, come Virgilio fece il Libro dell' Eneida,<sup>31</sup> e<sup>32</sup> Statio fece il Libro della Tebaida, et Ovidio fece il Libro Metamorfoseos, et Omero fece l' Odissea, e l' Iliade.

Questi adunque che ferno<sup>33</sup> le opere *da per loro* furono *veramente* Poeti, cioè facitori di dette Opere che noi<sup>34</sup> Leggiamo, e noi siamo i Leggitori, et

1 C. *e' sassi e le selve*; R. *sassi e selve*.

2 R. *suo*'.

3 C. *s. bevuto*; R. *bevuta s.*

4 C. *lo vantaggia*; R. *le v.*

5 C. *U. s. adunque*; R. *U. s. dunque*.

6 R. *omits et a.*

7 C. R. *ed.*

8 C. *omits per.*

9 C. R. *per istudio*.

19 C. *mal si possono dire*; R. *male dir si possono*.

20 C. R. *p. al p. mio*.

21 R. *p. m.*

22 R. *intese*.

23 C. R. *nè è m.*

24 C. R. *dire*.

25 C. R. *insino a.*

26 R. *omits che*.

27 R. *poetiche. Alcuni*.

28 R. *avviene*.

29 C. R. *a. uomini*.

10 R. *di t.*

11 R. *a., arismetica, e geometria*.

12 C. R. *per.*

13 R. *lezioni*.

14 R. *co*'.

15 C. R. *E perchè della q. de' p. a. detto*.

16 C. R. *diremo ora*.

17 R. *pel*.

18 R. *sien*.

30 C. R. *d' esse*.

31 *Sic*; C. R. *Eneida*.

32 R. *omits e*.

33 R. *feron*.

34 R. *noi altri*.



essi<sup>1</sup> furono i facitori: e quando noi sentiamo lodare con tante laudi un Valent' huomo di studii, e<sup>2</sup> di lettere, usiamo di<sup>3</sup> domandare a' lodatori, se fa egli alcuna causa del suo proprio,<sup>4</sup> se lascerà egli alcuna opera<sup>5</sup> al Mondo da se composta e fatta?

Poeta veramente senza altro dire si può chiamar colui<sup>6</sup> che fa alcuna opera, cioè Auttore, e compositore, di quello che altri legge<sup>7</sup> ò per suo piacere, ò per suo utile, poiche molti leggono i Libri sotto differenti disegni, imperoche tutti non hanno lo scopo di cercar con la lettura materia da servire il publico, contentandosi li più à sodisfarsi soli. Potrebbe dir qui alcuno<sup>8</sup> che secondo al<sup>9</sup> parlar mio, che il Mercante<sup>10</sup> che scrive le sue raggioni, e delle quali ne forma un Libro<sup>11</sup> si può dir Poeta,<sup>12</sup> e<sup>13</sup> Tito Livio, e Salustio sarebbero<sup>14</sup> Poeti, peroche ciascuno di loro scrisse Libri, et<sup>15</sup> opere da Leggere, come veramente noi leggiamo: à questo rispondo che fare Opere<sup>16</sup> non si dice se non in versi; e questo adiviene<sup>17</sup> per eccellenza dello studio,<sup>18</sup> peroche le sillabe, e<sup>19</sup> la misura, e il suono è solamente di chi dice in versi, et usiamo dire<sup>20</sup> in nostro volgare senso, "costui fa Canzoni,<sup>21</sup> e Sonetti," ma per scrivere una, ò due Lettere<sup>22</sup> a' suoi amici non diremo per questo ch' egli<sup>23</sup> habbia fatto alcuna Opera.

Il nome di<sup>24</sup> Poeta significa eccellente, et ammirabile nel suo stile in versi, coperto, et adombrato da<sup>25</sup> legiadria, et altra fittione<sup>26</sup>; e come ogni Presidente comanda, et impera, ma non per questo è Imperadore, costumandosi di chiamar Imperadore<sup>27</sup> quello ch' è sommo di tutti, e sopra tutti, così chi compone opere in versi, et è sommo, et eccellentissimo nella composizione di<sup>28</sup> tali opere, quello merita il nome, e le laude di Poeta.<sup>29</sup>

Or<sup>30</sup> questa è la verità certa, et assoluta del nome, e dell' effetto de' Poeti, lo scrivere in stile litterato, ò volgar non ha à fare il<sup>31</sup> fatto, nè altra differenza vi è se non quella che si trova trà<sup>32</sup> lo scrivere in Greco, et<sup>33</sup> in Latino; peroche ciascuna di queste lingue<sup>34</sup> ha la<sup>35</sup> sua<sup>36</sup> perfettione, e suo suono, e suo parlare limato, e scientifico; pur chi mi domandasse per che<sup>37</sup> cagione Dante elesse scrivere in volgare più tosto<sup>38</sup> che in Latino e litterato stile? risponderei

<sup>1</sup> R. e loro.<sup>4</sup> C. R. a. cosa da sè?<sup>7</sup> R. omits cioè . . . legge.<sup>2</sup> R. o.<sup>5</sup> C. o. a.<sup>8</sup> R. qui a. d.<sup>8</sup> R. omits di.<sup>6</sup> C. R. Poeta è adunque colui.<sup>9</sup> C. R. il.<sup>10</sup> C. R. mercatante.<sup>13</sup> R. e che.<sup>11</sup> C. R. ragioni, e fanne libro.<sup>14</sup> R. sarebbero; Solerti reads sarebbe.<sup>12</sup> C. R. sarebbe p.<sup>15</sup> R. e fece.<sup>16</sup> R. opere poetiche.<sup>19</sup> R. omits e.<sup>22</sup> C. R. una lettera.<sup>17</sup> R. avviene.<sup>20</sup> R. di d.<sup>23</sup> R. lui.<sup>18</sup> R. stile.<sup>21</sup> C. R. canzone.<sup>24</sup> C. R. del.<sup>25</sup> R. aombrato di.<sup>29</sup> C. R. opere, si chiama poeta.<sup>26</sup> C. R. alta finzione.<sup>30</sup> R. omits Or.<sup>27</sup> C. R. ma solo colui si chiama (R. è) i.<sup>31</sup> R. al.<sup>28</sup> C. R. nel comporre.<sup>32</sup> C. R. come.<sup>33</sup> C. R. od.<sup>35</sup> C. R. omits la.<sup>37</sup> R. qual.<sup>34</sup> C. R. ciascuna lingua.<sup>36</sup> R. suo'.<sup>38</sup> C. R. D. p. e. s. in v.

quello ch'è la verità cioè che Dante conosceva se medesimo molto più atto à questo stile volgare, et <sup>1</sup> in rima, che à quello latino, e <sup>2</sup> litterato e <sup>3</sup> certo molte cose sono dette da lui legiadramente in questa rima volgare, che nè avrebbe saputo, nè haverebbe potuto <sup>4</sup> dire in lingua Latina, et in versi eroici: la prova sono l' Egloghe da lui fatte in versi exatetri, le quali posto siano belle, niente di manco molte ne habbiamo vedute vantaggiamente <sup>5</sup> scritte: et a dire il yero la virtù di questo nostro *gran* Poeta, fù nella rima volgare, nella quale eccellentissimo <sup>6</sup> sopra ogni altro, ma in versi Latini, ò <sup>7</sup> improsa <sup>8</sup> non aggiugne appena à quelli che <sup>9</sup> mezzanamente hanno scritto.

Di *tutto* questo *bisogna sapere* la cagione, che dirò: il secolo <sup>10</sup> suo era dato à dire in rima, <sup>11</sup> et in <sup>12</sup> gentilezza di dire in prosa, ò in versi Latini niente intesero gli Huomini di quel Secolo, ma furon rozzi, e grossi, e senza peritia di Lettere, dotti nientedimeno in queste discipline al modo fratesco scolastico. <sup>13</sup> Cominciassi à dire in Rima, secondo scrive *il medesimo* Dante innanzi à lui anni <sup>14</sup> cento cinquanta, e furono i principali *et i primarii* in Italia, <sup>15</sup> Guido Guinezzelli <sup>16</sup> Bolognese, e Guizzone <sup>17</sup> Cavaliere, Gaudente <sup>18</sup> d' Arezzo, e Buona- giunta da Lucca, e Guido da Messina, i quali tutti Dante di gran Lunga soverchiò di sentenze, <sup>19</sup> e di politessa e d' eleganza, e di legiadria, in tanto ch'è <sup>20</sup> opinione di chi intende, che non sarà mai Huomo che Dante vantaggi in dire in rima: e veramente egli è <sup>21</sup> ammirabil <sup>22</sup> cosa la grandezza, e la dolcezza del dire suo prudente, sententioso, e grave, con varietà, e copia mirabile, con scienza di Filosofia, con notizia di Storie antichito <sup>23</sup> con tanta cognizione delle cose <sup>24</sup> moderne, che pare ad ogni atto essere stato presente.

Queste belle cose con gentilezza di rima esplicate prendono la mente di ciascuno che legge, e molto più di quelli, che più intendono. La fizione <sup>25</sup> sua fu mirabile, e *piena di grande ingegno*, e con grande ingegno trovata, con la <sup>26</sup> quale concorre discretione <sup>27</sup> del Mondo, descrizione de' Cieli, e de' Pianeti, descrizione degli Huomini, meriti, e pene, della vita humana, felicità e miseria, <sup>28</sup> e mediocrità di vita intrà due extremi, nè credo che mai fosse chi prendesse <sup>29</sup> più ampia, <sup>30</sup> e sottile <sup>31</sup> materia da potere esplicare la mente d' ogni suo concetto,

<sup>1</sup> R. omits *ed.*<sup>2</sup> R. *o.*<sup>3</sup> C. R. *litterato. E.*<sup>4</sup> C. *nè a. potuto, nè a. saputo.*<sup>5</sup> C. *vedute vantaggiatamente; R. v. più vantaggiamente.*<sup>6</sup> C. R. *è e.*<sup>7</sup> R. *e.*<sup>8</sup> *Sic.*<sup>9</sup> R. *non aggiunse a quelli appena che.*<sup>12</sup> C. R. *di.*<sup>10</sup> C. R. *La cagione di questo è che il s.*<sup>13</sup> R. *al modo . . . e scolastico.*<sup>11</sup> R. *d. rima.*<sup>14</sup> R. *circa anni.*<sup>15</sup> C. *e furono i principi in I.; R. e i primi furono in I.*<sup>16</sup> R. *Guinizzelli.*<sup>18</sup> *Sic; C. R. Cavaliere Gaudente.*<sup>17</sup> C. R. *Guittone.*<sup>19</sup> R. *scienze.*<sup>20</sup> R. *che egli è.*<sup>24</sup> R. *storie.*<sup>28</sup> C. R. *f., m.*<sup>21</sup> R. *ell' è.*<sup>25</sup> C. R. *finzione.*<sup>29</sup> R. *imprendesse.*<sup>22</sup> C. R. *mirabil.*<sup>26</sup> C. R. *nella.*<sup>30</sup> C. R. *ampla.*<sup>23</sup> *Sic; C. R. antiche.*<sup>27</sup> *Sic; C. R. descrizione.*<sup>31</sup> C. R. *fertile.*



per la varietà degli spiriti loquenti di diverse ragioni di cose, e di <sup>1</sup> diversi Poeti,<sup>2</sup> e di vari casi di fortuna.

Questa sua <sup>3</sup> principale, e *più rinomata* opera cominciò Dante avanti la Cacciata sua, e di poi in esilio la finì, come per essa opera si può vedere, e *conoscere* manifestamente.<sup>4</sup> Scrisse ancora Canzoni <sup>5</sup> morali, e Sonetti; le Canzoni <sup>5</sup> sue sono perfette, e limate, e leggiadre, e piene d'alte sententie, e tutte hanno generosi cominciamenti sì come quella Canzone <sup>6</sup> che comincia

" Amor che muovi tua virtù dal Cielo  
Come il Sol lo splendore: "

dove fa <sup>7</sup> comparazione Filosofica, e sottile intra gli effetti del Sole: e gli effetti d'amore, e l'altra che comincia, " Tre Donne intorno al cor mi son venute, " e l'altra che comincia, " Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore "; e così in molte altre Canzoni,<sup>5</sup> è sottile, limato, e scientifico, *dove che per lo contrario* ne' Sonetti non è di tanta virtù.

Queste sono l'Opere sue volgari, in Latino *poi* scrisse in prosa, et in verso: <sup>8</sup> in prosa un <sup>9</sup> Libro chiamato " Monarchia, " il quale <sup>10</sup> è scritto in <sup>11</sup> modo disadorno,<sup>12</sup> senza niuna gentilezza di dire, *nè forza d'ingegno*: scrisse ancora un'altro Libro intitolato da' volgari " Eloquenzia, " <sup>13</sup> *che caminò con qualche applausimento, ancora che disadorno non meno dell'altro*: ancora scrisse molte Pistole <sup>14</sup> in prosa: in versi scrisse alcune Egloghe, et il principio del Libro suo in versi Eroici, ma non riuscendo <sup>15</sup> lo stile non seguì <sup>16</sup> *più altro, mentre esso costumava di ricevere i sentimenti degli amici, e di pregarli d'informarsi del concetto che faceva il Mondo delle sue Opere, e quando sentiva che andava bene continuava, alirimente tralasciava.*

Morì Dante nel <sup>17</sup> 1321 à Ravenna *con qualche dispiacere di vedersi perdere la vita fuori della sua Patria.* Ebbe <sup>18</sup> trà gli altri un suo fogliuolo <sup>19</sup> chiamato Piero,<sup>20</sup> il quale studiò in Legge, e divenne valente, e per la propria virtù, e per la memoria del Padre, che l'acquistava del favore si fece <sup>21</sup> grand' Huomo, e guadagnò assai, e fermò suo studio <sup>22</sup> à Verona, con assai buone facoltà.

Questo Messer Piero ebbe un figliuolo chiamato Dante, e di questo Dante nacque Lionardo, il quale oggi vive, et hà più figliuoli, nè è molto tempo che Lionardo antedetto venne à Firenze con altri giovani Veronesi bene in punto,

<sup>1</sup> C. R. cose, di d.

<sup>5</sup> R. Canzone.

<sup>9</sup> R. è un.

<sup>2</sup> C. R. paesi.

<sup>6</sup> R. Canzona.

<sup>10</sup> R. il qual libro.

<sup>3</sup> R. suo'.

<sup>7</sup> R. è.

<sup>11</sup> C. a.

<sup>4</sup> C. R. apertamente.

<sup>8</sup> R. versi.

<sup>12</sup> R. omits a modo disadorno, and reads scritto . . . senza.

<sup>13</sup> Sic; C. R. i. De vulgari eloquentia.

<sup>14</sup> R. Epistole.

<sup>16</sup> R. non lo s.

<sup>18</sup> C. R. Ebbe Dante.

<sup>15</sup> C. R. non gli r.

<sup>17</sup> R. negli anni.

<sup>19</sup> Sic.

<sup>20</sup> R. un f. t. g. a. c. Piero.

<sup>21</sup> C. R. virtù, e per lo favore (R. per f.) della memoria del Padre, si fece.

<sup>22</sup> C. R. stato.

et honoratamente, e mi<sup>1</sup> venne à visitare, come amico della memoria del suo Proavo Dante: et io gli mostrai le Case di Dante, e de' suoi antichi, e gli diedi<sup>2</sup> notizia di molte cose à lui incognite, per essersi estranato<sup>3</sup> *come dicemmo* lui, et i suoi dalla<sup>4</sup> Patria, e così la fortuna questo Mondo gira, e permuta gli abitatori col volger *delle*<sup>5</sup> sue rote.

Here ends the *Vita di Dante* in the alleged Boccacini version. The writer then continues his letter to Pietro Anelli as follows:

Ecco tutto quello che mi trovo trà le mie scritture del famoso Dante, se riuscirà di sua sodisfazione il raguaglio, non lo sò, ma sò bene che da pochi altri potrà ricevere lume maggiore. Hò stimato ancora à proposito di mandargli la copia, ugualissima all' originale dell' Aretino che n' è l'Auttoe, acciò V. S. vegga la differenza che vi è trà lo scrivere del suo tempo, e de' nostri giorni, ò pure trà il suo stile, e quello de' nostri Scrittori.<sup>6</sup>

The *Vita del Petrarca* in the Boccacini version is, as has already been stated, contained in a second letter to Pietro Anelli (*Lettera XIII*). After a few prefatory paragraphs the writer continues:

Approvo il pensiero di V. S. di voler continuare l' Historia del Petrarca, e di far ravvivere di nuovo con un' aggiunta la memoria di quel celebre Huomo, che fù in fatti la gloria del suo Secolo, e se le mie occupationi che mi chiamano à materie più bizzarre, non mi tenessero immerso con troppo assiduità la servirei volentieri delle memorie che mi chiede, pure per servirla mi sono sforzato per hora à racorre quel tanto che s' ha possuto havere della vita che desidera del detto Petrarca e del Boccaccio: e mi trovo appunto nella mia biblioteca di mano dell' Aretino che scrisse la vita che già gli mandai del Dante, anche quella del Petrarca et un poco del Boccaccio con il suo stile solito, senza alcuno abbellimento poetico, come potrà osservarlo, e comincia in questa maniera la sua relatione.

He then proceeds to give the *Vita del Petrarca* as follows:<sup>7</sup>

Francesco Petrarca Huomo di grand' ingegno, e non di minor virtù, nacque in Arezzo nel Borgo dell' Orto: la natività sua successe<sup>8</sup> nell' anno di *nostro Signore*<sup>9</sup> 1304 à dì 21 di Luglio, poco innanzi il<sup>10</sup> levar del Sole. Il Padre

<sup>1</sup> R. *me*.      <sup>2</sup> C. R. *diégli*.      <sup>3</sup> R. *stranato*.      <sup>4</sup> C. *della*.      <sup>5</sup> C. R. *di*.

<sup>6</sup> The letter does not end here, but the rest of it is not concerned with our subject.

<sup>7</sup> As in the case of the *Vita di Dante*, the amplifications and additions in the Boccacini version are italicized, while C. and R. in the *apparatus criticus* stand, as before, for the editions of 1671 (Cinelli) and 1672 (Redi), respectively. It has already been noted (see above, p. 44, n. 2) that Solerti, the latest editor of Bruni's *Vite*, was aware of the existence of this version of the *Vita del Petrarca*, but did not trouble to examine it.

<sup>8</sup> C. R. *fu*.

<sup>9</sup> C. *nel*; R. *negli anni*.

<sup>10</sup> R. *al*.

suo ebbe<sup>1</sup> nome Petracolo<sup>2</sup>: l'Avolo suo hebbe nome Parenzo; l'origine loro fù dall' Ancisa d' *honorati Parenti*: Petracolo<sup>2</sup> suo Padre venne ad abitare in Firenze,<sup>3</sup> *et ottenne giovinotto la Cittadinanza, alla quale pure haveva aspirato Parenzo suo Avolo, conosciuto dal Senato Huomo di studio, e di maneggi cominciò ad adoperarlo assai negli affari più importanti della Repubblica,*<sup>4</sup> però che molte volte mandato fù<sup>5</sup> Ambasciatore della Città in gravissimi casi, *non solamente in Venetia, in Genoa, in Napoli, et in Milano, ma in Roma per trattare col Legato del Pontefice da cui benignamente ricevuto, e trattato:* fù etiandio adoperato à gran fatti<sup>6</sup> et in Palaggio un tempo fù Scriba sopra le Riformaggioni diputato, e fù Valent' huomo, et attivo *al maggior segno*, et assai prudente.

Costui in quel naufraggio de' Cittadini di Firenze, quando sopravvenne la divisione trà<sup>7</sup> Neri, e Bianchi, fù riputato sentire con parte Bianca, e per questa cagione insieme con gli altri fù cacciato di Firenze: il perche ridotto in<sup>8</sup> Arezzo, quivi fe dimora, aiutando sua<sup>9</sup> parte, e sua<sup>9</sup> setta virilmente quanto bastò la speranza di dover ritornare à Casa; Di poi mancando la speranza, parti d' Arezzo, et andonne nella Corte di Roma, che si trovava in quei tempi in Avignone<sup>10</sup> *in Francia*.

Clemente VI. l'adoperò<sup>11</sup> con assai honore, e guadagno, *et ebbe il pensiero di rimandarlo in Italia al servizio del Cardinal Albernozzo? che con supremo comando reggeva della Sede Apostolica, tutto lo Stato Ecclesiastico, e che desiderava d' avere appresso di se il Petrarca, per esser meglio instruito delle cose della Toscana che questo intendeva ammirabilmente, ma però con molta humiltà si scusò d' andarni, et allegò ragioni valevoli, che sodisfecero il Papa, contentandosi che facesse la sua dimora in Avignone,* e quivi allevò due suoi figliuoli, de' quali l' uno hebbe nome Gherardo, e l' altro<sup>12</sup> Checco, e questo è quello che fu poi<sup>13</sup> chiamato Petrarca, come in processo di questa sua<sup>14</sup> vita diremo.

Il Petrarca dunque allevato in Avignone,<sup>15</sup> comunque ei venne<sup>16</sup> crescendo, si vide in lui gravità di costumi, et altezza d'ingegno, e<sup>17</sup> fù di persona bellissimo, e bastò la formosità sua per ogni parte di sua<sup>18</sup> vita. Apparate le Lettere, et uscito di quelli<sup>19</sup> primi studii puerili, per comandamento del Padre si diede

<sup>1</sup> C. padre ebbe.

<sup>2</sup> R. Petracco.

<sup>3</sup> C. R. abitò in F.

<sup>4</sup> C. R. F., e fu adoperato assai nella Repubblica.

<sup>5</sup> R. fu m.

<sup>6</sup> C. R. casi; molte volte (R. casi, e m. v.) con altre commissioni adoperato a gran fatti.

<sup>7</sup> R. fra.

<sup>8</sup> C. R. ad.

<sup>9</sup> R. suo.

<sup>10</sup> C. R. in corte di R., la quale in que' tempi era nuovamente trasferita ad A. (R. a Vignone).

<sup>11</sup> C. R. In corte fu bene adoperato.

<sup>12</sup> C. G., l' a.

<sup>13</sup> C. C.: questo è q. c. f. p.; R. Questi è quelli che poi fu.

<sup>14</sup> R. suo.

<sup>16</sup> R. c. v.

<sup>18</sup> R. suo.

<sup>15</sup> C. ad A.; R. a Vignone.

<sup>17</sup> C. E'.

<sup>19</sup> R. que'.

allo studio di Ragion civile, e perseverovvi alcuni anni,<sup>1</sup> *non senza qualche profitto*: ma la natura sua, la quale à più alte cose era tirata, poco stimando le Leggi, *che lui soleva chiamare "Scala di Letiggi,"*<sup>2</sup> e però riputando questa *scienza* troppo<sup>3</sup> bassa materia al suo<sup>4</sup> ingegno, nascosamente ogni suo studio à Tullio, à<sup>5</sup> Virgilio, ed à Seneca, ed à Lattanzio, et agli altri Filosofi, e Poetici, Storici<sup>6</sup> riferiva: egli<sup>7</sup> ancora pronto à dire in prosa,<sup>8</sup> pronto a' Sonetti, et à Canzoni<sup>9</sup> morali, gentile, *che più era*, et ornato in ogni suo dire: in tanto sprezzava le Leggi, e loro<sup>10</sup> tediose, e grosse commentationi di chiose, che se la riverentia del Padre non l'havesse<sup>11</sup> tenuto, non che fosse<sup>12</sup> ito dietro de<sup>13</sup> Leggi, ma se le Leggi fossero<sup>14</sup> ite dietro à lui non l'havrebbe<sup>15</sup> accettate.

*Successe in questo mentre* la morte del Padre, *appunto mentre egli si trovava in Parigi, e venuto in Avignone*, fatto di sua Potestà,<sup>16</sup> subito si diede tutto à quegli Studii apertamente *ne' quali era portato dal suo genio, e de' quali prima nascosto*<sup>17</sup> Discepolo era stato<sup>18</sup> per paura del Padre, e subito cominciò à volar la sua<sup>19</sup> fama *nell' Italia, et altrove dandosi principio* à chiamarlo non Francesco<sup>20</sup> Petrachi,<sup>21</sup> ma Francesco Petrarca, ampliato il nome *con quello del Padre* per riverenzia delle virtù sue,<sup>22</sup> et hebbe tanta grazia, e *legiadria* d'intelletto, che *venne ad essere*<sup>23</sup> il primo, che questi sublimi studii già per lungo tempo caduti, ed *ignoranti per l'altrui trascuraggine, ò pure dall'altrui trascuraggine* ignorati rivotò<sup>24</sup> à luce di cognizione: quali studii abbracciati da lui, crescendo da poi<sup>25</sup> montati sono nella presente altezza, e posti in credito, et in stima nelle scole de' più Sapiienti, della qual cosa,<sup>26</sup> *non posso così brevemente passarla, per esser materia di molta importanza, et* acciò che meglio s'intenda dal curioso Lettore, facendomi à dietro<sup>27</sup> con breve discorso raccontar voglio, *tutte le particolarità più requisite, ad una vera informazione.*

La Lingua Latina, et ogni sua<sup>28</sup> perfettione, e grandezza fiorì massimamente nel tempo di Tullio, però che prima era stata non pulita, nè limata, nè sottile, ma salendo a poco a poco<sup>29</sup> *con la cura di questi, e di quegli altri Capi di Schuola*, a sua<sup>28</sup> perfettione nel tempo di Tullio, nel più alto colmo divenne:

1 C. R. alcuno anno.

7 R. lui.

2 C. le leggi e i litigi; R. le l., e i loro l.

8 R. pronto a dire in versi, p. a d. in p.

3 C. R. r. quella essere t.

9 C. R. canzone.

4 C. R. a suo.

10 R. e le loro.

5 R. e a.

11 R. lo avesse.

6 C. R. poeti e s.

12 C. non che esso f.; R. non che egli f.

13 C. R. alle.

14 R. fussono.

15 C. R. arebbe.

16 C. R. Dopo la morte del p., fatto di sua podestà.

17 C. R. nascoso.

18 R. e. s. n. d.

19 C. R. v. s. (R. suo).

20 C. R. fama, e ad essere chiamato non F. (C. e non ad e. c. F.).

21 C. R. Petracchi.

22 R. delle s. v.

23 C. R. che fu.

24 C. R. caduti, ed ignorati, rivotò.

27 R. in dietro.

25 C. R. i quali da poi crescendo.

28 R. suo.

26 C. R. altezza: della qual cosa.

29 R. appoco appoco.

Dopo l'età di Tullio cominciò *nuovamente* a cadere, ò *almanco* à discendere,<sup>1</sup> come infino<sup>2</sup> à quel tempo era montata, e non passarono molti anni, che ricevuto avea grandissimo<sup>3</sup> calo, e diminutione; e puossi dire *con raggione, e con verità* che le Lettere, e gli studii della Lingua Latina andassero parimente con lo stato della Republica di Roma; perochè *questa* infino all'età di Tullio ebbe *sommo* accrescimento *nelle grandezza e nella potenza, havendo sempre vinto più di quello che s'era imaginato di vincere*; Di poi perduto dal Popolo Romano la libertà,<sup>4</sup> *sottomessa* dalla Signoria, e forza degli Imperadori,<sup>5</sup> i quali non restarono d'uccidere, e di disfare<sup>6</sup> gli Uomini di pregio; insieme col buono stato della Città di Roma, ferì *medesimamente* la buona dispositiione degli studii, e delle Lettere, *che non possono avanzarsi senza pace*.

Ottaviano che trà gli Imperadori fù il meno reo,<sup>7</sup> *non lasciò con tutto ciò di fare* uccidere<sup>8</sup> migliaia di Cittadini Romani, e di quelli particolarmente che potevano portargli dell'impedimento. Tiberio, Caligola,<sup>9</sup> Claudio, e Nerone, *ch'erano spogliati affatto d'umanità*, non vi lasciarono<sup>10</sup> quasi persona che havesse viso d'Uomo *se non quelli pochi, e buona parte stranieri, che ebbero la fortuna di dar nel loro humore*. Seguì poi Gabba,<sup>11</sup> et Ottone, e Vitellio i quali in pochi Mesi disfecero<sup>12</sup> il tutto.<sup>13</sup>

Dopo costoro non vi furono più Imperadori di sangue Romano, imperochè<sup>14</sup> la Terra s'era annichilata<sup>15</sup> *dalla crudeltà de'*<sup>16</sup> precedenti Imperadori, che *con le tante straggi* niuna persona d'alcun preggio vi era rimasa: Vespasiano che successe nell'Impero à Vitellio<sup>17</sup> trasse il suo origine di quei di Rieti,<sup>18</sup> e così ancora Tito, e Domiziano suoi figliuoli: Nerva Imperadore fu di<sup>19</sup> Narni: Traiano adottato da Nerva fù di Spagna; Adriano ancor lui fù di Spagna; Severo d'Africa;<sup>20</sup> Alesandro d'Asia; Probo d'Ungaria;<sup>21</sup> Diocleriano<sup>22</sup> di Schiavonia, e Constantino d'Inghilterra.<sup>23</sup>

*Alcuno mi domanderà forse à che proposito io dico questo?*<sup>24</sup> *a che proposito io rispondo?* per dimostrare<sup>25</sup> che come la Città di Roma fu annichilata dagli Imperadori tiranni, e perversi,<sup>26</sup> *avidì del sangue, mà non amici della vita de' Romani*, così<sup>27</sup> gli studii, e le Lettere Latine riceverono simil ruina, e diminuzione, in tanto che all'estremo quasi non si trovava chi lettere Latine

<sup>1</sup> C. R. a cadere e a d.

<sup>2</sup> R. per fino.

<sup>3</sup> R. gran.

<sup>4</sup> C. R. perduta la libertà del p. r.

<sup>12</sup> R. disferono.

<sup>5</sup> C. R. per la s. degl' i.

<sup>13</sup> C. R. l' un l' altro.

<sup>6</sup> R. mai d' u. e disfare.

<sup>14</sup> C. R. perocchè.

<sup>7</sup> C. R. O. che fu il m. r. imperadore.

<sup>15</sup> C. t. era a.; R. t. era sè a.

<sup>8</sup> C. fece u.; R. fè u.

<sup>16</sup> C. R. da'.

<sup>9</sup> C. Galigula; R. Galicula.

<sup>17</sup> C. R. V., il quale fu i. dopo Vitellio.

<sup>10</sup> C. lasciaro.

<sup>18</sup> C. R. fu di quel di R.

<sup>11</sup> Sic; C. R. Galba.

<sup>19</sup> C. R. da.

<sup>20</sup> R. Spagna; Severo d'Affrica: Adriano ancora fu di S.

<sup>21</sup> C. R. Ungheria.

<sup>22</sup> Sic; C. R. Diocleziano.

<sup>25</sup> C. Solo per d.; R. S. per mostrare.

<sup>23</sup> C. R. Schiavonia: C. fu d'I.

<sup>26</sup> C. R. i. perversi tiranni.

<sup>24</sup> C. R. A c. p. si dice q. da me?

<sup>27</sup> R. e così.



con alcuna gentilezza sapesse; e *per maggior danno, e ruina di queste sopravvennero in Italia i Goti, et i Longobardi,*<sup>1</sup> Nattioni barbare, e strane, i quali affatto quasi spensero<sup>2</sup> ogni cognitione di Lettère, come appare negli<sup>3</sup> Instrumenti in quei tempi rogati, e fatti, de' quali *effettivamente* niente potrebbe essere più material cosa, nè più grossa, e rozza *maniera di scriver latino, onde vi è raggione di dire che queste Nattioni hanno portato la corruttion della Lingua in Italia.*

Ricuperata poi<sup>4</sup> la libertà de' Popoli Italici per la cacciata de' Longobardi, i quali due cento, e quattro<sup>5</sup> anni tenuto<sup>6</sup> aveano l' Italia<sup>7</sup> occupata, le Città di Toscana, e le altre<sup>8</sup> *circonvicine* cominciarono à riaversi, et à dare opera agli studii, et al quanto limare,<sup>9</sup> quel<sup>10</sup> grosso stile<sup>11</sup> *corrotto, e guasto*; e così a poco a poco<sup>12</sup> *le Lettere* vennero a ripigliare il vigore,<sup>13</sup> mà molto debilmente,<sup>14</sup> e senza vero giuditio di gentilezza alcuna, più<sup>15</sup> attendendo<sup>16</sup> à dire in rima volgare che ad altro.

*In questa maniera*<sup>17</sup> per infino al tempo di Dante lo stilo<sup>18</sup> litterato pochi sapevano, e quelli<sup>19</sup> pochi il sapevano molto<sup>20</sup> male, come dicemmo nella vita di Dante: Francesco Petrarca fù il primo, il quale ebbe tanta gratia d'ingegno, che riconobbe, e rivoò in luce l'antica legiadria dello stilo<sup>18</sup> *corrotto, e spento*; e posto che in lui perfetto non fosse, pur da se<sup>21</sup> vide et aperse la via, à questa perfettione, ritrovando l'opere di Tullio, e quelle gustando, et intendendo, adattandosi quanto potè, e seppe à quella elegantissima, e perfettissima, facondia e certo<sup>22</sup> fece assai solo à dimostrare<sup>23</sup> la via à quelli che dopo lui havevano à seguire.<sup>24</sup>

Dato adunque<sup>25</sup> à questi studii il Petrarca, e manifestando la sua<sup>26</sup> virtù insino da giovane fù molto onorato, e reputato; *di modo che Gregorio XI. Pontefice Romano le richiese con intentione di volerlo per Segretario della sua Corte*<sup>27</sup> ma non volle *in conto alcuno* consentirvi, si perche non si curava molto del guadagno,<sup>28</sup> *come ancora perche non voleva in quelle angustie, e molestie nelle quali si travava la Sede Apostolica incaricarsi d'un tanto carico.*

Niente di manco *e da questo, e da altri Papi* accettò molti beneficii per poter vivere in otio, e vita privata, *particolarmente* si fè Chierico Secolare,<sup>29</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R. G. e L.<sup>2</sup> R. s. q.<sup>3</sup> R. per gli strumenti.<sup>4</sup> C. R. di poi.<sup>5</sup> C. ducento quattro; R. dugentoquaranta.<sup>6</sup> R. tenuta.<sup>7</sup> C. R. Italia.<sup>9</sup> R. a limare.<sup>11</sup> C. stilo.<sup>8</sup> C. e a.<sup>10</sup> C. R. il.<sup>12</sup> R. appoco appoco.<sup>13</sup> C. R. poco, vennero ripigliando vigore.<sup>14</sup> R. debolmente.<sup>15</sup> C. R. piuttosto.<sup>19</sup> R. que'.<sup>23</sup> R. mostrare.<sup>16</sup> R. attendevano.<sup>20</sup> C. R. assai.<sup>24</sup> R. dovevano seguitare.<sup>17</sup> C. R. E così.<sup>21</sup> R. pure egli da per se solo.<sup>25</sup> R. Datosi ad.<sup>18</sup> R. stile.<sup>22</sup> R. per c.<sup>26</sup> R. m. suo.<sup>27</sup> C. R. riputato; e dal Papa fu richiesto di volerlo per s. di sua (R. suo) c.<sup>28</sup> C. R. ma non consentì (R. non lo c.) mai, nè prezzò il g.<sup>29</sup> C. R. N. d. m., per poter v. in o. con vita onorata, accettò b. e fessi cherico s. (Solerti reads c. regolare).

ma<sup>1</sup> questo non lo fè tanto di proprio movimento,<sup>2</sup> quanto che constretto<sup>3</sup> da necessità, perche dal Padre ò poco, ò niente<sup>4</sup> d'heredità gli era rimasa,<sup>5</sup> e come che haveva una sorella in maritarla quasi tutto *quel poco* d' heredità paterna se n'era andata.<sup>6</sup>

Gherardo suo fratello *allevato in una certa semplicità di vita, hebbe da questa l'inclinazione portata allo Stato Monacale, à che condescese volentieri il Padre à farlo Monaco, vedendo l'impossibilità di mantenersi nel Secolo senza cadere in necessità*; e così risolvette d'entrare nella Religione più rigorosa, et austera, come quella de' Padri della Certosa, nella quale perseverando in un corso di molti anni finì la sua vita.<sup>7</sup>

Gli honori del Petrarca furono tali, *che non si trova, che niuno Uomo Letterato della*<sup>8</sup> sua Età, fosse onorato più di lui,<sup>9</sup> nè<sup>10</sup> solamente in Francia, ma di quà da' Monti in Italia,<sup>11</sup> poiche passando d'Avignone in Roma per l'occasione dell'anno Santo nel 1350 con Lettere del Pontefice Clemente VI. venne solennemente Coronato Poeta,<sup>12</sup> e dal Cardinale Egidio Albornoz Legato della Sede Apostolica in Italia onorato di varii onori: anzi egli medesimo scrisse<sup>13</sup> in una sua Epistola, che nel ritornare dopo il Giubileo da Roma in Avignone, fece<sup>14</sup> la via d' Arezzo per<sup>15</sup> vedere la Terra dove era nato, e sentendosi di sua<sup>16</sup> venuta, tutti i Cittadini gli uscirono in contra,<sup>17</sup> come se gli fusse<sup>18</sup> venuto un Rè.

In somma è cosa certa, che la fama del suo merito era così grande per tutta l'Italia, e così sommo l'honore a lui tribuito da ogni Città, e Terra che pareva così<sup>19</sup> mirabile, et incredibile agli occhi istessi che vedevano;<sup>20</sup> nè solamente fù onorato da Popoli di prima qualità, e mezzana, mà da' sommi e grandi Principi, e Signori da' quali fu desiderato, et honorato,<sup>21</sup> et con grandissime provisioni appresso di se<sup>22</sup> tenuto; con<sup>23</sup> Messer Galeazzo Visconti dimora fece alcun tempo, con somma gratia, pregato da quel Signore che appresso à lui is degnasse di restare<sup>24</sup> per honorar della sua presenza, il suo Stato, e la

<sup>1</sup> C. R. e.<sup>8</sup> C. R. costretto.<sup>5</sup> C. R. gli rimase.<sup>2</sup> C. R. t. di suo proposito.<sup>4</sup> R. P. p. o n.<sup>6</sup> C. R. r., e in maritare una sua sorella, quasi tutta l' eredità p. si convertì.<sup>7</sup> C. R. G. s. f. si fè monaco di Certosa, ed in quella religione p., f. sua (R. suo) vita.<sup>8</sup> C. R. di.<sup>9</sup> C. R. fu p. o. di lui.<sup>10</sup> R. non.<sup>11</sup> C. R. n. s. oltre a' monti, ma di qua, in I.<sup>12</sup> C. R. I., passando (R. I. E p.) a R., s. fu c. poeta (R. come p.).<sup>13</sup> C. s. e. m.; R. scrive lui m.<sup>14</sup> C. R. che nel 1350 (R. negli anni 1350) venne a R. per lo giubileo, e nel tornare da Roma f.<sup>15</sup> R. pel. <sup>16</sup> R. suo. <sup>17</sup> R. gli si fecero incontro. <sup>18</sup> R. c. se f. <sup>19</sup> Sic, for cosa.<sup>20</sup> C. R. e conchiudendo, per t. I. era sì grande la fama e l'onore a lui t. da o. c. e t., e da tutti i popoli, che p. cosa i. e m.<sup>21</sup> C. R. nè s. da' popoli e da' mezzani (R. da' p. m.) ma da' s. e g. p. e s. fu d. e onorato.<sup>22</sup> R. loro.<sup>23</sup> C. R. Perocchè con.<sup>24</sup> C. d. di stare; R. degnasse s.



sua Persona; e similmente<sup>1</sup> dal Signor di Padova fu molto honorato, *havendoli spedito Ambasciatore espresso per pregarlo di andare ad honorare quella sua Città*; et era tanta la riputazione sua, e la riverenza che gli era portata da quei<sup>2</sup> Signori che spesse volte con lui lunga contesa facevano di volerlo mandare innanzi nell' andare, ò nell' entrare<sup>3</sup> in alcun luogo, e preferirlo in onore.

Così il Petrarca con questa vita honorata *da Principi da Popoli, e quasi da tutte le Nationi, non solo che l' havevano veduto, mà che non lo conoscevano che per fama, vita appunto gradita all' Universo, e con la quale visse*<sup>4</sup> fino<sup>5</sup> all' estremo di sua vita,<sup>6</sup> *senza ch'è mai cadesse nel pensiero de' Magnati che una ferma constanza d' honorarlo, e servirlo.*

Ebbe il Petrarca negli studii suoi una dote<sup>7</sup> singolare, *che di rado si trova in altri cioè* che fù attissimo in prosa, et in verso,<sup>8</sup> e nell' uno, e nell' altro stilo<sup>9</sup> fece moltissime<sup>10</sup> opere. La prosa sua è leggiadra e fiorita; il verso è limato, e ritondo, et assai alto; e questa gratia dell' uno stilo<sup>11</sup> e dell' altro è stato<sup>12</sup> *come ho detto* in pochi, ò in nullo fuor di lui, poichè<sup>13</sup> pare che la natura tirò all' uno ò all' altro, e quale vantaggio per natura à quello si suole l' Uomo dare.

Da questo<sup>14</sup> advenne<sup>15</sup> che Virgilio, *Poeta tanto eccellentissimo, e celebratissimo nel verso,*<sup>16</sup> valse così poco in prosa,<sup>17</sup> *che tutto quello ch' egli scrisse, non solamente non hebbe applauso, ma di più servì à molti di riso, e di scherzo: cosa che apparve molto differente nella persona di Tullio, il quale fù il Sommo Maestro nel dire in prosa, poichè non scrisse periodo che non avesse l' approvazione di tutto il Mondo, et al contrario niente valse nella compositione de' Versi.*<sup>18</sup>

Questo medesimo veggiamo negli<sup>19</sup> altri Poeti, et Oratori *ne' quali non ambidue, ma l' uno di questi due stili è stata*<sup>20</sup> la più eccellente loro gloria: <sup>21</sup> e per me non mi ricordo haver letto ch'alcuno fosse mai riuscito in amendue gli stili, *ancorchè tutti si provassero nell' uno, e nell' altro.*<sup>22</sup> Il Petrarca solo è quello che *trà tutti gli Oratori, e Poeti che son comparsi fin' hora* hà portato il privilegio, e la dote singolare di riuscire eccellente nell' uno, e l' alto<sup>23</sup> stilo, et in amendue compose Opere molte, e come credo in eguale

<sup>1</sup> C. R. simile.      <sup>2</sup> R. quegli.      <sup>3</sup> R. nello a., e nello e.

<sup>4</sup> C. R. con q. v. onorata e gradita (R. v. o., e riputata, e g.) visse.

<sup>5</sup> C. R. infino.      <sup>6</sup> C. R. età.      <sup>7</sup> R. dota.      <sup>8</sup> C. R. a. a p. e a v.

<sup>9</sup> C. R. e nell' u. stilo (R. stile) e nell' a. f.

<sup>10</sup> C. R. assai.      <sup>11</sup> R. stile.      <sup>12</sup> Sic; C. R. stata.      <sup>13</sup> C. R. perchè.

<sup>14</sup> C. R. Onde.      <sup>15</sup> Sic; C. addivenne; R. adviene.

<sup>16</sup> C. R. V. nel verso eccellentissimo.

<sup>17</sup> C. niente in prosa valse o scrisse; R. n. in p. s.

<sup>18</sup> C. R. e T. s. m. nel (R. in) d. in p., niente valse in versi.

<sup>19</sup> C. degli.      <sup>20</sup> Sic.      <sup>21</sup> C. R. essere stato la sua eccellente loda.

<sup>22</sup> C. R. ma in amendue gli stili niuno di loro, che mi ricordi aver letto.

<sup>23</sup> Sic; for altro.

numero in Versi, che in prosa, le quali <sup>1</sup> non fà bisogno raccontare, perche son note *da per tutto, et a tutti.*

Morì il Petrarca *con nome del più illustre Uomo del suo Secolo nella materia delle Lettere*, nel Castello d' Arquate posto nel territorio della Città di Padoa,<sup>2</sup> dove in sua <sup>3</sup> vecchiezza ritirandosi <sup>4</sup> con proposito di goder *una buona quiete d'animo, et una vita otiosa,*<sup>5</sup> e separata d' ogni impedimento, aveva eletto *un tal luogo per sua* <sup>3</sup> *dimora, sia rispetto al sito, che non è degli inferiori, ò sia per altra ragione: basta che quivi visse alcuni anni, dove non lasciava d'esser visitato da' principali Uomini del tempo; e la sua fama era così accreditata che quasi in tutte le Città d' Italia, dopo capitata la nuova dalla sua morte gli furono celebrate solennissime esequie, con Orationi funebri.*

Tenne il Petrarca mentre che visse *stretta e fedele amicitia e corrispondenza* con <sup>6</sup> Giovanni Boccaccio <sup>7</sup> in quell' età famoso ne' medesimi studii, *di modo che si comunicavano l'un l'altro le Opere che componevano, e con gran sincerità si chiedevano i sentimenti; più volte procurarono l'occasioni di visitarsi, come in fatti gli riuscì spessissime volte, ma per quello che riguardava l'uso delle Pistole, questo si faceva molto allo spesso, di modo che la maggior gloria d'uno de' due era l'haver un fascio di Epistole dell' altro.*

In questa maniera adunque morto <sup>8</sup> il Petrarca le Muse Fiorentine, che tenevano il vanto sopra tutte le altre quasi per hereditaria successione rimasono <sup>9</sup> al Boccaccio, et in lui risedette la fama de' predetti <sup>10</sup> studii, e fù successione ancor nel tempo, perochè quando Dante morì, il Petrarca era d' età d'anni diciassette,<sup>11</sup> *che vuol dir nel vero tempo di dar principio à farsi conoscere capace della successione alle Muse*, e quando *dapoi* morì il Petrarca,<sup>12</sup> era il Boccaccio di minore età di lui anni nove, e così *di mano* si succedettero insieme le nostre Muse Fiorentine.<sup>13</sup>

La vita del Boccaccio *famoso quanto ogni altro*, non scriveremo noi al presente,<sup>14</sup> non perche egli <sup>15</sup> non meriti loda,<sup>16</sup> mà perche à me non sono *sin' hora* note le particolarità della sua <sup>17</sup> generattione, e di sua <sup>18</sup> privata condititione, e vita, senza la cognizione delle quali cose, non si può scrivere *con soddisfazione di chi deve leggere;*<sup>19</sup> *ma però* L' Opere, et i libri suoi mi sono

<sup>1</sup> C. R. *Il P. s. è q. che per dota singolare nell' uno e nell' altro stilo* (R. in l' u. e in l' a. stile) *fu eccellente, ed opere molte compose in p. e in v., le q.*

<sup>2</sup> C. R. *M. il P. ad Arquate* (R. Arquata), *castello del Padovano* (R. adds l' anno 1374).

<sup>3</sup> R. suo.

<sup>4</sup> C. R. *ritraendosi.*

<sup>5</sup> C. R. *r. per sua* (R. suo) *quiete e* (R. a) *v. o.*

<sup>6</sup> C. R. *grandissima a. con.*

<sup>8</sup> C. R. *studii: sicchè m.*

<sup>10</sup> R. *poetici.*

<sup>7</sup> C. Boccacci.

<sup>9</sup> C. rimasero.

<sup>11</sup> R. *era di anni 17.*

<sup>12</sup> R. *e q. il P. morì.*

<sup>13</sup> C. R. *e così per successione andarono le muse.*

<sup>14</sup> C. R. *iscriveremo al p.*

<sup>17</sup> R. *di suo.*

<sup>15</sup> R. *e'.*

<sup>18</sup> R. *e sì di suo.*

<sup>16</sup> C. R. *m. ogni grandissima l.*

<sup>19</sup> C. R. *cose, scrivere non si debbe* (R. debba).

bastamente conosciute, e noti,<sup>1</sup> dalle quali argomento, e veggio ch'egli<sup>2</sup> fù di grandissimo ingegno, e di grandissimo studio, e molto laborioso, come si può vedere nel gran numero delle cose che scrisse di sua mano che pare cosa maravigliosa, et incredibile.<sup>3</sup>

Non cominciò il Boccaccio ad imparar le Lettere che molto grande,<sup>4</sup> avendo passato la sua età fresca in altri esercitii, ma poi per non sò quale ispirazione nell'età di diciadotto anni si diede à studiar la Lingua Latina, e per questa cagione non hebbe mai detta Lingua in<sup>5</sup> sua<sup>6</sup> balia, et haveva gran fatica nel scriverla, e molto più nel parlarla; Ma per quel che scrisse in volgare si vede che naturalmente, egli era eloquentissimo, et haveva ingegno Oratorio: dell' Opere sue scritte in Latino la "Genealogia Deorum" tiene<sup>7</sup> il principato sopra tutte le altre; non mancarono però di quelli, che andarono seminando, non essere stata questa sua Opera assoluta, à causa che non haveva come s'è detto in suo comando assoluto la Lingua Latina, ma però è certo che la compositione è sua intieramente, ma se di poi fosse stata da qualche suo amico purificata nel linguaggio non sò, sò bene che nell' idioma volgare egli riuscì più perfetto degli altri nella purità, et eccellenza della Lingua.

Fu molto impedito dalla Povertà, il povero Boccaccio, nè seppe mai per colmo di maggior dispiacere contentarsi del suo stato<sup>8</sup> che cambiò più volte dal minimo al più, senza passar mai la mediocrità; anzi sempre querele, e lagni di se stesso scrisse,<sup>9</sup> ne sapeva discorrer con chi si sia senza lamentarsi della fortuna: tenero, e benigno fù di natura, mà disdegnato,<sup>10</sup> et iracundo al maggior segno, e bene spesso per poca cosa entrava in gran colera la qual<sup>11</sup> cosa guastò molto i fatti suoi, poichè<sup>12</sup> nè di<sup>13</sup> se haveva, nè d' essere appresso i Principi ebbe mai sofferenza;<sup>14</sup> e veramente non gli mancò l' occasione d' avanzarsi, ma la pazienza per i mezzi.

Lasciando dunque<sup>15</sup> stare il Boccaccio, et induggiando la vita sua ad altro tempo tornerò à Dante, et al Petrarca delli<sup>16</sup> quali dico così; che se comparazione<sup>17</sup> si debba<sup>18</sup> fare trà<sup>19</sup> questi due prestantissimi Uomini, le vite de' quali sono state descritte<sup>20</sup> da noi, affermo che amendue furono valentissimi, e prestantissimi e famosissimi, e degni di grandissima<sup>21</sup> comendazione, e loda;

<sup>1</sup> C. R. mi sono assai noti.

<sup>2</sup> R. lui.

<sup>3</sup> C. R. laborioso, e tante cose scrisse di sua (R. suo) propria mano, che è una maraviglia.

<sup>4</sup> C. R. Apparò grammatica da grande.

<sup>6</sup> R. suo.

<sup>5</sup> C. R. mai la l. latina molto in.

<sup>7</sup> R. le Genologie D. tengono.

<sup>8</sup> C. R. povertà; e mai si contentò di suo s.

<sup>9</sup> R. scrive.

<sup>10</sup> Sic.

<sup>11</sup> C. R. Tenero fu di n. e disdegnoso (R. sdegnoso), la qual.

<sup>12</sup> C. R. perchè.

<sup>17</sup> R. comperazione.

<sup>13</sup> C. R. da.

<sup>18</sup> R. si dee.

<sup>14</sup> C. R. a. a' p. e signori (R. a p. e a s.) e. s.

<sup>19</sup> C. intra.

<sup>15</sup> C. R. adunque.

<sup>20</sup> C. sono scritte; R. sono state scritte.

<sup>16</sup> R. de'.

<sup>21</sup> Solerti reads grande.

pure volendoli<sup>1</sup> insieme con trito esame di virtù, e di meriti comparare,<sup>2</sup> e vedere in qual di loro è maggiore eccellenza, dico ch' egli è da fare contesa non piccola, perche sono quasi pari nel corso loro alla fama, et alla gloria, de' quali due parlando possiamo<sup>3</sup> dire in questo modo.<sup>4</sup>

Che Dante nella vita attiva e civile fu di maggior preggio ch' il Petrarca, perocche nell' armi per la Patria, e nel governo della Republica laudabilmente si adoperò: non si può dire questa parte del Petrarca, però ch'è<sup>5</sup> nè in Città libera stette, la quale avesse à governare civilmente, nè in armi fù mai per la Patria, la qual cosa sappiamo esser gran merito di virtù: oltre à questo Dante da esilio, e da povertà incacciato,<sup>6</sup> non abbandonò mai i suoi<sup>7</sup> preclari<sup>8</sup> studii, ma in tante difficoltà scrisse la sua<sup>9</sup> bell' Opera: il Petrarca in vita tranquilla, e soave, et honorata le opere<sup>10</sup> sue compose: concedesi che *negli studii* è più<sup>11</sup> da desiderare la bonaccia *che la tempesta*, mà niente di manco<sup>12</sup> è di maggior virtù nell' avversità della fortuna poter conservare la mente agli studii, massime<sup>13</sup> quando di buono stato si cade in cattivo: <sup>14</sup> ancora in scientia di Filosofia e nelle matematiche Dante fù più dotto, e più perfetto,<sup>15</sup> perochè gran tempo gli diede opera, si che il Petrarca in questa parte non è pari<sup>16</sup> al<sup>17</sup> Dante.

Per tutte queste ragioni pare che Dante in onore debba essere preferito: ma volgendo<sup>18</sup> carta, e dicendo le ragioni del Petrarca si può rispondere al primo argomento della vita attiva, e civile, che il Petrarca fù più saggio, e prudente<sup>19</sup> in elegger vita quieta, et otiosa, che travagliarsi nella Republica, e nelle contese, e nelle sette civili, le quali sovente gittavo<sup>20</sup> tal frutto, quale à Dante adivenne,<sup>21</sup> *che vuol dire d'essere cacciato dalla Patria*, e disperso *quà e là* dalla<sup>22</sup> malvagità degli Huomini, et ingratitudine<sup>23</sup> de' Popoli, *per non dir dalla perversità del destino, ch'è quello che si suole il più accusare nelle congiunture sinistre dagli afflitti*.

Certo è che Giano<sup>24</sup> della Bella suo vicino *doveva servire di grande esempio al Dante, perochè questo Messire aveva affettuosamente resi molti, e molti serviggi al Popolo di Firenze, et in occasioni d' Ambasciarie, et in altre, con tutto ciò il Popolo, scordato di tanti beneficii lo discacciò per falsi sospetti, ò piccioli indizii dalla Città, mandandolo in esilio, dove morì di là à poco tempo; la qual cosa doveva servire di sufficiente esempio al buon Dante; et in luogo di mendicar gli honori, et i governi nella Republica, faceva di*

<sup>1</sup> R. volendosi.<sup>2</sup> R. comperare.<sup>3</sup> R. potiamo.<sup>4</sup> C. R. q. m. cioè.<sup>5</sup> R. del P. q. p., perocchè (C. perchè).<sup>6</sup> C. R. incalzato.<sup>7</sup> R. a. i s.<sup>8</sup> Sic.<sup>9</sup> R. suo.<sup>10</sup> C. R. onorata e in grandissima bonaccia l' o.<sup>11</sup> C. R. più è.<sup>12</sup> R. non è pari in q. p.<sup>21</sup> R. avvenne.<sup>12</sup> R. meno.<sup>17</sup> C. R. a.<sup>22</sup> C. R. per la.<sup>13</sup> R. massimamente.<sup>18</sup> R. preferito. Volgendo.<sup>23</sup> C. e per la 'ngratitudine.<sup>14</sup> C. R. reo.<sup>19</sup> R. e più p.<sup>24</sup> C. R. E c. G.<sup>15</sup> R. più perfetto, e p. d.<sup>20</sup> Sic; C. R. gittano.

*mestieri ritirarsi, e prevenir di buon' hora quelle tempeste, che in tanta copia gli sopraggiunsero poi.*<sup>1</sup>

Ancora si può rispondere in questa medesima parte, che riguarda la<sup>2</sup> vita attiva, che il Petrarca fù *più destro, più prudente, e più costante nel saper guadagnare prima, e ritenere poi la grazia de' Principi*<sup>3</sup> *sino all'ultimo, à dispetto d'ogni qualunque invidia; nè andò mai mutando, e variando come fece Dante,*<sup>4</sup> *il quale pareva che pigliasse piacere di passar dall' amicizia d'un Signore à quella d'un' altro, e bene spesso perdeva quella d'ambidue: Certo è che il Petrarca nel vivere in reputazione, et in vita honorata appresso tutti i Principi, Signori, e Popoli dell' Universo non fù senza grandissima virtù, sapienza, costanza,*<sup>5</sup> *la qual cosa rese molto più illustre la sua fama, e più gloriosa la sua memoria, perche una delle qualità principali d'un virtuoso è quella di sapersi conservare nella grazia di tutti.*

Alla parte che si dice, che nell'<sup>6</sup> avversità della fortuna Dante conservò sempre ferma la sua mente agli studii; io rispondo che il Petrarca la conservò ancora intatta, e costante nelle prosperità; e qui vi è una questione da mettere in campo, cioè se sia maggior virtù di ritenere la mente ferma nell'avversità, ò nelle prosperità, non ci è dubbio alcuno, che non sia gran costanza d'animo quella di sapersi mantener fermo di mente, nelle persecuzioni della sinistra fortuna, ma si può rispondere ancora che nella vita felice, e nella prosperità, e nella bonaccia non è minor virtù ritenere la mente agli studii, che ritenersela nell'avversità perocchè più corrompono la mente degli Huomini le cose prospere che le avverse, essendo capitali nemici degli studii.

La Gola, il Sonno, e l'oziose piume.<sup>7</sup>

Se in Filosofia, et in Astrologia,<sup>8</sup> e nell' altre scienze Matematiche fù più dotto Dante, che il confesso, e consento, dir si può, che in molte altre cose il Petrarca fù più dotto che Dante, perocchè nella scienza delle Lettere, e nella cognitione della Lingua Latina Dante fù molto inferiore al Petrarca, e così il testimoniarono tutti i Letterati che havevano conosciuto l' uno, e l' altro.

Due parti sono nella Lingua Latina, cioè due cose sono che formano la sua divisione prosa, e versi; nell' una, e nell' altra di amendue è superiore al Dante il Petrarca, perocchè in prosa lungamente è più eccellente, e nel verso ancora è più sublime, e più ornato di quello è Dante:<sup>9</sup> sì che in tutta la Lingua Latina

<sup>1</sup> C. R. v., dal quale il popolo di F. aveva ricevuto tanti benefizi, e poi il discacciò (R. cacciò) e morì in e., s. e. doveva esser a D. di non si travagliare (R. non travagliarsi) nel governo della r.

<sup>2</sup> C. R. parte della.

<sup>3</sup> C. R. il P. fu più costante in ritenere l' amicizia de' p.

<sup>4</sup> C. R. perchè non a. mutando, e (R. nè) v. come fè D.

<sup>5</sup> C. R. E certo il v. in r. ed in v. onorata da tutti i s. e p. non fu s. g. v., e s., e c.

<sup>6</sup> R. nelle. <sup>7</sup> C. R. La gola, il s. (R. e' l s.), e l' o. p. sono c. n. d. s. <sup>8</sup> R. f., e a.

<sup>9</sup> Sic; C. R. ornato, che non è il verso di Dante.



Dante per certo non è pari al Petrarca: nel dire volgare il Petrarca in Cantone <sup>1</sup> è pari <sup>2</sup> al <sup>3</sup> Dante, et in Sonetti <sup>4</sup> il vantaggio: confesso niente dimanco <sup>5</sup> che Dante nell' opera sua principale vantaggia ogni opera del Petrarca.

Bisogna adunque conchiudere che ciascuno <sup>6</sup> ha sua eccellenzia in parte, et in parte è superato: l' essere <sup>7</sup> il Petrarca insignito di Corona Poetica, *con tanto applauso*, e non *già il Dante*, niente importa à questa comparazione, <sup>8</sup> pero che molto è da stimare più il meritar Corona, che l' haverla <sup>9</sup> ricevuta, massime perche la virtù è certa, e la Corona tal volta per lieve giuditio, così a chi non la merita, come a chi la merita <sup>10</sup> dar si puote, *come in effetto succede allo spesso, e basta che la fortuna conduca un' Uomo al punto nell' inclinazione d' un Principe, per farlo coronar come Principe.*

Having concluded the *Vita del Petrarca* the writer of the letter resumes his address to his correspondent as follows:

Questo è quanto io posso mandargli per hora in sodisfattione del suo desiderio, nè altro voglio aggiungere del mio à quello scrisse con tanta schiettezza un' Aretino, prima, perche non tengo in fatti materia, e quando anche mi trovassi qualche cosa di più, stimarei io medesimo il tutto sospetto, mentre l' Aretino vide le cose più da vicino, e per conseguenza hebbe campo d' informarsi da viventi dell' attoni di questi grand' Huomini, e come quello che intendeva la vera arte dello scrivere materie di questa natura, registrò quel tanto che fù degno d'esser notato. <sup>11</sup>

From a careful study of the material presented above the following conclusions may be drawn:

First, that the "additional matter" in the Boccalini versions is not "authentic," in the sense that it came from the hand of Bruni, as claimed, though it may have been the work of Boccalini, the alleged writer of the letters; but in view of the circumstances in which the letters were published, and having regard to Leti's avowed methods of manipulation, it was more probably the work of Leti, the editor of the letters.

Second, that the authentic matter (that is, the matter taken direct from the traditional text of Bruni's *Vite*) contained in the Boccalini versions was derived either from a manuscript of the same type as that from which Cinelli printed the text of the *editio princeps*, or, which seems more likely, from the text of the *editio princeps* itself.

<sup>1</sup> Sic; C. R. canzone.    <sup>4</sup> C. R. D.; in s.

<sup>7</sup> R. Essere.

<sup>2</sup> R. v. in c. il P. è p.    <sup>5</sup> R. nientedimeno.

<sup>8</sup> R. comperazione.

<sup>3</sup> C. R. a.

<sup>6</sup> C. R. E però, conchiudendo, ciascuno.

<sup>9</sup> R. che averla.

<sup>10</sup> R. a chi non merita, come a chi m.

<sup>11</sup> This letter, like the previous one, concludes with general remarks which are beside our present subject.

That a text of the Cinelli type (as printed in the edition of 1671), and not a text of the Redi type (as printed in the edition of 1672), was the foundation of the Boccalini version of the *Vita di Dante* is clearly apparent from the following comparative table, in which are registered the most striking instances in which the Boccalini version is identical with the Cinelli text, where that differs from the Redi<sup>1</sup> text.

B. = Boccalini; C. = Cinelli; R. = Redi; the numerical references are to page and note (in the *apparatus criticus*).

51 5 B. C. alcun luogo	R. alcuni luoghi
52 6 B. C. tritavo	R. tritavolo
52 7 B. C. figliuoli	R. fratelli
52 19 B. C. vicino alle case	R. verso le case
53 2 B. C. schiere equestri	R. schiere equestri, cioè de' cavalieri
53 21 B. C. dicono gli Aretini	R. dicono sconfitti gli Aretini
53 26 B. C. questa virtù più tosto avesse	R. questa virtù avesse
53 32 B. C. tornò Dante	R. tornatosi Dante
54 17 B. C. gioventù	R. giovinezza
54 25 B. C. diversi tempi	R. vari tempi
55 2 B. C. Seneca e Varrone	R. Varrone e Seneca
55 4 B. C. moglie, figliuoli, et offizi	R. moglie, ufici
55 6 B. C. molto frivoli	R. molto fievoli
55 11 B. C. civile, onesta	R. civilmente ed onesta
55 13 B. C. venuto	R. pervenuto
55 31 B. C. passa con piede asciutto	R. passa così asciuttamente
56 1 B. C. lungo spazio	R. lungo spazio di tempo
56 2 B. C. sopravvenne un'altra	R. sopravvenne di nuovo un'altra
56 11 B. C. in pubblico e privato	R. publice et privatim
56 14 B. C. trovossi in molti la divisione	R. trovossi la divisione
56 17 B. C. distesi	R. discesi
56 20 B. C. la terra	R. la città
56 21 B. C. l'altra parte	R. l'altra parte de' Bianchi
57 2 B. C. anche loro	R. ancora essi
57 5 B. C. perturbatori	R. turbatori
57 25 B. C. consiglio tenuto	R. consiglio tenuto in Santa Trinità
58 2 B. C. Carlo di Valois a Firenze	R. Carlo a Firenze
58 3 B. C. ricevuto	R. onorevolmente ricevuto
58 5 B. C. cacciò la parte Bianca per rivelazione	R. cacciò la parte Bianca. La cagione fu per rivelazione
58 9 B. C. d'adoperarsi	R. di adoperar si

<sup>1</sup> A peculiarity of the Redi text, which does not occur either in the Cinelli text or in the Boccalini versions, is the frequent use of *suo* or *suo'* for *sua* before a feminine substantive. This peculiarity is registered in the *apparatus criticus* as it occurs.



58 27 B. C. Cante de' Gabrielli	R. Conte de' Gabrielli
59 8 B. C. con celerità	R. con gran celerità
59 11 B. C. fermaro la sede	R. fermarono la sedia
59 12 B. C. capo grosso	R. campo grosso
59 13 B. C. capitano generale	R. capitano
59 29 B. C. cittadini	R. cittadini del reggimento
59 33 B. C. popule mi	R. popule mee
59 35 B. C. essendo in questa speranza Dante di tornare	R. essendo in questa speranza di ritornare
61 2 B. C. del tempo suo	R. di quel tempo
61 28 B. C. io dirò	R. io dico
62 11 B. C. Aritmetica	R. arismetica e geometria
62 33 B. C. ferno	R. feron
63 7 B. C. opera, cioè autore e com- ponente di quello, che altri legge	R. opera. ( <i>Omits</i> cioè . . . legge)
63 15 B. C. scrisse libri ed opere	R. scrisse libri e fece opere
63 16 B. C. fare opere	R. fare opere poetiche
64 13 B. C. al modo fratesco scolastico	R. al modo . . . e scolastico ( <i>hiatus in text</i> )
64 14 B. C. anni cento	R. circa anni cento
64 19 B. C. sentenze	R. scienze
64 24 B. C. cose moderne	R. storie moderne
64 29 B. C. prendesse	R. imprendesse
65 10 B. C. il quale è scritto	R. il qual libro è scritto
65 17 B. C. nel 1321	R. negli anni 1321

In the *Vita del Petrarca* the Boccacini version diverges much more frequently both from the Cinelli and the Redi texts than is the case in the *Vita di Dante*, but the coincidences with the Cinelli text preponderate.

PAGET TOYNBEE

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS, ENGLAND  
March, 1911

THIRTIETH  
ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
DANTE SOCIETY  
(CAMBRIDGE, MASS.)

1911

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ACCOMPANYING PAPER

THE PHILOSOPHY OF DANTE  
*By Roger Theodore Lafferty*

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BOSTON  
GINN AND COMPANY  
(FOR THE DANTE SOCIETY)  
1913

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## STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

(From May 17, 1910, to May 16, 1911)

Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May		
17, 1910 . . . . .	\$729.16	
Membership fees till May 16, 1911 . . . . .	485.00	
Sales of Concordances . . . . .	51.00	
Copyrights . . . . .	<u>75.72</u>	
		\$1340.88
Paid Messrs. Ginn and Company . . . . .	\$151.31	
Paid the Treasurer of Harvard College . . . . .	30.00	
Refunded from sales of the Fay Concordance . . . . .	36.00	
Postage, printing, typewriting, etc. . . . .	43.07	
Balance on hand, May 16, 1911 . . . . .	<u>1080.50</u>	
		\$1340.88

## BY-LAWS

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1. This Society shall be called the DANTE SOCIETY. Its object shall be the encouragement of the study of the Life and Works of Dante.

2. Any person desirous to become a member of this Society may do so by signifying his or her wish in writing to the Secretary, and by the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

3. An Annual Meeting for the election of officers shall be held at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of May, of which due notice shall be given to the members by the Secretary.

4. Special meetings may be held at any time appointed by vote of the members at the Annual Meeting, or by call from the President and Secretary.

5. The officers shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Librarian, who, together with three members thereto chosen, shall form the Council of the Society. All these officers shall be chosen at the Annual Meeting, and their term of service shall be for one year, or until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled for the remainder of the year by the Council.

6. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice President, or, in the absence of both, any member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council.

7. The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep a record of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, shall collect and receive all dues, and keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the Society, shall give notice of meetings, and shall perform all other duties appropriate to his office.

8. The Council shall hold meetings at such times as it may appoint, shall determine on the use to be made of the income of

the Society, shall endeavor to promote the special objects of the Society in such ways as may seem most appropriate, and shall make an annual report of their proceedings, including a full statement of accounts, at each Annual Meeting. This report shall be made in print for distribution to the members.

9. No officer of the Society shall be competent to contract debts in the name of the Society, and no expenditure shall be made without a vote of the Council.

10. A majority of the Council shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. Any person distinguished for his interest in the purposes of the Society, or who has rendered it valuable service, may be chosen an Honorary Member at any regular meeting of the Society, and shall be entitled to all its privileges without annual assessment.

12. The preceding rules may be changed at any time by unanimous vote of the Council.

## THE DANTE PRIZE

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The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars for the best essay by a student in any department of Harvard University, or by a graduate of not more than three years' standing, on a subject drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1910-1911 the following subjects were proposed:

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*
12. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
13. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
14. *A criticism of Torracca's edition of the Divina Commedia.*

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., on or before the *first day of May*.



Essayists are at liberty to write on any one of the subjects which have been proposed in the years during which the Dante Prize has been offered, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

On the title-page must be written an assumed name and a statement of the writer's standing, i.e. whether he is a graduate or an undergraduate (and of what college or university); if he is an undergraduate, to what class he belongs, and to what department of the college or university. Under cover with the essay must be sent a sealed letter containing the true name and address of the writer, and superscribed with his assumed name.

The essays must be written upon letter paper, of good quality, of the quarto size, with a margin of not less than one inch at the top, at the bottom, and on each side, so that they may be bound up without injury to the writing. The sheets on which the essay is written must be securely stitched together.

The judges of the essays are a committee of the Dante Society.

In case the judges decide that no essay submitted to them deserves the full prize, they are at liberty to award one or two prizes of fifty dollars, or to award no prize.

The Dante Society has the privilege of retaining and depositing in the Dante Collection of the Harvard College Library any or all essays offered in competition for the Dante Prize, whether successful or not.

Since its establishment the Dante Prize (in full or in part) has been awarded to the following persons :

HEINRICH CONRAD BIERWIRTH . . . . 1887.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas*.

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888.

For an essay entitled *The Interpretation and Reconciliation of the Different Accounts of his Experiences after the Death of Beatrice, given by Dante in the Vita Nuova and the Convito*.

CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM . . . . 1890.

For an essay entitled *A Translation into English of Dante's Letters, with Explanatory and Historical Comments*.

KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894.

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo*.

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Influence upon Spanish Literature during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*.

ANNETTE FISKE . . . . 1897.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to Old French and Provençal Lyric Poetry*.

ARTHUR NEWTON PEASLEE . . . . 1900.

For an essay entitled *A Metrical Rhyming Translation of the Three Canzoni of the Convito*.

HENRY LATIMER SEAVER . . . . 1901.

For an essay entitled *A Translation of the Canzoni in the Convito*.

ALAIN CAMPBELL WHITE . . . . 1902.

The Latham Prize for an essay entitled *A Translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra, and a Discussion of its Authenticity*.

ALPHONSO DE SALVIO . . . . 1902.

For an essay entitled *The Verse Endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch' erano appo gli altri dicitori usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS . . . . 1903.

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

CHANDLER RATHFON POST . . . . 1906.

For an essay entitled *The Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature*.

ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS . . . . 1907.

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova*.

RALPH HAYWARD KENISTON . . . . 1909.

For an essay entitled *The Dante Tradition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*.

ROGER THEODORE LAFFERTY . . . . 1912.

For an essay entitled *The Philosophy of Dante*.

## ANNUAL REPORT

The report now published, after much delay, is for the year 1911. It was the original plan of the Council to print as an accompanying paper the essay of Mr. Keniston which received the Dante Prize in 1909. But the author's absence in Europe for an unexpected length of time led to the postponement of this publication, which the Secretary now hopes to issue with the next report. In place of Mr. Keniston's essay, in the meantime, has been substituted Mr. Roger Theodore Lafferty's prize essay of 1912 on "The Philosophy of Dante."

The thirtieth annual meeting of the Society was held on May 16, 1911, at the residence of the Secretary, Longfellow Park, Cambridge. The regular business was transacted and the officers were all reëlected for the ensuing year. Mrs. William Carver Bates, because of her change of residence to New York, declined reëlection to the Council, and Mrs. Richard Henry Dana was chosen in her place.

Proof sheets of the Latin Concordance, which was then in the press, were exhibited by the editors as a report of progress. The volume has since been issued, and the chief literary undertaking of the Society, the publication of concordances to all of Dante's writings, has thus been successfully carried out. It has enlisted many members

in the preliminary work of collecting references, has received the generous financial support of two members in particular, and owes its satisfactory completion to the learning, judgment, and unstinted labor of the successive editors. The Society is not likely soon again to have an opportunity to render a service of equal importance to Dante scholarship. But now that the treasury will be relieved of the extra expenses incident to the publication of the concordances, it is the hope of the Council that the regular annual reports may be made more substantial and that many papers of value may be printed from year to year.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

*Secretary*

JUNE 28, 1913

# THE PHILOSOPHY OF DANTE

ROGER THEODORE LAFFERTY

More than any other poet Dante was a philosopher. It is impossible to understand his work as a whole, and especially the *Divine Comedy*, unless it is studied as philosophy. While it is of supreme æsthetic interest, holding the attention of the world primarily by its striking imagery, its depth of feeling, and its matchless phrasing, its real significance, on which depends its final value, lies in its philosophy. It is indeed nothing but an expression of that philosophy. The whole literary work of Dante is a development of his philosophy. To be rightly understood and appreciated, therefore, Dante should be approached from the point of view of philosophical studies, rather than of literary scholarship. That scholarship, of course, is necessary to edit the writings, but is entirely inadequate to show the real meaning of the work. The preparation for a genuine study of Dante requires a knowledge of the history of thought, especially of that of the Middle Ages. For Dante gave poetic expression to the standard philosophy of his time, and this philosophy is thus the substance of his whole work.

As a philosopher, however, Dante was not himself an original creative thinker, but the poet of the philosophy which had been making for centuries. His mission was not to make, but to express. He brought together all the previous philosophies and welded them again — for the welding, too, had been done before him — into one great system. It is the poetic expression and the poetic, rather than the intellectual, value of the philosophical content that is so great.

Dante's philosophy was primarily one of intuition rather than concept, of imagination rather than reason. Thus it is from its very nature, without regard to its expression, poetic. The real value of such a philosophy it is the purpose of this essay to show. It is the only kind of philosophy that has any value, the human reason being so limited that the philosopher must eventually rely on his sense of the true rather than on syllogisms. And it is this sense of the true which makes Dante's work

so great also as poetry. Thus its universal appeal as poetry comes really from its greatness as philosophy. Dante's work is not philosophical poetry, but poetic philosophy. It is the nearest to an expression of what I should like to sketch as the philosophy for our own time.

It is in this light that the present study of Dante is made. We can examine through him the sources of our proposed philosophy. Then we can see these sources joined in him into our system. We can continue this system into our own notion of a philosophy by revising it according to modern science. From Dante himself we can take his method of philosophizing, and this is perhaps of most importance. In this way a real understanding of Dante can be had, and our purpose of developing a modern philosophy attained.

Thus Dante is a kind of source in substance and especially, as we shall see later, in method, and also a confirmation, of our proposed philosophy. Not only as such a source and support, but also as a direct expression, is Dante's work useful in an exposition of the kind of philosophy I have in mind. The *Divine Comedy* is the most perfect expression ever given to any system of philosophy; especially is it the finest expression ever given to a moral philosophy, or "Lebensanschauung." The particular view of life there expounded is so near to that which I am presenting here that the poem, after having served as a source, becomes of even greater value as the most inspiring expression in literature of our philosophy of life.

This seems to be the value of a study of Dante for contemporary thought and in general for contemporary culture. His contribution is to furnish the materials for an adequate view of life for the people of our time, to give his mighty support to such a philosophy, encouraging many who could accept it but are afraid, and above all to make this philosophy, when accepted, a source of immediate strength by giving it the most convincing and the most beautiful expression ever given to any ideal. Thus by a proper philosophical study of the great mediæval poet, we can make him of real and direct value to our own age. We can find what Dante may be to us.

Such, then, is the purpose and method of the study of Dante to be made in this essay. It is to build up a notion of philosophy around Dante. The study of the poet will be secondary; yet it will necessarily furnish a better understanding of him and his work than can be had in any other way.



## I

Of all the philosophers of the Middle Ages, Dante is the most personal. His philosophy is so inwoven into his life as to be one with it. It seems to grow out of his own individual experience. It is the philosophy developed by a great spiritual nature thrown entirely upon the support of the spirit, by the failure of the outward life. Dante was primarily a spiritual man. He was interested in the higher intellectual and æsthetic values. He cared little for the "carnal pleasures." In the terms of a recent American poet, he was not "the Sport" but "the Scholar." Under any circumstances such a man will develop for himself a philosophy of a spiritual life. Hardship, misfortune, and failure in such of the worldly interests as he is obliged to pursue will make this philosophy more radical and consistent. So Dante's philosophy is indeed original, the outgrowth of his own individual temperament and experience.

Every man's philosophy, however, must get its detailed form from his environment. Temperament and experience give only color. Dante accordingly found the articulation of the philosophy of his nature in the philosophical systems and in the theology of his time. These were peculiarly adapted to his view of life. He added little to them, changed little. He absorbed the scholastic philosophy of the age; when he gives it off again it is very much the same, only beautified by the touch with Dante's soul, and humanized. As a philosopher Dante was hardly original. He was, however, a reconstructive thinker. He was not original only because he did not wish to be; he agreed with the thought of his time, but in an entirely independent way. He was like the present leaders of Hegelian thought. They are perhaps original geniuses, but their work does not show it. They agree too entirely with Hegel for that. But their agreement comes after a complete reconstruction of the Hegelian system. Slight changes may show great originality. The use of Hegelian philosophers is to readapt the system to the world which changes. So Dante took up the scholastic philosophy of his age and adapted it to his own life. His chief value lies in this direct fusion of an abstract superpersonal system of thought with a real human life. He is the great humanizer of mediæval philosophy.

As has just been said, Dante entirely built up the scholastic philosophy over again, going through the same steps its founders had gone through.

So his work is not merely a versification of St. Thomas Aquinas. But St. Thomas was his master, and gave Dante the sources and the method of using them. Then Dante constructed a system of his own, but, using the same materials, he of course got about the same result. For the completion of his system he took the Angelic Doctor himself as a source, and thus went a little beyond him. In a careful study of Dante's philosophy, therefore, his sources should be studied; and these should not be misunderstood. Dante knew Aristotle directly through Latin translations,<sup>1</sup> as well as indirectly through the paraphrases of Albertus Magnus and from quotations. Dr. Moore tells us that "the amount and variety of Dante's knowledge of the contents of the various works of Aristotle is nothing less than astonishing."<sup>2</sup> On Aristotle Dante built up his system, just as St. Thomas built up his scholasticism on the same philosopher. To a less degree Plato is a source for Dante's philosophy; but Plato's influence is chiefly indirect, through Aristotle himself. As a direct source he is decidedly secondary, as Dante's own words show; while Aristotle is "maestro di color che sanno,"<sup>3</sup> Plato is called merely "uomo eccellentissimo."<sup>4</sup> Plato was known to Dante at first hand only in the *Timæus*, which had been translated into Latin probably near the close of the fifth century.<sup>5</sup> Beyond this Dante knew something more of Plato's works, through Aristotle, Cicero, and others perhaps.<sup>6</sup> But in so far as Dante's system is the outgrowth of Aristotle, it is largely, indirectly, a development from Plato. Of other ancient philosophers the only ones who had any direct influence on Dante were Cicero, Boethius, and Seneca. "There is little or no evidence that Dante was acquainted with Cicero's oratorical works." Most of the quotations in Dante from Cicero are from the *De Officiis*, the *De Senectute*, the *De Amicitia*, and *De Finibus*.<sup>7</sup> Here of course the knowledge is really direct in every sense, not even being through a translation. Boethius, Dr. Moore says, "is one of Dante's most favorite authors."<sup>8</sup> Seneca also seems to have been well known to the poet. St. Augustine is a most important source of Dante's philosophy, but largely indirectly. St. Augustine's *City of God* is the great statement of official Catholic theology, of the regular notion of the physical

<sup>1</sup> Edward Moore, *Studies in Dante*, First Series, Oxford, 1896, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Inferno*, IV, 131.

<sup>4</sup> *Convivio*, II, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Moore, *Dante Studies*, First Series, p. 156.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 258.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 282.

constitution of the universe held by Christians in the Middle Ages. So in so far as this was a fundamental conception in Dante's mind, planted there by early instruction and constant environment, it excited a strong influence on his thought. Just as the scholastic philosophy had interpreted this conception, translating it into a mystic philosophy, so did Dante also. That Dante was directly acquainted with St. Augustine is known from various references to his works, and particularly from the eighth epistle deploring the neglect of the study of St. Augustine.<sup>1</sup> Then the Scholastics themselves, the later ones, are of course, as was said, of the utmost importance as shaping Dante's whole study. They are for him what Hegel is to the Hegelian. They are what he is reconstructing. Albertus Magnus he knew probably very well, but it was the great pupil of Albertus who was Dante's chief master, St. Thomas Aquinas. These, then, are the important sources of Dante's philosophy, and should be thoroughly known if one would thoroughly know Dante. For the present purpose it will be best to introduce the exposition of Dante's system by a brief review of the philosophy out of which it grew.

Scholasticism, the Scholasticism which Dante reconstructed from these sources, may be considered as a metaphysical development of St. Augustine's theology, by merging it with Aristotelian philosophy. In a general way, what, then, is St. Augustine's theology, what is the Aristotelian philosophy, and how do they merge? St. Augustine's theology is set forth in his *City of God*. There he gives the classic Catholic account of the whole of the universe. He begins by overthrowing pagan Rome. In the first five books of the treatise he says that the material misfortunes of Rome came to it not because of the Christian religion, but because of the recognition of the Roman gods, and that all the material good that came to Rome after the appearance of Christianity came to it because of Christianity. Then St. Augustine takes up the spiritual reasons for adherence to the gods, and says they are all false. Roman theology can never bring happiness to humanity in the future life. Only Christianity, through the mediation of Christ, can do that. Pagan Rome, representative of the kingdom of this world, being thus overthrown in these first five introductory books, the city of God is set up in its place. What follows, of course, is the important part of the work. "There is a city of God, whereof His inspired love makes us desire to be members," says

<sup>1</sup> Moore, *Studies in Dante*, First Series, p. 292.

St. Augustine in the first chapter of the tenth book. But now, he goes on to say, there are "two cities that in this world lie confusedly together." In the next world, he has just told us, they are distinct. How does it happen that there are two? God created first the angels. Some of these were good, some bad. The bad angels were so in having bad wills. Their wills opposed God, and they were accordingly separated from the good angels. Thus came about the two cities. Then God created the world and man. Man, as foreordained by God, sinned, thus giving the possibility to men, his descendants, of sharing in the two cities: some men would follow in sin and join the bad angels, others would join the good angels, or remain with God. Thus it is clear that the secular life in this world is a part of the city of the bad angels, and not in itself a separate community; and likewise that the spiritual life is one with the city of God, and not an independent existence. The life in this world is simply a part of that in the next. But the sin of the first man tainted his whole offspring and all his descendants with pride and self-love resulting from this evil use of free will, so that only those who are given the grace of God can come back to the city of God. This grace was given by God in Christ. Thus through Christ, the city of God grew up in this world, as well as the city of the bad spirits. Here is the identification of the city of God with the Church. The history of the human race is simply the development of these two cities. There have been three principal periods in this development, the period without law, the period with law, and the present period with grace or Christ, and the city of God organized in the Church. Here is the first Christian philosophy of history. The end of this period will be the end of this world, bringing to the denizens of the city of God eternal repose; and eternal damnation, or the second death, to the inhabitants of the earthly city. This end will be the Last Judgment. Death, or damnation, is eternal existence away from God. Thus the chief object of life is eternal repose in God. Such is the general argument. Incidentally are brought in the great mass of orthodox Christian doctrines, from that of the Trinity, fully discussed in the tenth chapter of the tenth book, which St. Augustine treats as do all Catholic theologians, as an incidental not central truth, to such doctrines as that of a woman's chastity depending on her will rather than on the physical act. But the description of the universe and its history seems to be the most important function of St. Augustine in mediæval philosophy. He gives a summary of the

factors. All succeeding mediæval philosophy, as well as his own, consists in the explanation of these factors.

Besides collecting the material, however, St. Augustine also himself contributed to the philosophy that was to build itself around this body of given beliefs. Side by side with the description of God and the angels, of the world and man, of Christ and the Last Judgment, is a metaphysical explanation of these things. St. Augustine's God is really not the person Jahveh of the primitive Hebrew religious mind, but is the metaphysical Being of the great Greeks. God is not a personal ruler of things, who changes his mind. He does not set out with a plan, and when he sees things going contrary step in and interfere to right them. This is the Hebrew conception. St. Augustine's God is Platonic. He is a great principle. He had complete foreknowledge of everything, including evil, before he made anything, and so arranged it that everything should work out just as it does. Thus prayer is answered, not by divine intervention, but by divine providence, which at the foundation of the world, foreseeing the prayer, arranged for its answer. Evil was introduced to produce a balance in things, which would bring about complete harmony. Thus in St. Augustine religion is already becoming metaphysics, and this is the essence of Scholasticism. The ultimate end of individual life is to be absorbed into the great Essence which is God. So the individual goes through several stages, each less material than the preceding, finally attaining to the complete life in God. This is mysticism. In so far as St. Augustine is a philosopher, in so far, that is, as he explains the world he describes, he is chiefly influenced by Plato and the Neoplatonists. In fact his philosophy consists simply of an application of the doctrines of Plato, which he knew in the main only indirectly through the Neoplatonists,<sup>1</sup> and of the doctrines of the Neoplatonists themselves, to the Christian and Hebrew conception of the universe. This conception, being reached independently, itself somewhat modifies the Platonic doctrines. This, then, is the chief value of St. Augustine's philosophy, that it introduces formally into Christian philosophy and theology the Platonic and the generally Greek elements already in the popular religion of the people.<sup>2</sup> He is the formal link between Platonism and Christianity.

<sup>1</sup> Maurice de Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy*, tr. by P. Coffey, London, 1909, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> R. M. Johnston, *The Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy*, London, 1904, vol. i, pp. 7-10.



This value, however, no matter how important, does not seem so great as the service he did in giving the first formal exposition of the data of Christian philosophy. His *City of God* is the great classic description of the Christian universe. The story of God creating a universe with angels, some of whom became bad and were thus separated from the rest, and then with a world and man, who sinned and fell and was later redeemed by the Grace of God through the sacrifice of Christ, is the core of all Christian philosophy. This philosophy simply explains the story of St. Augustine's *City of God*, eventually transforming it into pure metaphysics. Although "from the mediæval point of view, to philosophize means to explain the dogma, to deduce its consequences, and to demonstrate its truth,"<sup>1</sup> philosophy in the Middle Ages is nevertheless progressive, because it is not the dogma itself, but the metaphysical explanation of the dogma. The dogma came to mean more and more, until at last in Dante it becomes little less than, a concrete symbolism of the abstract metaphysical inner reality.

Così parlar conviensi al vostro ingegno  
 Perocchè solo da sensato apprende  
 Ciò che fa poscia d'intelletto degno.  
 Per questo la Scrittura condiscende  
 A vostra facultate, e piedi e mano  
 Attribuisce a Dio, ed altro intende.<sup>2</sup>

It should be clearly understood that Scholasticism was not merely a proof, according to reason, of dogma; it was an interpretation of the dogma. It studied dogma as philosophy now studies the world. Instead of studying the world at first hand, it studied it indirectly, seeing it through the eyes of dogma. But the scholastic philosophy itself was as free as any other philosophy in its study of its world, once seen thus, and as much subject to progress. It progressed along the lines of the ancient Greek philosophy, developing from the Platonism of St. Augustine to the Aristotelianism of St. Thomas Aquinas, and at last becoming changed, from the oriental material of which it was an interpretation, into absolute mysticism, in Dante. Here it is not necessary to take up each step of the progress from St. Augustine to St. Thomas Aquinas, through Scotus

<sup>1</sup> Weber, *History of Philosophy*, tr. by Frank Thilly, New York, 1908, pp. 201, 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Paradiso*, IV, 40-45.

Erigena, St. Anselm, Abélard, Hugo of St. Victor, Peter the Lombard, and others, ending with Albertus Magnus; instead, the origin of the explanation, the philosophy of Aristotle, will be sketched, just as the data for the explanation, in the theological system of St. Augustine, have been presented, and then it will be easy to understand the application of the one to the other which is seen fully worked out in St. Thomas Aquinas.

Plato's system was a hierarchy of the factors of life: "the ἀπειρον or groundwork of Matter at the bottom, above that, Number, or the *outer* shape of things, above that again, Ideas, or their *inner* natures, and at the top the Supreme Good itself. But . . . these factors have no natural relations or connexions among themselves, and each has a separate and independent existence of its own."<sup>1</sup> Aristotle begins with this hierarchy as his material, and first of all establishes the connections which Plato had not seen. The ideas do not exist somewhere in Heaven above, separate from the matter. They are with the matter. The matter is their support, their substratum. Plato's doctrine of the ideas being separate is fantastic and nowhere proved. What "participation" means is not clear.<sup>2</sup> Being has three inseparable parts, the idea, or form, the matter, and the motion. This is the kernel of Aristotle's whole philosophical system. The next great change which Aristotle makes in Plato's system is to change the conception of matter. It is not a dead, bad thing, having only the power of resistance to being, or to participation in the idea, which is being, which resistance is the cause of all evil, but it actively desires to embody the idea, to have the form stamped upon it; in this it is female, wanting completion in the male idea. We are now able to understand Aristotle's principle of causation, the explanation of how the three elements of being are brought together into being. There are four causes. "Causes are spoken of in four senses. In one of these we mean the substance, i.e. the essence (for the 'why' is reducible finally to the formula, and the ultimate 'why' is a cause and principle); in another the matter or substratum, in a third the source of the change, and in the fourth the cause opposed to this, the purpose and the good (for this is the end of all generation and change)."<sup>3</sup> By the third, the source of the

<sup>1</sup> John Beattie Crozier, *History of Intellectual Development*, London, 1902, vol. i, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of Aristotle*, vol. viii; *Metaphysica*, tr. by Smith and Ross, Oxford, 1908, i, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Metaphysica*, i, 3.



change, Aristotle here means motion. These four causes are really only two, however. The final cause, the attractive principle which draws the motion toward it, the purpose toward which things work, really embraces the form and the motion. This principle of final causation should be thoroughly understood, for it leads to the greatest of his doctrines, the Unmoved Mover, and is of the greatest importance in its application to the Christian theology. It is the working out of Plato's doctrine expressed in the *Philebus*, of how particular parts of matter get impressed with just the forms they do receive. Reason, says Plato, reason in the mind of God chooses certain forms and applies them to matter. But Aristotle has the matter itself attracted by these ideas or purposes, which thus are purposes or ends of action, final causes, and which, by attracting, move. Thus these three causes become one, and the matter is left as the second. Matter as a cause may be considered as a kind of hierarchy. Each formed thing is the matter for the form above it; or, each lump of matter is the form for the matter below it, until you can finally go no further. Then you get down to elementary matter, which is pure matter and has no form whatever. The need of such a substratum for being is seen in the principle of recurrence. One idea follows another idea, not haphazard, but in a fixed order. That which causes this fixed order may be understood by Aristotle's matter. Being is something more than the ideas, and this something more is matter. It determines what forms or ideas must follow. You divide and divide and divide again and always get surfaces. This final indivisible surface is matter. Going up the scale in the other direction we find that each thing is made out of something lower which already has a form. Thus the table is made out of boards, which are made out of trees, and so on. Each form is the matter for the thing just above it. This is the immediate cause of one form being given to this particular matter instead of any other possible form. One thing grows out of another, evolves from it, is descended from it. We are thus led into the consideration of the other great cause, the final causation.

This has been seen to be one with form and motion. The form is the efficient cause also, for it introduces the motion. But each thing is seen to work toward an end, and the end is seen to be the same form which is the efficient cause, in that it introduces the motion. The purpose of a thing is the real cause of it. The purpose existing in the mind of the builder causes him to build. Thus the purpose, itself a form, draws

on the builder to make the thing. But closer examination shows this purpose, in being a form already existing in the mind of the builder, to have been brought about by efficient causation by a previous form. So we continue to go back until we get to a great first form, a reservoir of all possible forms.

The great first form thus reached is God. This form, being the first, and there must be a first, has been caused by no efficient cause, for that would be a form, and so this would not be the first form. This great form thus becomes an uncaused form, and so unmoved. But each other form in the chain, going backward on which we have reached this first one, is referred to it, caused by it through the process of efficient causation. But we have seen that each efficient cause, or form, was also a purpose, or object of endeavor which produced the succeeding thing. So getting back to this first form we find it a purpose. It is thus the purpose of all the succeeding things, but as it is the first thing there can be no purpose toward which it strives. Itself is its only possible purpose. But every other thing, every other purpose, comes back to it. So it is what everything is striving to be. As has already been shown, in having no efficient cause, it is not moved from without, and thus now, as we see, it has no purpose, and so is not moved from within. But as all else is striving after it as the ultimate purpose, it moves everything toward itself. It is the great Unmoved Mover.

The Unmoved Mover thus has all other possible forms within it. At the outset it is a divine plan of everything. It has foreknowledge at the beginning of how all must be, the first form working out from it, and producing another, and so on forever. It is divine Providence, or foreknowledge. Conceived of as God, it will be necessary to remember, it cannot be moved. Things are as they are. My wish that they be different must result from their being as they are, and so my wish must have been foreseen by the Unmoved Mover and caused by him, indirectly through the whole chain of forms from him to my wish. Therefore any change resulting from my wish will simply be a part of the original divine plan, as the naturally resulting form from the form which was my wish. So, too, this God can take no interest in our affairs except that contained in his original plan. We can influence him in no way. We are in every sense completely his creatures, forms resulting from, growing out of, evolving from, this first great cause. Things thus have

value, and are good. Each thing is as it ought to be, which amounts to saying that it is good. God may truly say, "I am that I am."

How close this comes to the God of St. Augustine, who made the world and planned all its future history when he made it, it is easy to see. Almost any thinker could apply Aristotle's metaphysics to St. Augustine's description of the origin and history of the universe, once it had occurred to him to do it. It is the idea of combining them which is great. Yet the two studies had been growing up parallel all through the Middle Ages, and so it is not especially original in St. Thomas that he brings mediæval thought to a culmination by formally combining these two elements. The point to be noted is, however, that the mediæval mind was saturated with Aristotle's metaphysics as it was with the Bible, and was prone to find the Bible an expression of that metaphysics as much as to find the central truth in the Bible. That is to say, it was quite as inclined to make the one the central truth as the other. As has already been pointed out, St. Augustine's God was no longer the superman Jahveh of the early Hebrew mind. He had become a great first principle. He is nearer to Plato's Highest Good, however, than to Aristotle's Unmoved Mover. In St. Augustine's God, as in Plato's Highest Good, we have an arbitrary selection, according to reason, or the principle of the better, of certain forms which make the world. In Aristotle's Unmoved Mover this freedom or arbitrary nature is not apparent. Probably both conceptions are very much the same when analyzed. But the Unmoved Mover moves, and thus creates, by attraction as a purpose. It is the great first form and first purpose, out of which all other forms and purposes naturally and necessarily grow. There is of course no more choice or freedom in the created world than in Plato's conception, but there is hardly present the notion of selection in the Unmoved Mover. He is eternal disinterest in all but himself. He simply is, lives and has his being. Out of this being go forth the forms which make the world. But they merely go; they are not selected and sent. The only thing the Unmoved Mover does about this creation is to observe it. Contemplation here as always is the only part of the Unmoved Mover. He sees how his nature works out: he watches evolution. He furnishes endless energy for it. But he does not reason out the world and make it as Plato's Highest Good does. Still farther is he removed in this way from St. Augustine's God, who is so intimately interested in the world and

plans it so carefully. St. Thomas Aquinas, however, tends toward the analysis, just spoken of, which brings Plato and Aristotle together.

For God indeed predestines the world to be as it is, according to St. Thomas, but is free only in making the world or in not making it;<sup>1</sup> once he makes it, he has no choice but to make it as he does, that is, according to reason. Thus we see Plato and Aristotle pretty well reconciled. God creates the world not because he has to do so, but because in his freedom he chooses to do so. This is the function which St. Thomas calls Absolute Will. But once creation begins, it cannot go otherwise than as it does. This necessity is in what St. Thomas terms Conditioned Will. God must use reason: he cannot create an unreasonable world. Thus we see a God freely choosing to create a world, and creating it according to his own reason, like Plato's Highest Good, but having no arbitrary freedom of choice, being, as it were, controlled by his own reason, which thus becomes Natural Law, and in this being the same as Aristotle's Unmoved Mover. Of course St. Thomas's God has the same great foreknowledge of all things which St. Augustine's and Aristotle's had, and is the same metaphysical being, rather than the early Hebrew Jahveh or the later Hebrew ethical conception of a Principle of Righteousness.<sup>2</sup> St. Thomas goes a little beyond Aristotle in this, however, because he makes this knowledge the all-important element in creation. For man, actions and objects come first, and then knowledge of them; but for God, the knowledge is first. In fact it is the knowledge which makes things. God's knowledge of things comes first, and the things result. Anything in the mind of God is true, or, what is the same thing, real, having objective reality. Thus God by thinking creates forms and impresses them on reality. More than this, however, God's "being is like knowing (*cum suum esse sit suum intelligere*)."<sup>3</sup> God is thus actually and literally Truth. Thus we see the conception of St. Thomas to be, unwittingly, no doubt, a combination of the conceptions of Plato and Aristotle.

<sup>1</sup> The writers of histories of philosophy are at variance in their reading of St. Thomas more than of almost any other philosopher. They probably do not take the trouble to read the whole five volumes of the *Summa* in the Latin. The writers here have been compared with the original as much as possible, and selected accordingly. On this point, see Janet and Séailles, *History of the Problems of Philosophy*, tr. by Ada Monahan, London, 1902, vol. ii, p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> See Matthew Arnold's *Literature and Dogma*.

<sup>3</sup> H. O. Taylor, *The Medieval Mind*, London, 1911, vol. ii, p. 453.

The modifications which St. Thomas makes of Aristotle, however, surely have no Platonic origin: they are always the result of combining the historical theological system of the Bible as expressed in St. Augustine with the Peripatetic metaphysics. St. Thomas discusses the relation of philosophy to faith, or to theology, at the very outset, and subordinates philosophy most unequivocally to theology.<sup>1</sup> Philosophy is to explain the factors given by theology as far as it can; beyond this point it can show that what is beyond the reason is not therefore contrary to reason, and so justify faith. Faith goes on and completes man's view of the universe. So, while Aristotle is to be used to explain the Bible, anything in Aristotle contrary to the Bible must be modified to agreement with it. This accounts for all the changes of Aristotle's conception.

These changes are principally in the conception of God. Yet the changes are insignificant in comparison to the agreement. St. Thomas proves God's existence by defining him as Truth. Then he can say "Truth exists," for to contradict this would be to give an example of truth, and would thus prove the statement. The subject is included in the predicate when we say "God exists." Truth, in the dictionary sense, is the correspondence of the idea with its object. Just here, it might be interesting to observe, is a very good disproof of Pragmatism, in so far as it gives verbal expression to its ideas. The philosophical or metaphysical principle of Truth is the Absolute Eternal God, unchanging, unconditioned, the Unmoved Mover. The true, or truth in the dictionary sense, is the necessary agreement of an idea, or form, with its object; this agreement in fact makes the object. Thus Pragmatism is right in all that it says of this kind of truth. But it errs, according to this system of St. Thomas, in denying the philosophical principle of Truth, which is God. The difference is analogous to that already explained between absolute and conditioned will. St. Thomas's doctrine of God's making things by thinking them, and making them because what he thinks is true, the things being made real simply because, and only in so far as, they are true, is surely an interesting mediæval expression of Pragmatism. But it is a much more properly proportioned expression than that which we get to-day. If God, then, is Truth, and by being Truth, by the simple state of knowing creates all things, he must be pure actuality. In this, of course, St. Thomas is quite in agreement with Aristotle. From this it is easy to understand that "He is absolutely

<sup>1</sup> De Wulf, *History of Mediæval Philosophy*, p. 312.



simple.”<sup>1</sup> He therefore has no body. God wills himself, as has been said, and so in this way may be considered as absolute will. Here is an interesting analogy, to say the least, to Fichte. But as will be presently shown, there is a distinct difference, because in St. Thomas’s system God and being, or God and the world, are distinctly different. For Fichte the world is in the great first Will; it cannot get out. For St. Thomas, although the world is the object of the divine Will, is what it wills, yet it at once proceeds out of God into separate being. Resulting from his nature as Will, comes God’s love. Here is an important variation from Aristotle, the most important, in fact. Here is where one sublime idea comes into conflict with another. For who can deny the lofty sublimity of Aristotle’s conception of the Unmoved Mover, without the last sphere, beyond the *Primum Mobile*, who exists in eternal Truth, so beautiful that, entirely without his consciousness of it, the whole harmony of the spheres is moved and kept moving by attraction to him? Much of the nobility of this conception lies in the unconsciousness of the Unmoved Mover of what he is doing, in the idea of his being so true and good and beautiful that, without any intention or even consciousness of it, he moves everything to seek him. But this is in complete opposition to the Christian conception of God’s being Love. That conception cannot be denied to be of great sublimity and beauty also. “God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son.” This thought has appealed more to the world than perhaps any other in all the history of thought. The importance of this doctrine of God’s love for the world in the whole of Christian thought is too well known to need to be more than mentioned here. Surely, too, all who are as saturated with Christian dogma and Christian ways of thinking as any cultivated European or American must be, know and feel the sublimity of this conception that God is Love. How important a place the idea that God is so interested in the world and in his creatures that his very nature consists in this interest, which is love, has in Christian devotion is seen in any Christian devotional book, in none better than in this passage from the *Imitation of Christ*:

“I bless Thee, O Heavenly Father, Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, for that Thou hast vouchsafed to remember me a poor creature” . . .

“Ah, Lord God, Thou Holy Lover of my soul, when Thou comest into my heart, all that is within me shall rejoice.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Janet and Séailles, *History of the Problems of Philosophy*, vol. ii, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Bk. iii, ch. 5.

The whole of Christian ethics is largely toned by this idea of divine unselfishness, which is indeed very different from the complete isolation and self-interest of Aristotle's Unmoved Mover. But the central and pivotal character of the doctrine that God is Love, in the Christian system of theology, left no possibility of hesitation for St. Thomas in modifying Aristotle's conception of the Unmoved Mover. "He does not, as Aristotle thought, lower Himself by knowing things inferior to Himself."<sup>1</sup> "As regards the question, whether God loves anything else besides Himself, it is the same question as whether he knows anything else besides Himself, and is solved in the same way."<sup>2</sup> So God remains the Unmoved Mover, but moves consciously by will and through love, which are the necessary working out of that truth which is his fundamental nature, and makes the world.

Although God must be the chief object of study for the human intellect, the first thing that the intellect can ever know is being.<sup>3</sup> Being is divided into two classes, *entia* and *essentiae*. The *entia* are abstract ideas which deny existence in matter or real being. Blindness is a good example of such an *ens*. The *essentiae* are real beings, embodied forms. These essences are divided into pure essences and mixed essences. The pure essence is composed only of form and contains no matter. The mixed essences are those composed of form impressed on matter. There is but one pure essence, God. Matter is potentiality, possibility. It is the substratum of mixed essences. In matter St. Thomas brings in the distinction of the matter out of which something can be made, and the matter in which something has to exist, if it exist at all, and yet which is not its substance. The first is *materia ex qua*, or substance, the second is *materia in qua*, or accident. The first is potentiality only, pure matter, while the second already has some actuality. In matter St. Thomas finds the Aristotelian hierarchy, each formed object, or mixed essence, being the matter for the higher form.<sup>4</sup> It must be remembered that mixed essences are, in so far as they are mixed, not reality or real Being. Only the pure essence, or God, is real Being, for He alone is nothing but actuality. Matter is not-being: in this St. Thomas again

<sup>1</sup> Janet and Séailles, *History of the Problems of Philosophy*, vol. ii, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 284.

<sup>3</sup> William Turner, *History of Philosophy*, Boston, 1903, p. 366.

<sup>4</sup> For this exposition of Being, see Weber, *History of Philosophy*, pp. 242-245.



really agrees with Plato and not with Aristotle.<sup>1</sup> Matter is a hindrance to being: in so far as matter is in essence, the essence is not-being. Thus, of course, it was never "made," by God, or in any other way. It is the cause of evil, as resisting actuality or form. Thus evil is in the world, and yet not made by God. Matter could never have any existence apart from form, but is completely passive.<sup>2</sup> The union of form and matter, or *generatio*, is brought about by four causes, the four causes of Aristotle's system. The only real difference is that St. Thomas's doctrine of creation makes it necessary to deny eternity to matter and motion.<sup>3</sup> God actively created the world because he willed to do so. Things do not move themselves toward God by an external motion in space. Motion originated in God's will. Except for this idea of the eternity of matter and motion, causation works in St. Thomas's system as it did in Aristotle's, and his general conception is thus Aristotle's slightly modified.

Out of this theodicy and metaphysics grow St. Thomas's notions of ethics and politics. The kernel of his ethics is that the chief end of man is happiness, which consists in the knowledge and love of God, in contemplation of God. Here, of course, he again repeats Aristotle. But the new doctrine of God's love adds an entirely new element to this contemplation, bringing it close to mysticism, as close as it could get in Scholasticism, until poetized by Dante. St. Thomas's ethics builds itself around this central notion of a Chief Good, or *Summum Bonum*. This complete happiness which consists in contemplating God can come only in the next world. In this world there is only a contingent happiness, which consists in a partial contemplation of God through reason and faith. But this vision of God was not stressed by St. Thomas: it remained for Dante to show how much of the divine contemplation man can reach in this world. St. Thomas thinks rather of a different kind of happiness on earth, coming from "health, external goods, and the society of friends."<sup>4</sup> Morality on earth consists first in attaining as much of the *Summum Bonum* as possible, and then in rightly adapting ourselves to this imperfect state in this world, and living well in it. In politics St. Thomas works out this practical adaptation of the individual more at length. Society is the natural condition of men. Authority is simply

<sup>1</sup> See p. 12, above.

<sup>2</sup> De Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy*, p. 319.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 324.

<sup>4</sup> Turner, *History of Philosophy*, p. 376.

for the public welfare. The prince exists for the people. He is held in check by the Church, and by the right of revolution. The state should look after the moral welfare of its citizens, and so should provide schools and public charity. It is of importance to note, in connection with Dante, that St. Thomas does not prefer one form of government to any other. This shows Dante's independence of St. Thomas, and direct discipleship to Aristotle. It is not the form of the government, but its devotion to the welfare of its subjects that is important, according to St. Thomas.<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted also that St. Thomas subordinates the Emperor to the Pope as means to end, as matter to form.<sup>2</sup> St. Thomas's æsthetics are not very important. Croce sums them up thus :

A little differently Thomas of Aquin chose the three requisites of beauty, *integrity*, or perfection, *proper proportion*, and *clearness*; he distinguished, in the footsteps of Aristotle, the beautiful from the good, the former being that which pleases in contemplation alone (*pulcrum . . . id cuius ipsa apprehensio placet*); and he hints at beauty even in bad things, well imitated, applying the doctrine of imitation to the beauty of the second person of the Trinity ("in quantum est imago expressa Patris").<sup>3</sup>

All of the special doctrines grow directly out of St. Thomas's metaphysics and theology, however, and can be understood only in reference to this central doctrine. "In a word, God is the efficient, exemplary, and final cause of all things (q. 44). This formula embraces and expresses the whole of the theodicy of St. Thomas."<sup>4</sup>

Here, then, we have the historical development of that scholastic philosophy which Dante worked out all over again in his own mind, very much as each individual in embryo lives over the whole history of his race. We have the elements before us which make up Dante's intellectual environment. And in St. Thomas Aquinas we have the formal synthesis of these elements into one great system. Beginning with the Bible, St. Augustine gives it a European expression, Hellenizes it and Romanizes it. Thus transformed into Catholic theology, it is rationalized so far as may be, interpreted by the metaphysics of Aristotle, by

<sup>1</sup> For St. Thomas's politics, see Turner, *History of Philosophy*, pp. 375 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Weber, *History of Philosophy*, p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> Benedetto Croce, *Estetica*, Milan, 1902, p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> Janet and Séailles, *History of the Problems of Philosophy*, vol. ii, p. 286.

St. Thomas Aquinas. It remains for the greatest spirit and probably the greatest intellect of the whole movement, if not perhaps of the whole modern world, to humanize it and to eternalize it.

## II

While Thomas Aquinas was essentially an intellectual man, and developed all his special doctrines out of his central metaphysics, Dante was primarily spiritual, and in his philosophy simply expressed his own experience. His philosophy begins in his own private and public life, and at the outset is only his personal reaction. His life was a very vivid one, and the inner life was violent. Profoundly earnest and conscientious, Dante meditated deeply on his experience. No one in literature shows such sensibility, such delicacy of feeling. Each thing meant more for him than for most men. Each movement in his life, from the most insignificant to the most important, took on a deep and subtle meaning in his meditation. But Dante's mind was synthetic. So he very early tried to bring all these particular meanings into one great meaning. What did all the steps of his life lead to? What was the whole movement? Thus we see Dante building up a philosophy, but a philosophy entirely of his own. It was a philosophy of the history of his own life. Living in a completely religious age, one in which the whole people were pervaded with a great philosophy,<sup>1</sup> he was sure to be drawn eventually in his introspection to the general study of the subject. So when he began actually to read philosophy he found in it the expression of his own meditations on his own soul, systematized and applied to the whole world. Then when misfortunes came he found in this philosophy the true comfort of his soul. Philosophy as personal introspective analysis had been his chief interest, or rather his guide. Strengthened by the formal philosophical writings of the great thinkers, it became indeed his spiritual mistress. Now when the outer world, for which he had cared anyway only in so far as he interpreted it in spiritual terms, began to crumble from before him, when his outer life began to become a failure, Dante turned entirely to the inner life of higher contemplation, which he

<sup>1</sup> The religion of the Middle Ages was Platonism in concrete and general expression, worked out as has been shown in the first part of this paper. And see George Santayana, *Three Philosophical Poets*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 77.

was pleased to call philosophy. Thus we see Dante's philosophy to be the expression of his own inner life.

This inner life of philosophy began to be recognized by Dante as such while he was still a very young man, and as he saw for the first time the possibilities of such a life, he called it the *Vita Nuova*, and wrote a book about it. In this book we have a wonderfully beautiful expression of Dante's natural spiritualizing tendency, which in its spontaneity is of course most obvious before circumstances had driven him to such a spiritual life. Here it is seen that Dante's inner life was not merely the result of the failure of external interests. He was naturally spiritual, naturally sought deep interpretations of each material object and action that he saw. So when at the age of nine he saw a little girl of eight whose beauty attracted him, he immediately began to spiritualize her, or, in modern phrase, idealize her. Everything about her came at last to have a deeper meaning. "Apparvemi vestita d'un noblissimo colore umile ed onesto, sanguigno." And her general effect upon him was to stir "lo spirito della vita, lo quale dimora nella segretissima camera del core." For nine years Dante waited and idealized. He knew that in her there was a God stronger than he, who was come to rule over him. So she did rule over his young heart for nine years, very like Aristotle's Unmoved Mover, by her beauty alone, of the influence of which she was entirely unconscious. Here, however, it shows perhaps more to the advantage of the moved than of the mover, for such adoration meant a refinement of feeling such as few boys show from the age of nine to that of eighteen. His description of the second meeting shows how she had grown in his mind; and that she did not overthrow his ideal, but only added to it, shows the intensity of Dante's spirit. Now Dante had come to associate this girl, Beatrice, with all his inner musings. Each particular interpretation was somehow connected with her. So she became a golden chain binding all his thoughts together. She gave objective reality to that synthesis of the particular movements of his life into one great movement which we have already seen his constructive mind naturally seeking. So Beatrice came to be identical in Dante's mind with his own spiritual life. She came to be that highest contemplation which he felt to be the chief end of man. Dante had meanwhile become a poet. And it was the fashion for poets at this time to center all their verses about some fair lady. Each poet was to have his "mistress,"

or "lady," just as each knight had had. This mistress was sometimes an entirely literary conception. She was also often only a symbol for various abstract qualities, such as virtue, or wisdom, or beauty. So it was very natural that Dante should find in Beatrice the "lady" for his verses. She was really his lady, independently of his verses. As his chief interest, he naturally would have written about her anyway. She was, moreover, the symbol for Dante's whole spirituality. About this time Dante began to become acquainted with formal philosophy. As we have seen, it gave more definite form to that personal meditation which had been his philosophy. In fact it began to get the control of his mind completely, so as to drive out the precious thoughts of his own building. For a little while Beatrice, his own true individual contemplation, was forgotten. When she had become entirely spiritual,

Quando di carne a spirito era salita,<sup>1</sup>

he began to neglect her for the more formal thought of others on the world in general. His soul was for a time not the principal subject of his thought; instead the world became the object of his study. But then he began that remaking of philosophy, which we have said was his great philosophical task. He began to mould the thought of the ages into the thought of his own soul, to make over the world's philosophy, making it a commentary on his own life. He used it, instead of being controlled by it. He used it simply to give shape and form to his meditations. Thus he came back to Beatrice. Now she had a larger meaning. She had become divine philosophy, or theology, his spiritual life systematized and harmonized with the universe. So as he closes the *Vita Nuova*, for it is no longer *nuova*, he promises to devote himself henceforward entirely to her. In one of the most exquisite pieces of prose style in all literature,<sup>2</sup> he says:

Mi fecero proporre di non dir più di questa benedetta, infino a tanto che io non potessi più degnamente trattare di lei. E di venire a ciò, io studio quanto posso, sì com' ella sa veracemente. Sicchè, se piacere sarà di Colui, per cui tutte le cose vivono, che la mia vita per alquanti anni duri, spero di dire di lei quello che mai non fu detto d'alcuna.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Purgatory*, XXX, 127.

<sup>2</sup> If it is true that "Le style c'est l'homme," judging from the *Vita Nuova* it is easy to see what delicate sensibilities were Dante's.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita Nuova*, XLIII.



From the point of view of the historian of philosophy, this completely personal nature of Dante's philosophy would be expressed by saying that he begins with ethics principally, and secondarily with politics and aesthetics, and from these develops a metaphysics. This is just the opposite to St. Thomas Aquinas's procedure, as we have seen. Dante begins with evolving philosophy as a guide to life. It is a "philosophy of life" that he is interested in. This is seen clearly in the *Convivio*. He has been searching for the *summum bonum*, for the chief end of life, for happiness. He has not been looking for the First Cause, nor for the real nature of being. The ethical end of man has been his subject. He has found this, in his own experience, to be that inner meditation or contemplation which was the essence of his spirituality. So when he comes upon the idea of a *summum bonum* in "the Philosopher," he eagerly studies the nature of it as there worked out. And it turns out to be quite the same thing, so he thinks, as he had himself discovered. The chief happiness of man, according to Aristotle was contemplation, and according to the revision of St. Thomas, contemplation of God. So Dante is led to metaphysics through ethics: the study of metaphysics leads to the contemplation which is the chief end of man, and this is the only reason for studying metaphysics,—an ethical reason. "Non si dee dicere vero Filosofo alcuno, che per alcuno *diletto* colla Sapienza in alcuna parte sia amico."<sup>1</sup> Wisdom for the love of wisdom is not proper: wisdom is for the ultimate attainment of the divine contemplation, the knowledge and love of God. Thus Dante's ethics becomes transformed into metaphysics, but it must be remembered that his metaphysics is, after all, a transformed ethics. So he writes the *Convivio* for the ethical purpose of making possible for the many as much as they can receive of the wisdom, or philosophy, which will give them some share in that divine contemplation which is the only true happiness of man.

Manifestamente adunque può vedere chi bene considera, che pochi rimangono quelli che all' abito da tutti desiderato possano pervenire, e innumerabili quasi sono gl' impediti, che di questo cibo da tutti sempre vivono affamati. Oh beati que' pochi che seggono a quella mensa ove il pane degli Angeli si mangia, e miseri quelli che colle pecore hanno comune cibo!<sup>2</sup>

Dante's very statement of philosophy, in the *Convivio*, shows this ethical purpose in his metaphysics.

<sup>1</sup> *Convivio*, III, II.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* I, I.

Veramente l'uso del nostro animo è doppio, cioè *pratico e speculativo* (*pratico* è tanto, quanto *operativo*), l'uno e l'altro diletteosissimo; avvegnachè quello del *contemplare* sia più, siccome di sopra è narrato. Quello del *pratico* si è operare per noi virtuosamente, cioè onestamente, con Prudenzia, con Temperanza, con Fortezza e con Giustizia; quello dello *speculativo* si è, non operare per noi, ma considerare l'opere di Dio e della Natura. E questo uso è quell' altro è nostra Beatitudine e somma Felicità, siccome veder si può.<sup>1</sup>

So Dante shows in the *Convivio* the use of knowledge, and the nature of it. The object of metaphysics is its practical use in the life of man.

Here is something very like Pragmatism in the core of Dante's philosophy. For is he not making Metaphysics of no value except as it is of practical use? Professor James seems to have scented Pragmatism in Scholasticism, for in it alone does he find a pragmatic value in the metaphysical consideration of substance.<sup>2</sup> Yet, when one stops to think, it seems so incongruous as to be little short of amusing, to call Dante a pragmatist. The trouble here lies in confusing the notion of truth as a principle with that of truth as a word describing agreement between an object and an idea, as was remarked\* before in the consideration of St. Thomas's conception of God as absolute Truth.<sup>3</sup> True, Dante says that the study of metaphysics is good only in so far as it serves a purpose, has value in so far, indeed, as it "works." But what does he mean by value? When does it work? Its purpose, Dante says, is to lead us to everlasting contemplation of eternal Truth. Metaphysics is true, in the dictionary sense,<sup>4</sup> when it is an instrument by which we may attain to the principle of Truth which is God. It is true when its description of the universe and of God corresponds, and can be proved to correspond, with the unchanging reality which is there forever without regard to man or man's knowledge, whether it be successful or a failure. God is the absolute truth, or reality, without the realm of discourse, to which all descriptions of it in that world of discourse must apply or be false. Within the realm of discourse things are true or false pragmatically; but when these terms become descriptions of the reality without they are true or false absolutely. Such would be the answer of Dante to Pragmatism.

<sup>1</sup> *Convivio*, IV, 22.

<sup>2</sup> William James, *Pragmatism*, New York, 1907, pp. 87-89.

<sup>3</sup> P. 13, above.

<sup>4</sup> A phrase of Professor Santayana's.



In the *Divine Comedy* the whole system, sketched and presented in crumbs for the masses who could not, through inability, *dentro* and *di fuori* partake of the whole loaf, is built up into the greatest expression ever given to human thought. Here the practical life is shown, and the speculative. The practical is indeed very incidental. It is chiefly the expression of the metaphysics by which the divine contemplation is possible. And it is thus itself a contemplation of the Eternal as far as Dante could partake of that contemplation. Man can only partially attain in this life to this blessedness, which differs in different men.<sup>1</sup>

Questo Angelo . . . dice . . . a qualunque va cercando la Beatitudine nella vita attiva che non è qui . . . la *Beatitudine* procederà . . . in *Galilea*, cioè nella *Speculazione*. . . . E così appare che la nostra Beatitudine, ch' è questa Felicità di cui si parla, prima trovare potemo *imperfetta* nella *vita attiva*, cioè nelle operazioni delle *morali* virtù, e poi *quasi perfetta* nelle operazioni delle *intellettuali*. Le quali due operazioni sono vie spedite e dirittissime a menare alla somma Beatitudine, la quale qui non si puote avere, come appare per quello che detto è.<sup>2</sup>

So this contemplation, found imperfectly in the practical life, almost perfectly in the life of speculation, can only be completely attained in the next life. But Dante went as far into Galilee as man has ever gone in this world, and his *Divine Comedy* takes us as far into the Heavenly Vision as any book ever written. Directly, however, the book is an allegorical poem, leading us to the supreme blessedness by being itself an expression of that philosophy or wisdom by which alone man can attain to the knowledge of God, which is the supreme blessedness of man. Hell is man entirely without wisdom or philosophy, and so entirely separated from the contemplation of God.<sup>3</sup> Purgatory is the study of philosophy, which leads to the happiness that consists in contemplation of God. Paradise is the contemplation of God, which is the eternal happiness of man. This is the kernel of the philosophical meaning of the poem. Everything in it can easily enough be worked out with this as a basis of interpretation. Thus the particular punishments are the particular active unhappinesses which result from violating the cardinal virtues of the practical use of the mind, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice. We suffer practical inconveniences in violating these

<sup>1</sup> P. 23, above.<sup>2</sup> *Convivio*, IV, 22.<sup>3</sup> P. 19, above.

virtues, and we also cut ourselves off from the study of that philosophy which alone leads to real happiness. When Dante comes to the *Paradiso* he enters into a direct contemplation of God as well as into a metaphysical consideration of Him necessary for this contemplation. In the last canto comes the vision of God, which has been called the "sublimest conception of the human imagination." The philosophy in the *Divine Comedy* must not be understood to be merely metaphysics, for it covers the whole field of scholastic philosophy, including physics and cosmogony as well as metaphysics and theology.

This philosophy in its details has already been shown, in its elements. As has been said, Dante studied the sources of Scholasticism, and then put them together again. In what, then, lies his value? What advance did he make in Scholasticism? His chief value probably lies in the way he put these new elements together again, and in the poetic expression he gave the system when thus built up anew. Besides this, he really made an important advance, as we shall see presently.

In taking the elements of Scholasticism and moulding them again into a system, he really moulded them, not into a super-personal system, but into something human. He had already a philosophy of life when he began the study of formal philosophy. This was the philosophy of inner meditation which the *Vita Nuova*<sup>1</sup> shows him to have had from childhood. It was a biographical philosophy, an introspection. When he began the study of Aristotle and the others, he at first became a little untrue to his real self and was a true Scholastic. But very soon he became himself again, and thenceforward this Scholasticism became in his hands simply an interpretation of a human soul, his own. He made Scholasticism personal. It should be remembered always, however, that Scholasticism was never a merely intellectual pastime, without any vital relation to life. Such expressions as "the dry bones of his formal Scholasticism"<sup>2</sup> are very much at fault. The Middle Ages were aglow with an interest, and a very profoundly philosophical interest, in life; for their religion was carried into every fibre of every man's life, controlling his every thought and deed, and this religion was simply the philosophy of Plato and

<sup>1</sup> Of course when the *Vita Nuova* was written, Dante had studied formal philosophy. It is the early spiritual biography therein that is here meant.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Eliot Norton, in an article on Dante in the *Library of the World's Best Literature*.

Aristotle given a popular expression. Scholasticism was the expression of this philosophy for the learned, for whom the popular expression was not adequate. It was for "color che sanno," not for the layman. Nor were the great thinkers of the Middle Ages mainly taken up, as is quite generally thought, with considerations of "how many devils can dance on the point of a needle." This is one of those piquant and striking phrases which people remember, and which, when saying something not true, thus do great harm. Scholasticism was an attempt to formulate the religious expression of Platonism into a philosophy which would satisfy the intellectual people of the time, who thought as earnestly and honestly, and quite as profoundly and exactly, as those of the eighteenth century, or of our own time. Yet the formal Scholasticism was a formal thing. It was a great description of the Universe and God. In the system the soul of man had its place, and out of the interest in this soul goes the impulse to make the system. But although this gave the impulse, it was not itself the chief feature of the system. Dante makes the soul the chief interest, and makes the scholastic philosophy simply an interpretation of the soul. Thus he humanizes it. He applies the system directly to life. He gives a philosophy of life based on this philosophy of the cosmos. In this way he holds much the same relation to Scholasticism as Rudolph Eucken, in starting the present interest in a "philosophy of life" holds to Kantian or Cartesian metaphysics. In this way Dante starts an interest in life which is to find full expression in the Renaissance, of which Dante is in this sense, as in so many others, the precursor. The *Divine Comedy* works out the religious philosophy of Aquinas in detailed application to human life in all its phases. In this way Dante is the great humanizer of Scholasticism.

The chief way in which Dante humanized Scholasticism, however, was the way he humanized everything he touched, that is, by making it beautiful. This transforming æstheticism was kindred to his spirituality. Just as he spiritualized everything he thought about, so he beautified it. The *Vita Nuova* is a splendid example, not only in the beauty of its style, but in the poetic way in which each material object is treated. Around all a sacred mystic light glows. Everything is etherealized, touched by a heavenly beauty. So in philosophy, he was always the poet. Accordingly, when he gave expression to the Scholasticism he had transformed by making it a running commentary on human experience, he poetized it as no

philosophy has ever been poetized before or since. While this scholastic philosophy was an intellectual expression for thoughtful men of the popular religion, Dante brings it also to the layman. He does not lower its dignity, however, in the process, but raises it. As modern people are almost all laymen with respect to scholastic philosophy, we see that Dante did a greater service than would at first appear. For while the layman of his own time hardly needed the intellectual expression of the religion which had been popularized for him, the modern man does need this intellectual expression, for he has not the mediæval popular religion. Thus Dante really eternalized the whole thought of the Middle Ages. He made it intelligible to other peoples. The great value of Dante, therefore, in Scholasticism is that he is its poet.

It was said that Dante made also an advance in the system itself. This is in what we may term his Modernism. In fact Scholasticism itself was a kind of Modernism. We have said that it was an attempt to give intellectual expression to the religion of the masses for the intellectual elect. It was an attempt to rationalize religion, to give it a higher synthesis, a deeper and truer meaning than that understood by the vulgar. We have shown that God was for Scholasticism no longer what He had been for the early Jews, and actually was in the Middle Ages for the people, the superman Jahveh. He was instead a principle, and religion was nothing less than a concrete expression, and also a popularization, of this principle and the other metaphysical principles which made up the Universe. In Dante this Modernism reaches its climax. It must not be supposed that for St. Thomas Aquinas religion was merely a symbol or an allegory. It was literally true, but metaphysically true. It was true just as a table or any other concrete object is true for an absolute idealist. It really exists, but is something different than it appears to common sense. In fact all philosophy so interprets the world, as something different than it appears to common sense. This, then, and not allegory, was the Modernism that Scholasticism most certainly was. Dante carries this out to the utmost extreme. He even comes dangerously near to the allegorical interpretation of religion. The passage already quoted,<sup>1</sup> where he says the Bible attributes arms and legs to God and means something else, making a concession to the ignorance of the race, is an example of his metaphysical Modernism. A better example may be

<sup>1</sup> P. 8, above.

found in the *Convivio*, IV, 22. Here he explains the story of the three Marys who went to the tomb of Jesus, but found Him gone, an Angel in his place telling them that He was gone, and bidding them tell the disciples and Peter to go into Galilee, where they should find Him. The three Marys are the Epicureans, the Stoics, and the Peripatetics. The tomb is this life, the Savior is Beatitude. The Angel is "questa nostra Mobilità che da Dio viene, come detto è, che nella nostra ragione parla, e dice a ciascuna di queste sette, cioè a qualunque va cercando la Beatitudine nella vita attiva, che non è qui." Peter is those who are gone astray. Galilee is Speculation. Only God he does not interpret, but leaves as simply God. This might be the allegorical meaning, but the allegorical meaning for Dante was *quid credas*. At any rate it is evident throughout Dante's works that he is thoroughly a Modernist in the sense that we have just shown all Scholastics to be Modernists. He saw a deeper reality under every appearance. Such passages as those just quoted carry this principle much farther than anything in St. Thomas. Moreover in Dante we come closer to Mysticism than in previous Scholasticism. In true Mysticism there must be a complete absorption by the great first principle, or God, of each particular individual. In Scholasticism, it will be remembered, God and the world were kept always quite distinct. Being proceeded out of God, but it never quite came back. The Unmoved Mover, both of Aristotle and of St. Thomas, was always beyond the empyrean. Man's final blessedness consisted in contemplating Him, but always from without, never being absorbed into Him. So Scholasticism and Mysticism were really distinct, and in an important way. Pragmatically, if we may use the term here, there was little difference. Both would mean the same kind of life in general. Yet even pragmatically there was a slight distinction. One's own soul was more highly evolved in Scholasticism than in Mysticism. But in Dante we come very close to Mysticism. Probably he would have refused to subscribe to a clear statement of Mysticism; he would have insisted, with St. Thomas, that God and man are forever separate. But his actual conception, perhaps due more to imagination than to reason, was almost, if not quite, Mysticism. We might call him the link between pure Scholasticism and the Mysticism that many of the best souls of the Church thoroughly believed in, such as St. Catherine of Siena. In the *Paradiso* God is Light, and the whole of Paradise is glorified by this Light. The



contemplation which is eternal blessedness is very nearly identified by Dante with existence in this Light. It really is existence in the Light, and to that extent is Mysticism; but the soul does not become one with the Light—it retains its individuality. This approach to Mysticism is, together with the Modernism just mentioned, to which it is closely related, both claiming that "things are not what they seem," and that the particular is not of importance, but only the universal—the real advance in Scholasticism made by Dante.

In considering this Modernism, it is interesting to observe that very soon after Dante, men came to feel universally the interest in life and in its real underlying meaning which he had brought to the layman. Accordingly they began to pay much less attention to the religious expression of the truth, but to seek directly the truth itself. They did not care for a truth that merely works, but wanted a direct communication with that description of eternal reality which really corresponds to it. So it is possible that here in Dante's expression of the Modernism of Scholasticism he was again a precursor of the Renaissance.

So we see in Dante the great æsthetic humanizing of mediæval philosophy. Essentially a philosopher by nature, he also spiritualized and poetized everything he thought. Out of the beauty of his own soul and the ugliness of the material world outside, he made an individual personal philosophy which he harmonized with the formal philosophy of his time. He emphasized the deeper spiritual meaning of the formal philosophy, showing more directly its application to life. He emphasized also the deeper metaphysical meaning of religion, bringing it thus prominently before every one, while it had been known only to the elect. In this humanistic tendency he foreshadowed the great humanistic movement so soon to burst upon the world. He gave imaginative expression, at least, to the tendency toward Mysticism in Scholasticism. In both of these ways he probably brought Scholasticism to a close while he preserved it to the world forever. In the Humanism he brought men to drop the religious element entirely out of their thought, as the thing of secondary importance, and in the Mysticism he brought those who were not thinkers but Saints to give up the scholastic view of mere contemplation and to substitute a pure Mysticism. At any rate Scholasticism has never been the controlling influence over the mind of Europe since Dante. Yet he preserved the soul of Scholasticism, the profound truth

in it, for all generations to come, *in saecula saeculorum*. Combining the meditation of his own spirit with the philosophy of the spirit of the Middle Ages, he built up a majestic cathedral of holy thought, which soars forever toward Almighty God.

### III

It is Dante's Humanism that means most to the world to-day. This is chiefly, no doubt, for most people, the Humanism from his literary appeal. The *Divine Comedy* studied purely as a literary work, that is, as an imaginative poem, and taken only in its literal sense is a great, according to some critics, the greatest, work in literature. But it has been our purpose here to discover what there is in Dante's philosophy as such which may be of value to us to-day. So by his Humanism we here mean the Humanism in his philosophy. In the first place, the study of Dante's life shows the true nature of philosophy. Philosophy should be no mere formal exercise, nor intellectual amusement. "Non si dee dicere vero Filosofo alcuno, che per alcuno *diletto* colla Sapienza in alcuna parte sia amico." The study of philosophy as a sort of mental gymnastics, much akin to chess, is more or less popular to-day. A certain disciple of Mr. McTaggart tells the writer that this is the great beauty of Mr. McTaggart's philosophy: it is such a wonderful system. It has the beauty of a locomotive engine, where all the parts are so ingeniously arranged. To this extent, indeed, Dante would be a very good pragmatist; he would insist on the value of the engine being entirely in its ability to run and do work, and not at all in its ingenious arrangement of parts for its own sake. Neither should philosophy be for the love of speculation, however interesting and beautiful the pure whiteness of speculation. We remember that Galilee, or Speculation, was only valuable because Christ, or Beatitude, was there. The place was not valuable in itself, but only as containing Christ. So speculation, a knowledge of science for the love of science, is not good. Especially Dante objects to the idea of an interest in special sciences, instead of the whole synthesis of sciences which is philosophy. But even the study of philosophy for its own sake is not the proper use of the intellect. Philosophy must be intimately connected with the spiritual life of the philosopher. The first lesson we learn, from the *Vita Nuova*, is that philosophy should be a very real thing for each of us. It should arise



from within, and grow out of our own experience. At the outset it should express a longing of the soul. It should be a very real and deep desire to understand the inner significance of our lives, and the ultimate purpose. Then when we have a meditation of our own, we can begin the profitable study of formal philosophy. It will give definite shape to our meditations. We shall not accept some other man's philosophy on purely formal grounds, but shall find in some great system the formal expression of our own. Thus Dante shows us that philosophy is a real and vital human thing. In the second place, Dante leads us through such a philosophy to the higher contemplation which should be the object of life, and for the attainment of which the philosophy, great as it is in itself, should only be an instrument. This contemplation for Dante was the contemplation, he said, of God. There is every evidence that, whatever he may have articulately thought about it, he really derived much of his happiness from contemplation of himself, and through himself of the universal spirit of man. God, moreover, was Truth, an eternal principle. It is contrary to our modern feeling to desire rapt contemplation of abstract Truth as our chief end of life. We are more inclined to find our contemplation very largely "nella vita attiva." By making this change we can get a new Humanism from Dante which may be of the utmost value to all of us to-day. We can admit that perhaps the chief happiness can only come in the next world, but that the happiness to be attained in this world, "Beatitudine *imperfetta*" though it be, is very important. And we may also put more emphasis on the "Beatitudine *imperfetta*" of the "vita attiva," as well as the "Beatitudine *quasi perfetta*" in the intellectual faculties. We may also find happiness in contemplation of the world and all its parts as well as in God. Thus we get a new Humanism, beginning with Dante as a source, which will be close to the modern ideas of culture and of the "strenuous life." Dante better than any one else can teach us to cultivate these two ideas. This is our great need to-day. We have culture in the study and a soulless business in the world. We need to make contemplation the contemplation of life. We need to make this world with all its aspirations and struggles, its hopes and fears, loves and hates, humor and sorrow, the subject of our contemplation. Thus the chief object of philosophy may be "human interest." This may be combined with an interest in God, if the individual feels a vital human interest in God. The principal idea, however, is to make our philosophy

our whole culture, for this is what Dante meant by philosophy, a study of life. The whole world becomes the great all-inclusive novel, and our philosophy or culture is the knowledge of it. Life becomes a reading of this great book. But we shall not merely sit in our study and observe. Our reading of this book will consist in taking a strenuous part in life itself. Our pleasure in this will be our interest in life. So too the business man, the vigorous man of action, will not work mechanically from a love of motion. He will infuse reason into his life of action, and thus give it meaning. He will find in his work a synthetic interest, akin to the interest in reading a book. His life will come to be the life of contemplation, just as much as that of the philosopher, only perhaps a more vivid contemplation, being closer to the subject of contemplation, the world and human life. So perhaps Mr. Roosevelt is more philosophic than some of his academic critics think, when he says that philosophy in the sense of closet-ethics is of no value; it is of value only when it is applied to life. The chief philosophic value, then, of Dante for us may be the intimate relation he established between philosophy and the human life.

"Sans doute, l'homme pourrait vivre sans se donner d'autre fin que la vie, mais il ne le veut pas," says M. Boutroux in his recent book on Science and Religion. In this book M. Boutroux shows that there are aspirations in the human soul for something divine, for religion. Here we come close to two things in Dante, his Modernism and his contemplation of God. As has been said, Dante takes religion in a very metaphysical sense. He gives us the idea of a religion which is a very different thing from the usual conception of mediæval religion. When he thus left faith in the truest sense, as "the substance of things hoped for, the essence of things not seen," to see clearly the nature of all things, to have a vision of God, he necessarily went back in reality to philosophy. His religion became a kind of Modernism. He shows us, then, how we may believe in religion, interpreted by the best knowledge of our day. Religion will not be a symbolism, but the outward appearance of an inner reality. The best philosophy known to Dante, by which to interpret religion, was Aristotle. To-day our science and speculation have gone considerably ahead of Aristotle. Why not take religion, as Dante did, as the outward appearance of an inner reality which is a little better expressed in our present science and speculation than it was in Aristotle? The element of faith comes in, in knowing that our present knowledge is only a stage toward the truth, as was Aristotle's, but that

the religion may well be the true outer appearance of an inner reality which philosophy is making better known by slow progress. The use of the religion is, that in it we have the true and unchanging appearance. And it is still necessary for those who cannot penetrate philosophical understanding. It has, besides the æsthetic value claimed for it, a sociological value. Such a value, to be the comfort for those who cannot directly understand the inner truth, but can feel it, is beautifully shown in the last two chapters of Loti's *Matelot* where the mother, after failure to find solace for the loss of her adored son, is comforted and restored by a sudden new faith in Christ and the Virgin. Precious myths! cries Loti, and ends the book sorrowing that we, the elect, cannot still cling to them ourselves. We do hold to faith in the æsthetic sense we have outlined. The use of philosophy is to get ultimately, in some future day, the inner reality, the deeper meaning. For we know the appearance to be only appearance. One way to realize such a Modernism is that shown by M. Boutroux:

Il serait peu conforme aux faits de dire que l'idée de Dieu est actuellement délaissée par la raison humaine. La raison s'est éloignée, de plus en plus, de l'idée d'une divinité extérieure et matérielle, qui ne serait qu'une doublure ou un agrandissement des êtres naturels. Mais, par contre, elle s'attache de plus en plus à des notions qui, rassemblées, définies, approfondies, répondent très certainement à ce que la conscience religieuse adore sous le nom de Dieu.

Par analogie avec la vie, nous pouvons concevoir un être où tout ce qui est positif, tout ce qui est une forme possible d'existence et de perfection s'unirait et subsisterait, un être qui serait un et multiple, non comme un tout matériel, fait d'éléments juxtaposés, mais comme l'infini, continu et mouvant, d'une conscience, d'une personne. Si cette idée, qui dépasse l'expérience, ne s'impose pas mécaniquement à l'esprit, elle n'en est pas moins très conforme à la raison humaine, comme en témoignent, et les traditions des peuples, et les réflexions des penseurs. L'être que représente cette idée est celui que les religions appellent Dieu.

Perhaps a little closer to the actual metaphysical Modernism of Dante would be the conception of M. Bergson. For him God is a center of motion from which all being proceeds. In *L'Évolution Créatrice* he says, on p. 270:

Si, partout, c'est la même espèce d'action qui s'accomplit, soit qu'elle se défasse soit qu'elle tente de se refaire, j'exprime simplement cette similitude probable quand je parle d'un centre d'où les mondes jailliraient comme les fusées d'un immense bouquet, pourvu toutefois que je ne donne pas ce centre

pour une *chose*, mais pour une *continuité* de jaillissement. Dieu, ainsi défini, n'a rien de tout fait; il est vie incessante, action, liberté. La création, ainsi conçue, n'est pas un mystère . . .

Here we have very much the same idea of an Unmoved Mover that Dante conceived as God, only worked out according to the modern sciences. Such an interpretation of religion by a modern evolutionary philosophy is suggested by Fogazzaro's *Il Santo*. It is just now taking a good bit of attention, both of Catholics and other Christians who have intellectual conscience, and scientists and philosophers who have religious feeling.

The beauty of that mediæval vision of God may thus still have value for us. We too may find a higher and truer happiness in the development of our humanism into a contemplation of the divine. But the divine will have to be defined in terms of morality, art, and some such metaphysics as that of M. Bergson.

The true philosophy must, however, be an open one which will lead us on forever through the infinite. Of closed metaphysical systems we must be very cautious. The world, one always feels, in coming out of these circumscribing systems, the world is greater than that. "Dieu," says M. Bergson, "ainsi défini, n'a rien de tout fait; il est vie incessante, action, liberté." Philosophy is

le vrai prolongement de la science, pourvu qu'on entende par ce dernier mot un ensemble de vérités constatées ou démontrées, et non pas une certaine scholastique nouvelle qui a poussé pendant la seconde moitié du dix-neuvième siècle autour de la physique de Galilée comme l'ancienne autour d'Aristote.

Such a philosophy can lead us to a contemplation of God, much like that which Dante calls "*somma Beatitudine*." We see here, too, a new kind of Faith, yet about the same as Dante's, for Dante's was to complete what reason could not do. So where the report of science at present has not reached the philosopher can get by a kind of faith of intuition. His intuition can give him a notion of the whole. Thus directly through philosophy we can attain to a kind of faith which will lead us to where, "beyond the horizon of speculation, floats, in the passionless splendor of the empyrean, the city of our God."

Bid, then, the tender light of faith to shine,  
By which alone the mortal heart is led  
Unto the thinking of the thought divine.

THIRTY-FIRST  
ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
DANTE SOCIETY  
(CAMBRIDGE, MASS.)

1912

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ACCOMPANYING PAPER

THE DANTE TRADITION IN THE FOURTEENTH  
AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

*By Ralph Hayward Keniston*

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1915

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# STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

(From May 16, 1911, to May 21, 1912)

Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May		
16, 1911 . . . . .	\$1080.50	
Membership fees till May 21, 1912 . . . .	437.96	
Copyrights, etc. . . . .	<u>38.02</u>	
		\$1558.48
Paid Messrs. Ginn and Company . . . . .	\$342.12	
Paid the Treasurer of Harvard College (for		
Library) . . . . .	50.00	
Paid the Treasurer of Harvard College (for		
Dante Prize) . . . . .	100.00	
Refunded from sales of the Fay Concordance .	54.00	
Printing, postage, etc. . . . .	21.24	
Balance on hand, May 21, 1912 . . . . .	<u>991.12</u>	
		\$1558.48



## BY-LAWS

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1. This Society shall be called the DANTE SOCIETY. Its object shall be the encouragement of the study of the Life and Works of Dante.

2. Any person desirous to become a member of this Society may do so by signifying his or her wish in writing to the Secretary, and by the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

3. An Annual Meeting for the election of officers shall be held at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of May, of which due notice shall be given to the members by the Secretary.

4. Special meetings may be held at any time appointed by vote of the members at the Annual Meeting, or by call from the President and Secretary.

5. The officers shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Librarian, who, together with three members thereto chosen, shall form the Council of the Society. All these officers shall be chosen at the Annual Meeting, and their term of service shall be for one year, or until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled for the remainder of the year by the Council.

6. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice President, or, in the absence of both, any member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council.

7. The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep a record of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, shall collect and receive all dues, and keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the Society, shall give notice of meetings, and shall perform all other duties appropriate to his office.

8. The Council shall hold meetings at such times as it may appoint, shall determine on the use to be made of the income of

the Society, shall endeavor to promote the special objects of the Society in such ways as may seem most appropriate, and shall make an annual report of their proceedings, including a full statement of accounts, at each Annual Meeting. This report shall be made in print for distribution to the members.

9. No officer of the Society shall be competent to contract debts in the name of the Society, and no expenditure shall be made without a vote of the Council.

10. A majority of the Council shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. Any person distinguished for his interest in the purposes of the Society, or who has rendered it valuable service, may be chosen an Honorary Member at any regular meeting of the Society, and shall be entitled to all its privileges without annual assessment.

12. The preceding rules may be changed at any time by unanimous vote of the Council.

## THE DANTE PRIZE

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The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars for the best essay by a student in any department of Harvard University, or by a graduate of not more than three years' standing, on a subject drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1911-1912 the following subjects were proposed :

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*
12. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
13. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
14. *A criticism of Torraca's edition of the Divina Commedia.*

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., on or before the *first day of May*.

Essayists are at liberty to write on any one of the subjects which have been proposed in the years during which the Dante Prize has been offered, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

On the title-page must be written an assumed name and a statement of the writer's standing, i.e. whether he is a graduate or an undergraduate (and of what college or university); if he is an undergraduate, to what class he belongs, and to what department of the college or university. Under cover with the essay must be sent a sealed letter containing the true name and address of the writer, and superscribed with his assumed name.

The essays must be written upon letter paper, of good quality, of the quarto size, with a margin of not less than one inch at the top, at the bottom, and on each side, so that they may be bound up without injury to the writing. The sheets on which the essay is written must be securely stitched together.

The judges of the essays are a committee of the Dante Society.

In case the judges decide that no essay submitted to them deserves the full prize, they are at liberty to award one or two prizes of fifty dollars, or to award no prize.

The Dante Society has the privilege of retaining and depositing in the Dante Collection of the Harvard College Library any or all essays offered in competition for the Dante Prize, whether successful or not.

Since its establishment the Dante Prize (in full or in part) has been awarded to the following persons :

HEINRICH CONRAD BIERWIRTH . . . . 1887.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas*.

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888.

For an essay entitled *The Interpretation and Reconciliation of the Different Accounts of his Experiences after the Death of Beatrice, given by Dante in the Vita Nuova and the Convito*.

CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM . . . . 1890.

For an essay entitled *A Translation into English of Dante's Letters, with Explanatory and Historical Comments*.

KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894.

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo*.

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Influence upon Spanish Literature during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*.

ANNETTE FISKE . . . . 1897.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to Old French and Provençal Lyric Poetry*.

ARTHUR NEWTON PEASLEE . . . . 1900.

For an essay entitled *A Metrical Rhyming Translation of the Three Canzoni of the Convito*.

HENRY LATIMER SEAVER . . . . 1901.

For an essay entitled *A Translation of the Canzoni in the Convito*.

ALAIN CAMPBELL WHITE . . . . 1902.

The Latham Prize for an essay entitled *A Translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra, and a Discussion of its Authenticity*.

ALPHONSO DE SALVIO . . . . 1902.

For an essay entitled *The Verse Endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch' erano appo gli altri dicitori usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS . . . . 1903.

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquio*.

CHANDLER RATHFON POST . . . . 1906.

For an essay entitled *The Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature*.

ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS . . . . 1907.

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova*.

RALPH HAYWARD KENISTON . . . . 1909.

For an essay entitled *The Dante Tradition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*.

ROGER THEODORE LAFFERTY . . . . 1912.

For an essay entitled *The Philosophy of Dante*.

## ANNUAL REPORT

The thirty-first annual meeting of the Society was held at the house of the President, 11 Francis Avenue, Cambridge, on May twenty-first, 1912. The usual routine business was transacted. The officers of the previous year were reëlected, and Mrs. John Chipman Gray was chosen a member of the Council in place of Mrs. Richard Henry Dana, who retired because of her intended absence in Europe.

It was announced that three essays had been submitted for the Dante prize, the successful competitor being Mr. Roger Theodore Lafferty. His paper, on "The Philosophy of Dante," was published with the thirtieth annual report. The essay by Dr. Ralph Hayward Keniston, which accompanies the present report, was awarded the prize in 1909.

It has long seemed to the Council desirable to encourage more general competition for the prize, and members of the Society are urged to aid in bringing this about. Although excellent essays, such as the Society has been glad to publish, have been offered from time to time, the number submitted in a single year is always very small, and only rarely is one received from a student of any college except Harvard. Arrangements have recently been made for the announcement of the prize in



the catalogues or other local publications of a number of institutions, and the Secretary has received in consequence many letters of inquiry from different parts of the country. If members will now also help to make known the terms of the competition, the chief purpose of the prize, which is to stimulate the study of Dante in American colleges, may hereafter be more adequately fulfilled.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

*Secretary*

NOVEMBER 20, 1914

THE DANTE TRADITION IN THE  
FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH  
CENTURIES

By RALPH HAYWARD KENISTON



## PREFACE

This work does not propose to make any great contribution to Dante scholarship ; it is an attempt to present to English readers the traditional ideas about Dante in the first two centuries after his death. Two Italian compilers, Papanti and Solerti, have made the task easy — indeed without their work the study would have been hardly possible for an American without access to early manuscripts. Where I have found suitable translations available, I have not scrupled to employ them ; to Wicksteed in particular I am indebted. For the most part, I have been unable to supplement the studies of Papanti and of Köhler on the sources ; in a few cases I believe I am the first to call attention to possible parallels. Such of the work as concerns the justification for traditional beliefs as found in Dante's works is my own, although even here Dr. Moore has touched on a part of the field. The value of the essay, if any it has, is for those whose love for Dante the poet inspires them with interest in Dante the man.

NEW YORK, April 22, 1909



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# THE DANTE TRADITION IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY

Around the names of those who have stood out in the life of their day and generation, there seems to linger even in death something of that magnetic power which once made them leaders of men, — a power that may sometimes associate with their memories words or deeds little consonant with the character of the real man but that also preserves many a distinctive trait. Such a group of tales and anecdotes — some resting on a basis of fact, others attracted from varied sources to the commanding personality — soon develops into a tradition, widespread and insistent. This tradition may be oral or literary; it may be both, finding its origin in either form. If it is purely oral, it may eventually so expand with each new telling as to become a legend. For some centuries since, hardy spirits have been putting forward this accretive theory to explain the Christ "legend," and in the mediæval conception of Virgil we have an excellent example of such a growth.<sup>1</sup> Often the oral tradition persists in spite of known facts — just as to-day so many scandals enjoy an oral existence quite beyond their deserts. Occasionally a tradition is limited to literature — if we still call this tradition — handed on from plagiarist to plagiarist. But by far the most frequent condition is to find the literary and the oral going hand in hand.

There can be no universal touchstone to test the nature of oral tradition; we can argue only from analogy or from the phases which find their way into literature. But we may draw certain general conclusions

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D. Comparetti, *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*, 2d ed. Florence, 1896.

regarding its development. It is evident that when a given story is once fixed in writing its growth is stunted, unless there chances to hit upon it some imitator whose chief literary device is hyperbole. The Middle Ages were untrammelled by easily accessible books; the fancy had room for free play. Then every tradition assumed legendary details. But the invention of the printing press toward the middle of the fifteenth century marked the end of all far-reaching, popular legend. Circumspect traditions continued to persist, and here and there in some out-of-the-way community a local legend survived, a prey for the modern student of folklore. For the old, fantastic superstitions, the Renaissance, with its spread of learning and disillusionment among all classes, had little sympathy, and the legendary movement ceased.

For several decades it has been customary to speak of the various tales and anecdotes which gather about the name of Dante as forming a "Dante legend."<sup>1</sup> But such a description is hardly more accurate than to call the collection of homely jests attached to Lincoln's name a legend. With one or two exceptions — and these are of palpably literary origin — all of the stories recorded of Dante are lacking in the exaggerated, fantastic details which we consider characteristic of the legend. Bartoli goes so far as to say that all of the examples which we possess are probably of literary origin,<sup>2</sup> and there is some reason to believe that this is true. But this literary tradition was of considerable importance during the first two centuries after Dante's death, including not merely anecdotes of his deeds and sayings, but also the greater part of the current ideas with regard to the poet's temperament and personality as recorded in the early biographers;<sup>3</sup> and we cannot be wrong in supposing that, for the most part, the literary conception tallies with that in the popular mind.

If we consider the wealth of stories which have been connected during the past century with two such figures as Napoleon and Abraham Lincoln, we shall find that in general they portray the man as he is known to us from more personal and trustworthy sources. Though the actual event recorded as a chapter in their experience may have been an incident

<sup>1</sup> Prof. A. D'Ancona was the first, I believe, to use the expression, in his edition of the *Novelle* of Giovanni Sercambi, Bologna, 1871, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Vita di D. A.*, p. 335.

<sup>3</sup> V. Imbriani in his paper *Sulla rubrica dantesca nel Villani* (in *Studi danteschi*, Florence, 1891, p. 1), speaking of the early biographers, says, "ben presto s'accorge quasi tutto quel che se ne racconta esser favola o romanzo."

in the life of Julius Cæsar or Speaker Cannon, it is always one which is in perfect keeping with the true personality of its new hero. I have heard a score of anecdotes of P. T. Barnum, the great showman, — to choose an example from a different level, — and in every one there have stood out prominently two characteristics, — geniality and business shrewdness, qualities which would seem to be warranted by his biography. The rôle changes, but the personality of the actor is discernible in all. If, then, we find in our own time such close conformity of tradition and of fact, it is not unreasonable to believe that the anecdotes and comments of biographers which go to make up the tradition of Dante contain a picture which is not far removed from the truth.

A collection of the anecdotes which concern Dante is in itself an interesting work, for many of the tales are amusing, less have some artistic merit; but the chief value of such a marshaling of reproofs valiant and bits of gossip is the reflection they afford us of the real, human personality, of the man of flesh and blood.<sup>1</sup> The sources<sup>2</sup> of these oft-repeated tales are various; one group seems to rest on actual events in the poet's life; another is manifestly suggested by statements in his writings and can be considered as little more than a sprightly exercise of the tale-teller's imagination; the last, and by far the largest, class is a collection of stories, anecdotes, and retorts, some of them derived from classical authors, others drawn from the popular novelistic matter, and all related as illustrative of some personal trait. Needless to say, we are not concerned with proving whether or no some event reported by a *novelliere* occurred in Dante's life, and quite as little must we exercise our ingenuity to demonstrate that one man did or did not write a given story. It is enough that this story was related as a part of Dante's experience, that these words were placed in his mouth, for this is evidence that some individual believed that they were in keeping with his nature. If now we find that there is any considerable congruity among the tales, we have a further indication that this belief was general and amounted to a tradition. The purpose of this study is to discover, so far as we may, what was the traditional conception of Dante's character, bearing in mind that in this conception we have at least an adumbration of Dante the man.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. Del Lungo's review of Papanti in *Archivio storico italiano, Serie terza*, XVIII, 519 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In general, see the works of Papanti and Köhler cited in the Bibliography.

So far as possible, also, we may verify our conclusions from his own work, for in spite of his mediæval doctrine of self-concealment, the modern, the human, in Dante breaks away from the bonds of convention and reveals the individual.

In the investigation of the traditional ideas respecting Dante, I have limited myself to the period between his death and the close of the fifteenth century. During these years, Dante was the dominant figure of Italian literature, and his life and work was a theme not merely of literary discussion but of popular interest. Besides numerous lives or biographical notices<sup>1</sup>—there are more than a score before 1500—the *novellieri*, with the exception of Fiorentino and Massucio Salernitano, all contribute some anecdote or other of his experience, and the earliest commentators<sup>2</sup> on the *Divina Commedia* occasionally add some gossiping bit of information. But the sixteenth century saw a decline of interest in Dante and his work; in the field of the tale, the few new stories which are told reflect only too plainly the vulgar or obscene tastes of their decadent authors; Dante has ceased to be a personality. With this foreword, we may proceed to investigate what sort of man was the Dante who survived in the tradition of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Solerti, *Le vite di Dante, Petrarca e Boccaccio*, Milan, n. d.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kraus, *Dante*, etc., pp. 502–522.

## CHAPTER II

### DANTE AMONG HIS FELLOWS

#### I. SOME GLIMPSES OF DANTE

Of Dante's contemporaries only one has left us any account of his life; under the rubric "Del poeta Dante e come morí," Giovanni Villani inserted in his *Cronica*<sup>1</sup> a brief outline of the life and works of his fellow-citizen. It is needless to remark that in his bald, impersonal narrative, covering two scanty pages, there is little suggestive of Dante the man, although the account closes with a word on his character and his claim to fame. The following generation, however, presents a number of writers, who, if too late to have come in personal contact with Dante, must at least have had friends, perhaps parents or relatives, who had once been his intimates or acquaintances. Such was Boccaccio.

Three works dealing with Dante have come down to us under Boccaccio's name: the *Vita*, the *Compendio*, and the *Comento sopra la Divina Commedia*. The question of the authenticity of the *Compendio* need not concern us here;<sup>2</sup> at least it is a document of the Trecento containing observations on the life of Dante and as such bears its part in determining the traditional ideas concerning the poet. For convenience we shall speak of it as Boccaccio's work. Scattered through these works we find numerous anecdotes, touching on details of Dante's career, which may not be authentic but which certainly are not improbable, for, as Dr. Moore has observed,<sup>3</sup> that which is, in the strict logical sense, "not proved" is not therefore "disproved." About most of them there is a quaint flavor of gossip — the sort which some good dame perhaps

"Favoleggiava con la sua famiglia."

<sup>1</sup> Ed. G. Dragomanni, Florence, 1844-1845, Bk. IX, § 136 (II, 233-235); also in Solerti, pp. 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> For discussion, see the introductions of Macri-Leone and of Rostagno to their respective editions of the *Vita* and the *Compendio*, and Dr. Moore's *Dante and his Early Biographers*, pp. 4-57.

<sup>3</sup> *Dante and his Early Biographers*, p. 169.

To this class belongs his account of Dante's first meeting with Beatrice. In a passage which in grace of style and charm of atmosphere transports us to the cloudless days of the *Decameron*, we catch our first glimpse of the boy whose life was to be so rife with storm.<sup>1</sup>

"In that season wherein the sweetness of heaven reclothes the earth with its adornments, making her all to smile with diversity of flowers mingled amongst green leaves, it was the custom both of men and women in our city, each in his district, to hold festival, gathering together in their several companies; wherefore it chanced that Folco Portinari, amongst the rest, a man in those days much honoured of the citizens, had gathered his neighbors round about, to feast them in his house on the first day of May. Now amongst them was that Alighieri already spoken of; and thither (even as little lads are wont to go about with their fathers, especially to places of festivity) Dante, whose ninth year was not yet ended, had accompanied him. And here, mingling with the others of his age, — for in the festal house were many of them, boys and girls, — the first tables being served, he abandoned himself with the rest to children's sports, so far as the compass of his small years would extend. There was amongst the throng of young ones a little daughter of the aforesaid Folco, whose name was Bice (though he himself always called her by the original of the name, to wit, Beatrice), whose age was some eight years; right gracious after her childish fashion, and full gentle and winning in her ways, and of manners and speech far more sedate and modest than her small age required; and besides this the features of her face full delicate, most excellently disposed, and replete not only with beauty but with such purity and winsomeness, that she was held of many to be a kind of little angel. She then, such as I am painting her, or may be far more beauteous yet, appeared before the eyes of our Dante, at this festival, not I suppose for the first time, but for the first time with power to enamour him; and he, child as he still was, received her fair visage into his heart with such affection, that, from that day forth, never, so long as he lived, was he severed therefrom."

The picture is typical of the method of the prince of story-tellers; a sentence, a word starts his fertile fancy in a whirl of imagery. And so

<sup>1</sup> *Vita*, ed. Macri-Leone, pp. 13-15. The translation is Wicksteed's, of which I have availed myself without exception for the lives of Boccaccio and Bruni.



we recognize the theme of this story in the second chapter of the *Vita Nuova* (II, 1-25).<sup>1</sup>

"Nine times already since my birth had the heaven of light returned to the selfsame point almost, as concerns its own revolution, when first the glorious Lady of my mind was made manifest to mine eyes; even she who was called Beatrice by many who knew not wherefore. She had already been in this life for so long as that, within her time, the starry heaven had moved toward the Eastern quarter one of the twelve parts of a degree; so that she appeared to me at the beginning of her ninth year almost, and I saw her almost at the end of my ninth year. Her dress, on that day, was of a most noble color, a subdued and goodly crimson, girdled and adorned in such sort as best suited with her very tender age. At that moment, I say most truly that the spirit of life, which hath its dwelling in the secretest chamber of the heart, began to tremble so violently that the least pulses of my body shook therewith; and in trembling it said these words: *Ecce deus fortior me, qui veniens dominabitur mihi.*"

Thus under Boccaccio's hand the vague, almost mysterious account of Dante becomes a concrete episode, bright with local color. Elsewhere<sup>2</sup> he tells us that he received the information regarding the family of Beatrice from a "trustworthy person who was an acquaintance of hers and closely connected with her by ties of blood" (*fededeigna persona, la quale la conobbe e fu per consanguinità strettissima a lei*)—a statement which inclines us to look less skeptically on the details of this version. To be sure, Lionardo Bruni says<sup>3</sup> with some bitterness, in telling of Dante's prowess at Campaldino, "I could wish that our Boccaccio had made mention of this valor rather than his falling in love at nine years old and such like trifles, which he tells of so great a man," and Giovanni Mario Filelfo, that curious juggler of facts and fancies, goes so far as to say in his *Vita Dantis*,<sup>4</sup> "I believe that that Beatrice, whom Dante is supposed to have loved, was about as much a woman as was Pandora" (*Sed ego aequae Beatricem quam amasse fingitur Dantes mulierem numquam fuisse opinor ac fuit Pandora*); but it is sometimes tempting to have

<sup>1</sup> Rossetti's translation, in *Dante and his Circle*.

<sup>2</sup> *Comento*, ed. Milanese, I, 224 (on *Inf.* II, 57).

<sup>3</sup> *Vita di Dante*, in Solerti, p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> In Solerti, p. 163.



faith in the substance of things not seen, particularly when it does not strain our sense of reason.

Another anecdote of Dante's acquaintance with Beatrice, marked by the same word-of-mouth quality, is recorded by the author of the *Codex Cassinese*<sup>1</sup> (ca. 1385) in his second gloss on the passage which relates how Dante swooned at the close of Francesca's beautiful story of Paolo's first kiss (*Inf.* V, 142).

"Observe that this incident of his falling actually happened to the author while he was in love with Beatrice. For when he had come to a banquet at which Beatrice was present and she had appeared before him as he mounted the stairs, he fell, half dead, as it were, and being carried to a couch, lay for some time unconscious."

Although Dante has not mentioned this experience in the story of his love, one naturally recalls the wedding-feast, at which he is so overcome at the sight of Beatrice that the ladies, observing his confusion, mock him,<sup>2</sup> and which may have celebrated the marriage of Beatrice to Simone de' Bardi.<sup>3</sup>

The Commentary of Benvenuto da Imola, written between 1380 and 1390, and easily the most valuable of the early commentaries in historical details, contains several brief sketches from Dante's private life which are at once interesting and suggestive.

"Ita n'è Beatrice in l'alto cielo" and Dante has entered the life of civic activity.

"In the church of San Giovanni Battista in Florence, around the baptismal font there are some cylindrical wells in the marble, just large enough to hold a man, and when the priests are baptizing children, they stand in these wells, about up to their waist, the more easily to perform this office on days when there is a throng, — for large as Florence is, it has only one baptistery, even as Bologna. . . . (Now it so happened) that one day some boys were playing around the font, as they are wont to do, and one of them, who was more reckless than the rest, got into one of these holes and became so firmly wedged in (*et ita et taliter implicavit et involvit membra sua*) that he could not be dragged out by any manner or means. And so the boys, seeing that they could not help him, began to cry out and in a few moments a great throng assembled. To make a

<sup>1</sup> Ed. by the Badia di Monte Cassino, 1865, p. 46. Cf. Kraus, *Dante*, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita Nuova*, XIV, lines 15-63 (pp. 212-213).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Boccaccio, *Comento*, I, 224 ff.

long story short, no one could do a thing to succor the poor boy whose life was in danger; when of a sudden Dante, who was then one of the Priors in office, appeared on the scene, and seeing the boy, cried out, 'What ails ye, fools? An ax!' As soon as an ax was fetched, Dante seized it in his own hands and started to pound the marble, which broke readily enough. And thus the boy, resurrected from the dead, as it were, escaped without hurt."<sup>1</sup>

The incident is introduced as a comment on Dante's words,

"Non mi parean meno ampi ne maggiori  
 Che quei che son nel mio bel San Giovanni  
 Fatti per loco de' battezzatori;  
 L'un delli quali, ancor non è molt' anni,  
 Rupp'io per un che dentro vi annegava:  
 E questo sia suggel ch'ogni uomo sganni,"

(*Inf.* XIX, 16-21)

apparently a rebuke to the worshipers of the letter rather than the spirit, whose murmurings, centuries before, had been silenced by the words, "Is it lawful on the Sabbath to do good, or to do harm? to save a life or to destroy it?" It is not easy to explain the inconsistency between Benvenuto's expression "taliter implicavit et involvit membra sua" and Dante's "annegava." Professor Norton interprets the latter as meaning "was stifling," but this is an extension of meaning which is hardly warranted by usage, however well it accords with Benvenuto's story. Another possible solution, suggested by Professor Grandgent,<sup>2</sup> is that Dante broke open a passage from one of the wells into the main baptismal font in which the boy was drowning. Whatever may have been the exact details of the event, the story reveals Dante in a character which it is easy to overlook in our study of Dante the writer. Dante was a man of action, quick to choose the path and quick to carry out his plans.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps it was this characteristic which secured for him in April, 1301, his appointment as superintendent in charge of the repairs on the *Via Sancti Proculi*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Comentum super Dantis Aldigherii Comædiam*, ed. J. P. Lacaïta, Florence, 1887, II, 35-36 (on *Inf.* XIX, 16); also in Papanti, pp. 34-35.

<sup>2</sup> I take this opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to Professor Grandgent for his constant inspiration and assistance.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Landino, *Vita e costumi di Dante* (in Solerti, p. 188): "Fu di non minore ingegno et consiglio nell'amministrazione e governo civile che nelle dottrine."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. G. R. Carpenter, *Documents concerning Dante's Public Life*. (Dante Society Reports, X, 39-45, Cambridge, Mass., 1891-1892.)

Benvenuto also tells<sup>1</sup> an anecdote of the loss and rediscovery of the first seven cantos of the *Inferno*, which is patently derived from Boccaccio. The latter has several versions of the affair, and as he is the originator I will quote from him, giving the *Comento* form, as the fullest.<sup>2</sup>

Having observed in his comment on "Io dico seguitando" (*Inf.* VIII, 1) that this is the first time the phrase has been employed, he continues:

"You must know that Dante had a sister who was married to one of our citizens, named Leon Poggi. She bore him several sons, the oldest of whom was named Andrea, a youth whose features were remarkably like Dante's, as well as his figure, for he walked in a somewhat stooping fashion, as Dante is said to have done. He was a simple fellow but good-hearted, and in his conversation and manners was orderly and praiseworthy. Having become an intimate friend of his, I have often heard him speak of Dante's manners and habits. Among other things which deeply impressed my memory was a story which he related to me one day while we were talking together. He said that Dante, who was a member of the party of Messer Vieri de' Cerchi and in fact was one of its leaders, learning that Messer Vieri had departed from Florence with many of his followers, himself departed and betook himself to Verona. After his departure, through the efforts of the opposing party, Messer Vieri and all the others who had departed, particularly the leaders, were condemned as rebels, in property and person. Among these was Dante. And straightway the mob rushed into the houses of the condemned and plundered them. However, fearing this, Dante's wife, Madonna Gemma, pursuant to the advice of some friends and relatives, had had some chests containing valuables—including Dante's writings—carried out of the house and put in a safe place. Now the most prominent of the partisans, not content with having robbed the houses, in a number of cases seized the estates of the condemned. And so was seized Dante's.

"Five years later when the city became more settled than it had been when Dante was condemned, he says that people began to demand, under one title or another, their rights to the property which had once belonged to the rebels; and they were heard. Therefore, the lady was

<sup>1</sup> *Comentum*, ed. cit., I, 274 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Comento*, II, 129 ff.; also in Papanti, pp. 11 ff. Cf. the versions in the *Vita*, pp. 65-67, and the *Compendio*, pp. 54-56.

advised to make a request for the property of Dante at least under the rights of her dowry. While she was making preparations to carry this out, she found that she had need of certain instruments and papers which were in the chests, that she had rescued in the excitement of the turmoil and since that time had never removed from the place where she had deposited them. Wherefore, Andrea told me, she had sent for him, as Dante's nephew, and intrusting to him the keys of the chests, sent him with an attorney to look for the required papers. While the attorney was searching for them, — he says, — among various other of Dante's writings, including many sonnets, canzoni and the like, there was one especially interesting, a little copy-book in which in Dante's own hand were written the preceding seven cantos. And so he took it and carried it home; and having read and re-read it, though he understood little of it, he deemed it to be an excellent thing. To find out what it was, he determined that he ought to take it to a worthy man of our city, who at that time enjoyed great fame as a poet in rime, one Dino di Messer Lambertuccio Frescobaldi. Dino, who was marvelously pleased with them, made a copy for several of his friends and recognizing that the work was merely begun and not completed, he thought it well to send it to Dante and to pray him to finish the task which he had undertaken.

"Having found after some inquiry that Dante was at that time in Lunigiana with a noble of the Malespina family, named Marquis Moruello, who was a man of understanding and a particular friend of his, he decided to send them, not to Dante but to the Marquis, that he might bring them forth and show them to him. And so he did, praying him, so far as in him lay, to urge Dante to continue his undertaking and if possible to finish it.

"When the seven cantos came to the hands of the Marquis, he was marvelously pleased with them and showed them to Dante. Being assured that they were his work, he begged him to continue the undertaking, to which they say that Dante replied:<sup>1</sup>

"I truly thought that these, with many other of my possessions and writings, had been lost at the time when my house was robbed, and therefore I had wholly taken my mind and thought from them. But since it is God's pleasure that they be not lost, and since he has sent

<sup>1</sup> Benvenuto da Imola gives the reply thus (I, 274): "*Redditus est mihi maximus labor cum honore perpetuo.*"

them again to me, I will endeavor with all my power to continue the task according to my first intention.'

"Therefore, returning to his former plan and taking up anew the interrupted work, he said at the beginning of the eighth canto, 'Io dico seguitando,' after the things long since interrupted.

"Now this same story, word for word without the slightest variance, was told me sometime since by a certain Ser Dino Perini, one of our citizens and a man of understanding and, according to his own statement, a most intimate friend of Dante's. But he did alter the facts in so far that he said that it was *he* and not Andrea Leoni whom the lady had sent to the chests for the papers, and that *he* had found the seven cantos and had taken them to Dino di Messer Lambertuccio.

"I know not which of the two I ought rather to believe; but whether or no either of them speaks the truth, there is one doubtful matter in their words which I can in no wise solve to my satisfaction, and that is this: in the sixth canto the author introduces Ciaccio and makes him foretell that before the end of the third year from the day on which he speaks, Dante's party must fall from power — an event which actually happened, for, as we have said, the fall of the White party was coincident with the departure from Florence. Wherefore, if the author departed at the time we have mentioned before, how could he have written this? and not only this, but another canto? It is certain that Dante did not possess the spirit of prophecy, by which he might write of the future; and it seems exceedingly probable to me that he wrote what Ciaccio said, after it happened. Under this interpretation the words of these men are ill in keeping with the actual facts. Supposing that someone says that the author might have remained secretly in Florence after the departure of the Whites, and then have written the sixth and seventh cantos before his departure, this is not in accordance with the author's reply to the Marquis, in which he said that he believed that these cantos had been lost with his other possessions when his house was robbed. And the theory that the author might have added the words, which he puts in Ciaccio's mouth, to the sixth canto after he had recovered it, cannot be supported if there is any truth in the account given by the two men whom I have named — that Dino di Messer Lambertuccio had given a copy to many of his friends, inasmuch as some one of the copies without these words would surely appear, or surely through some ancient source,



actual or verbal, there would be some memory of it. Now how this happened or could have happened, I will leave to the judgment of the readers; each man may believe what seems to him most true or most probable."

Of course, we may at once say that these Dinos, summoned by Dante's wife, are mere figments of Boccaccio's fancy and that the whole story is simply an attempt to explain the words which begin the eighth canto. In the *Vita* and the *Compendio* no mention is made of the sources of the story nor is there any confession of doubt as to its reliability. On the whole, however, the presence of this discussion with reference to the Ciaccio episode in the later and more critical document leads me to believe that the account is really derived from an oral source. At least there seems to have grown up, perhaps through a perversion of this account, a tradition that even in Dante's time the populace was familiar with the *Divina Commedia* and often sang it.<sup>1</sup> There is a tale of Franco Sacchetti's, which we shall have occasion to quote later,<sup>2</sup> in which Dante meets a blacksmith singing "the book"; "*the book*" can hardly refer to anything but the *Commedia*. From Dante we have nothing to corroborate this idea; although there are several statements in his works implying that his lyrics were known, no mention is made of the knowledge of his definitive work, unless there be a suggestion in the phrase "il nome mio ancor molto non suona" (*Purg.* XIV, 21), which is highly improbable.

Quite as widely known is an anecdote with regard to the composition of the poem, found in the so-called "Letter of Hilary,"<sup>3</sup> which is appended to a manuscript of Boccaccio. The superscription reads:

"To the renowned and magnificent lord Uguccone della Faggiola, highly pre-eminent amongst Italian magnates, brother Ilario, a humble monk of Corvo, at the mouth of the Macra, wishes salvation to him who is the true salvation of us all." After a few words on the text, "By their fruits ye shall know them," the writer begins,

"Now this man whose work, together with my exposition of it, I purpose sending you, seems, of all Italians, to have unlocked these things

<sup>1</sup> Cf. F. D. Guerrazzi, *I Dannati* (in *Dante e il suo secolo*, Florence, 1865, II, 348).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. pp. 48 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Papanti, pp. 202-204; translated in Wicksteed's *Early Lives of Dante*, pp. 147-151.

(according to the Scripture phrase) out of the abundance of his internal treasury, even from his boyhood; for as I have learned from others — and very wonderful it is — before he had passed from childhood he attempted to utter unheard of things, and — which is more wonderful yet — he strove to express in vernacular speech what can scarcely be set forth in Latin itself by the most eminent authors; and I do not mean in straightforward vernacular, but in that of song. And now, to let his praises sound in his own works, wherein without doubt they shine more clearly in the eyes of the wise, I will briefly come to the purpose.

“Well then, when the man of whom I speak purposed to go to the regions across the mountains, and was making his way through the diocese of Luna, whether moved by the religious associations of the place or by some other cause, he betook himself to the site of the Monastery named in the superscription. And when I saw him (as yet unknown to me, and to the rest, my brothers) I asked him what he sought; and when he answered never a word, and yet kept gazing at the architecture of the place, I asked him again what he sought. Then he, turning around upon me and the brothers, said, ‘Peace.’ At this I burned ever more and more to learn from him what condition of man he was, and I drew him aside from the rest, and on holding some discourse with him knew who he was; for though I had never once seen him before that day yet his fame had long since reached me. Now when he saw that I was giving him all my attention, and perceived my eagerness for his words, he drew a little book from his bosom in friendly guise enough, and frankly presented it to me. ‘Here’ (he said) ‘is a part of my work, which I take it thou hast never seen. Such is the record I leave you, that you may retain the memory of me the more firmly.’ And when he had shown me the book, I took it joyfully to my bosom, opened it, and in his presence fixed my eyes intently upon it. And when I observed that the words were vernacular, and manifested some kind of wonder, he asked me what I was boggling at. And I answered that I was astonished at the quality of the language, partly because I thought it seemed difficult, nay inconceivable, that such arduous matter could have been expressed in the vernacular, and partly because it seemed incongruous for so much learning to be combined with a plebeian garb. To which he in answer: ‘Assuredly you have reason in your thoughts; and when first the seed, maybe implanted by Heaven, began to sprout towards such a purpose,



I chose the language rightly belonging to the same, and not only chose but (poetising in it after the accustomed fashion) I began :

" Ultima regna canam fluido contermina mundo,  
Spiritus que lata patent, que premia solvunt  
Pro meritis cuicumque suis."

But when I pondered on the conditions of the present age, I saw how the works of the great poets are flung aside almost as things of naught ; and thus men of high birth, for whom such works were written in a better age, have (shame on them !) abandoned the liberal arts to the common folk. Wherefore I put aside the lyre to which I had trusted, and tuned another, in harmony with the tastes of the moderns ; for in vain is tooth-<sup>ed</sup> food put to the mouths of them that suck.' And after saying this he added, with much affection, that if I could have leisure for such occupations, I was to go through the work with certain brief annotations, and send it on, so annotated, to you. Whereat, though I have not fully extracted all that lies concealed in his words, I have faithfully and with free heart labored ; and now in accordance with the command of that profound well-wisher of yours, I send you the work itself with the notes. And if herein aught shall seem doubtful, impute it only to my incapacity, for without doubt the text itself must be regarded as without defect in every way.

" But if Your Magnificence should at any time make enquiry about the other two parts of this work (as one who proposes to make a whole, by collecting the parts), you are to demand the second part, which follows upon this, of the renowned lord, Marquis Moroello. And the third will be able to be found with the most illustrious Frederic, King of Sicily. For, as he who is its author assured me he had purposed and designed, after considering the whole of Italy, he singled out you three, out of all the rest, to receive the offering of this three-fold work. . . ."

Even without the erroneous statements with respect to the dedication of the parts of the *Divina Commedia* which appear in the closing words of the letter, there is little reason for looking upon the document as trustworthy ; there is a touch of the melodramatic in the scene of Dante, gazing at the architecture and turning to say, " Peace ! " Boccaccio himself evidently felt some doubt of its value, for having briefly told the story as it is given here,<sup>1</sup> he adds : " Some will have it that he dedicated

<sup>1</sup> *Vita*, pp. 71-72.

the whole to Messer Cane della Scala; but as to which of these two is the truth, we have nothing else to go on save only as sundry, each after his fancy, discourse; nor is it a matter of so great weight as to call for serious consideration." This is indeed a naïve critical method, but I believe it to be sincere and therefore cannot agree with those who would have it that Boccaccio himself is the author of the letter,<sup>1</sup> citing certain similarities in phraseology. Whether it is the work of Boccaccio or of some petty friar, eager to lend a color of personal acquaintance to his commentary, the story that Dante started the *Commedia* in Latin is frequently repeated among the biographers;<sup>2</sup> the source is unmistakably the Hilary letter, for the verses quoted never pass the limit there given and often only the first line is found.

There are several other anecdotes related by Boccaccio, Benvenuto da Imola, and the *Anonimo Fiorentino* which seem to be derived through oral tradition from those who had known Dante; but as they are all told to illustrate some phase of his character, I have reserved them for their more fitting surroundings, including in this chapter only such of the earliest traditions as bear some direct testimony concerning the details of his life.

## 2. DANTE THE PILGRIM

In the pathetic passage in the *Convivio* where he tells of his exile, Dante says, "per le parti quasi tutte alle quali questa lingua si stende, peregrino, quasi mendicando, sono andato" (*Conv.* I, III, 28-30). But tradition, not content with representing him at Bologna, Verona, Siena, Venice, Naples, Padua, Ravenna, and other towns of the Italian peninsula, made of him a world-wayfarer. In fact Antonio Pucci, whose *Centiloquio*<sup>3</sup> is a *terza rima* redaction of Giovanni Villani's *Cronica*, tells us,

"Dante par che cercasse tutto il mondo,  
E l'aria, e 'l ciel; chè, quanto dir se 'n possa  
Esso ne disse con parlar profondo,  
Con sì bel modo, che la gente grossa  
Si crede ch'è cercasse veramente  
Li sopraddetti luoghi in carne e in ossa."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zingarelli, *Dante*, pp. 243-245.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. Villani (Solerti, p. 88); G. Manetti (Solerti, p. 147); and G. M. Filelfo (Solerti, p. 181).

<sup>3</sup> In Solerti, pp. 5-7, ll. 217-222 (Capitolo IV). The *Capitolo* on Dante has also been printed by A. D'Ancona, Pisa, 1868, and by V. Imbriani, Naples, 1880.

That Dante had studied in Paris was a generally accepted belief in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; from Giovanni Villani on, we find this referred to in all of the biographers except Filippo Villani and Lionardo Bruni. Although little weight can be attached to arguments which cite passages from his works as revealing a personal acquaintance with the city, such as

"Essa è la luce eterna di Sigieri  
Che leggendo nel vico degli strami  
Sillogizzò invidiosi veri,"

(*Par. X*, 136-138)

most of which must have been matters of common knowledge among men of learning, it is highly reasonable that Dante should have had recourse to the greatest of the theological schools of his day in the preparation for his final work.

Pucci would have us believe<sup>1</sup> that having refused to accept the patronage of the Pope — which one he does not state —

"Appréso se ne andò al re di Francia  
Ed anch' ei il volle con seco tenere  
E non volle esser sotto sua bilancia,"

and we have further evidence of this tradition in an anecdote by Vespasiano da Bisticci which repeats a time-worn tale about Dante, as happening "nella corte del re di Francia."<sup>2</sup> The only other attempt to particularize Giovanni Villani's general statement that Dante studied "in many parts of the world" (*in più parti del mondo*)<sup>3</sup> is that of Giovanni da Serravalle, in the *Preambula* to his commentary,<sup>4</sup> which, as he tells us, was completed in 1417. Here, in two passages, we learn that Dante was also a student at Oxford. In a Latin letter in hexameters which Boccaccio sent to Petrarch with a copy of the *Divina Commedia*, there is a mention of his having visited, among other places throughout the world, — such as "Aonios fontes" and "Parnassi culmen," —

"Parisios dudum, extremosque Britannos,"<sup>5</sup>

where no one would think of interpreting the reference to England as other than a sort of *ultima Thule*. No one after Giovanni da Serravalle

<sup>1</sup> *Centiloquio*, ll. 165-167.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Cronica*, II, 235.

<sup>4</sup> *Translatio et comentum totius libri Dantis Aldighieri*, Prato, 1891, pp. 15 and 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Le lettere edite e inedite*, Florence, 1877, pp. 53-54.

saw fit to repeat his statement and it was probably a simple fabrication, arising, as Dr. Moore suggests,<sup>1</sup> from a desire on the writer's part to flatter his English patrons, one of whom, Robert Hallam, had formerly been Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

With the story of Dante's wanderings may properly be placed a brief mention of the tradition which shows us Dante as a teacher. Speaking of Dante's stay in Ravenna under the protection of Guido da Polenta, Boccaccio says,<sup>2</sup> "And here by his teachings he trained many scholars in poetry, especially in the vernacular." This statement, amplified with years, appears in Gianozzo Manetti's *Vita Dantis*<sup>3</sup> and still more definitely in the *Capitolo fatto per la morte di Dante*<sup>4</sup> by Dino Forestani, or, as he was generally called, Saviozzo da Siena.

"Ravenna tu 'l sai ben, chè dir non cale,  
Qui cominciò di legger Dante in pria  
Retorica vulgare e molto esperti  
Fece di sua poetica armonia."

Even more conclusive as evidence of the popular nature of this tradition is a fragmentary anecdote by an anonymous hand, found appended to a fifteenth century manuscript of the *Paradiso*.<sup>5</sup>

"It is a well known story that when Dante was a schoolmaster in Ravenna, reading diverse works as a teacher, a number of teachers and men of learning and scholars gathered one day near the schoolhouse and were discussing various subjects in several little groups. Among other things they fell to speaking of Dante's knowledge, and a worthy teacher said, 'You are discussing the knowledge of a boor.' Whereat he was reproved and again he said, 'I say that Dante is a boor.'<sup>6</sup> And he was asked why. Then he answered, 'Because Dante has said everything that

<sup>1</sup> *Early Biographers*, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita*, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> In Solerti, p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> Edited by E. Narducci, Rome, 1859, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Papanti, p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> This same idea is found at the end of the *Chiose sopra Dante* (Testo inedito, Florence, 1846, p. 717), where on the final verses of the manuscript,

"O tu ch'achatti 'l libro del villano,  
Rendilo presto, perchè gran piacere  
Ne tra' chostui acchi 'l chavi di mano,"

there is a comment in the margin, "Dante si chiama il villano perchè e' no' lasciò a dire ad altri nulla," and a similar expression is found in a tale of Vincenzio Borghini (in Papanti, p. 179), there placed in the mouth of Petrarch.

is worthy of memory or fame, in his poetical works and has left nothing for anyone else to say; therefore I say, he is a boor.'"

Unfortunately the rest of the manuscript is mutilated, although enough remains to make it evident that Dante is drawn into the controversy and makes a sharp retort.

Another tradition places his teaching activity at Gubbio as well as Ravenna. In the apocryphal sonnet to Busone da Gubbio, included in most of the early editions of Dante's lyrics, the poet is represented as saying —<sup>1</sup>

" . . . del car figliuol vidi presente  
El frutto che sperasti e sì repente  
S' avaccia nello stil greco e francesco,"

a passage often quoted in the past as a proof that Dante knew Greek. So, too, we find in the *Liber de Theleutologio*, a moral work of the fifteenth century, perhaps written by Sebastiano da Gubbio, these words from the author to his son,<sup>2</sup> — "Dante, the instructor of your youth from your tender years" (*[Dantem] tuae a teneris annis adolescentiae preceptorem*).

This is a type of tradition which sheds light on a part of Dante's life, untouched by any of the more certain documents. Provided that we do not admit the truth of Mr. George Bernard Shaw's aphorism, that "Those that can, do; those that can't, teach," teaching seems to be the most natural profession for a man of Dante's learning to have entered upon, to eke out a meager livelihood. That financial matters were of intimate concern to him during his years of exile is evident from several passages in his works besides the one already quoted, most strikingly in the epistle dedicatory to Can Grande, where he excuses his failure to give a more detailed exposition of the prologue with the words<sup>3</sup> — "for I am pressed by my narrow domestic circumstances so that I must needs relinquish this and other matters profitable to the common good" (*urget enim me rei familiaris angustia, ut haec et alia utilia reipublicae derelinquere oporteat*). Surely a tradition which figures the first scholar to study the Italian tongue and an adept in the literature of the troubadours as also a teacher of the younger generation can do little violence to the truth.

<sup>1</sup> *Poesie liriche di Dante*, ed. G. Fornaro, Rome, 1843, Sonnet XXXIII, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> In Solerti, p. 30, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Epistola X, ll. 600 ff.



## 3. DANTE'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE

The subject of Dante's personal appearance has received a fitting treatment by Professor Norton ;<sup>1</sup> with two contemporary representations, there was little opportunity for a tradition to arise about his features. But there is one phase of the traditional conception which perhaps deserves a word. Says Boccaccio,<sup>2</sup> " This our poet, then, was of middle height ; and when he had reached maturity he went somewhat bowed, his gait grave and gentle, and ever clad in most seemly apparel, in such garb as befitted his ripe years. His face was long, his nose aquiline, and his eyes rather large than small ; his jaws big, and the underlip protruding beyond the upper," a description which Professor Norton has shown to be in perfect accord with both the Giotto portrait and the death mask, as far as the features are concerned ; the other details must rest on oral tradition. Then he continues, " His complexion was dark, his hair and beard, thick, black and curling, and his expression was ever melancholy and thoughtful. Hence it chanced one day in Verona (when the fame of his works had spread abroad everywhere, and especially that part of his Comedy which he entitles *Inferno* ; and when he himself was known by sight to many, both men and women), that as he passed by a gateway where sat a group of women, one of them said to the others, softly, yet so that she was heard well enough by him and by his company : ' Do you see the man who goes to Hell, and comes again, at his pleasure ? ' To the which one of the others answered in all good faith : ' In truth it must needs be as thou sayest. See'st thou not how his beard is crisped and his skin darkened by the heat and smoke that are there below ? ' And hearing these words spoken behind him and perceiving that they sprang from perfect belief of the women, he was pleased, and as though content that they should be of such opinion, he passed on, smiling a little."<sup>3</sup>

This anecdote, which is repeated almost exactly in Manetti's Latin redaction, and also, with the scene transferred to Ravenna, in Filelfo and Landino,<sup>4</sup> has given rise to considerable discussion as to Dante's complexion and as to whether or no he wore a beard. Naturally we cannot

<sup>1</sup> Printed in C. A. Dinsmore's *Aids to the Study of Dante*, Boston, 1903, pp. 149-159.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita*, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Antonius Chartularius, in his *De vita Dantis* (in Solerti, p. 78, note 4) adds : " qui raro vel numquam ridere solebat."

<sup>4</sup> All in Solerti, pp. 139, 174, and 190.

expect to find any direct evidence in his work, but there are certain passages which in some wise bear on the subject. As for the color of his hair, we have his own words,

"Nonne triumphales melius pexare capillos  
Et patrio, redeam si quando, abscondere canos  
Fronde sub inserta solitum flavescere Sarno?"

(*Ecloga* I, 42-44)

*Flavescere* should mean "be golden yellow," although it is not impossible to interpret it as "be reddish" or "auburn," and the second interpretation might be made to accord with Boccaccio's statement that his hair was black, by saying that in his mature years Dante's erstwhile auburn locks grew dark, as is wont to happen with the lapse of time. Frankly, this sort of argument is, to my thinking, little more than hair-splitting, and it looks as though the statement is the result of the anecdote rather than the fact its occasion.

Another passage is the scene on the shore of the Island of Purgatory, where Virgil cleanses Dante from the stains of Hell:

"Ond' io che fui accorto di su' arte,  
Porsi ver lui le guance lagrimose:  
Quivi mi fece tutto discoperto  
Quel color che l'inferno mi nascose;"

(*Purg.* I, 126-129)

which surely must have been in Boccaccio's mind, as he told the story of the ladies of Verona.

With regard to the wearing of a beard, the regularly quoted passage in this connection is Beatrice's command:

"alza la barba  
E prenderai più doglia riguardando."

(*Purg.* XXXI, 68-69)

Of course this is not conclusive, for Dante adds,

"E quando per la barba il viso chiese,  
Ben conobbi il velen dell'argomento,"

(ll. 74-75)

where we cannot be certain whether his meaning is, "I felt the poison of her words, because she called my beardless face, 'my beard' (*la barba*),



as a symbol of my manhood" or "because she chose to name that characteristic of my face, namely my beard, which stood for my manhood." No arguments can properly be drawn from the Giotto portrait nor the death mask; the former represents him as a youth, when even Boccaccio thought of him as beardless, if we are to see any meaning in his remark that after the death of Beatrice he went about "gaunt and unshaven" (*magro, barbuto*);<sup>1</sup> the latter must perforce have been taken when he was shaven. Perhaps the most we can say is that Dante in his later years may have worn a beard, which, after all, is saying nothing. It might well be observed, however, that of all the ideal representations of Dante which have been made since his death, not one portrays him with a beard — a fact which would seem to argue that the statement of Boccaccio is not a popular tradition but only an ingenious invention of the author's to give excuse for a story.<sup>2</sup>

Here it is fitting to add further details of Dante's private life and habits, manifestly taken from popular, oral tradition, as recorded by Boccaccio and Bruni. "In his private and public manners," says the former,<sup>3</sup> "he was wondrous orderly and composed, and in all things was he courteous and polished beyond any other. In food and drink he was most moderate,<sup>4</sup> both in taking them at the appointed hours and in never going beyond the limit of necessity, nor did he ever show any nicety in one thing rather than another. Delicate viands he complimented, and for the most part fed on plain ones, blaming beyond measure such as bestow great part of their study on getting choice things and having them prepared with extreme diligence; declaring that the likes of these do not eat to live, but rather live to eat. No man kept vigil more than he, whether in studies or in any such other concern as might assail him; in so much that many a time both his household and his wife were grieved thereat, until they grew used to his ways and took no further note of it. Seldom did he speak save when questioned, and that deliberately

<sup>1</sup> *Vita*, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we find several times repeated an anecdote which tells of a vulgar, riddle-like retort from Dante to a man who called him a letter "I," because he was "di persona molto piccolo." It goes without saying that this is not representative either of popular or of literary tradition.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Suetonius, *Life of Virgil* (in Nettleship's *Ancient Lives of Virgil*, Oxford, 1879, p. 10), "cibi vinique minimi."

and with voice suited to the matter of discourse; not but what, when occasion rose, he was most eloquent and copious, and with excellent and ready delivery." Bruni has one or two other familiar touches:<sup>1</sup> "He delighted in music and melodies and himself drew excellently. He wrote a finished hand, with thin, long letters perfectly formed, as I have seen in certain epistles written with his own hand." Since these and other notices found in later imitators have been thoroughly discussed by Dr. Moore,<sup>2</sup> I will not enter upon the sundry evidences of the truth of these traditional statements which may be cited from Dante's writings.

Such is the figure of Dante that lived on in tradition. It is a many-sided one — we see him as a lover, as a man of action, as a wanderer, as a teacher. Now and then through the magic glass of these old biographers or commentators we catch a glimpse of the man as he lived and moved among his fellows. But thus far it has been hardly more than a figure. Leaving this external, this impersonal, picture of Dante, we come now to a consideration of the inner life of the poet, of his temperamental traits, of his essential personality.

<sup>1</sup> *Vita di Dante* (in Solerti, p. 104).

<sup>2</sup> *Early Biographers*, pp. 130-140.

## CHAPTER III

### THE PERSONALITY OF DANTE

#### I. SUNDRY TRAITS

The starting-point of all tradition is the anecdote. General ideas do not thrive in the popular mind, but give them specific form in some striking, pithy tale and they will abide with the generations. It is in this form that most of our ideas of Dante have come down to us, and particularly with Boccaccio do we find an anecdote to be the nucleus for all his general ideas of the poet. So consummate an artist as he, undoubtedly recognized the value of tales as a mere ornament to enliven his style, but to-day we find their greatest interest in the character they reflect. Let us listen to some of his stories.<sup>1</sup>

"In his studies [Dante] was most assiduous, during such time as he assigned to them; in so much that nothing, however startling to hear, could distract him from them. And as concerning this giving himself up wholly to the thing that pleased him, there are certain worthy of faith, who relate how one of the times when he was in Siena he chanced to be at an apothecary's shop, and there a little book that had been promised him before was placed in his hand, which book was of much fame amongst men of worth, and had never yet been seen of him; and, as it befell, not having opportunity to take it to some other place, he lay with his breast upon the bench that stood before the apothecary's and set the book before him and began most eagerly to examine it; and although soon after, in that very district, right before him, by occasion of some general festival of the Sienese, a great tournament was begun and carried through by certain young gentlemen, and therewith the mightiest din of them around — as in like cases is wont to come about, with various instruments and with applauding shouts — and although many other things took place such as might draw one to look on them, as dances of fair ladies, and sundry sports of youth, yet was there never a one that

<sup>1</sup> *Vita*, pp. 45-46.

saw him stir thence, nor once raise his eyes from the book ; nay rather, he having placed himself there about the hour of noon, it was past vespers, and he had examined it all and as it were taken a general survey thereof, ere he raised himself up from it, declaring afterwards, to certain who asked him how he could hold himself from looking upon so fair festivities as had been done before him, that he had perceived naught at all of them ; whereat for his questioners a second wonder was not unduly added to the first."

Here is an account which, if not the report of an actual occurrence, accords in every particular with the Dante of his own works. Indeed, in the *Purgatorio* there is apparently a reference to exactly such an event as that recorded by Boccaccio :

" O immaginativa, che ne rube  
 Tal volta sì di fuor ch' uom non s' accorge  
 Perchè d' intorno suonin mille tube  
 Chi move te, se il senso non ti porge."  
 (*Purg.* XVII, 13-16)

In the *Vita Nuova* (XXXV), Dante relates this little anecdote : " On that day which fulfilled the year since my lady had been made of the citizens of eternal life, remembering me of her as I sat alone, I betook myself to draw the resemblance of an angel upon certain tablets and while I did thus, chancing to turn my head, I perceived that some were standing beside me to whom I should have given courteous welcome, and that they were observing what I did : also I learned afterwards that they had been there a while before I perceived them. Perceiving whom, I rose for salutation, and said, ' Another was with me, and therefore was I in thought.' " Once more, when Beatrice smiles to him on the Mountain of Purgatory, after ten years of longing thirst his eyes are so intent upon her that he must be aroused by a cry of " *Troppo fiso* " (*Purg.* XXXII, 9). This same theme of obsession by a single interest was employed by him as a metaphysical argument, in commenting on the lapse of time while Manfred has been revealing to him his future and the power of prayer on earth.

" Quando per dilettanze ovver per doglie,  
 Che alcuna virtù nostra comprenda,  
 L' anima bene ad essa sì raccoglie,  
 Par che a nulla potenza più intenda ;

E questo è contra quello error, che crede  
 Che un' anima sopr' altra in noi s' accenda.  
 E però, quando s' ode cosa o vede,  
 Che tenga forte a sè l' anima volta,  
 Vassene il tempo, e l' uom non se n' avvede :  
 Ch' altra potenza è quella che l' ascolta,  
 Ed altra quella che ha l' anima intera :  
 Questa è quasi legata, e quella è sciolta."  
 (*Purg.* IV, 1-12)

Whether or no the shop in Siena, still pointed out as the scene of Boccaccio's story,<sup>1</sup> has any real claim to such a fame, — for that matter, whether or no its author received it from a trustworthy source or fabricated it himself on the basis of Dante's own lines, — we feel our interest quickened at the retelling of this curious tale. We know how greedy for knowledge was Dante, how inquisitive to see the whole truth, for not the least of the joys of his Paradise is the satisfaction of this craving. Nor was it a merely idle curiosity but the object of his greatest concern. How far his power of concentration carried him in his search for truth can best be expressed by saying that he was not only the noblest poet of his age but also the profoundest scholar.

In the acquirement of what, in his day, was practically the *omne scibile*, Dante was aided by another faculty to which Boccaccio has called attention.<sup>2</sup>

"Moreover, this poet was of marvelous capacity and firmness of memory, and of piercing intellect, in so much that when he was in Paris, and in a disputation *de quolibet* held there in the schools of theology, fourteen theses had been maintained by divers men of worth on divers matters, he straightway gathered all together, with the arguments for and against urged by the opponents, and in due sequence, as they had been produced, recited them without break, following the same order, subtly solving and refuting the counter arguments, the which thing was reputed all but a miracle by them that stood by."

Nowadays we are grown accustomed to similar feats by chess-players, but we need not marvel if then it was counted prodigious. It is not strange either that Dante was reputed to have a memory above the average; even in Boccaccio's day there must have been many a man —

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Papanti, p. 28, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita*, p. 46.

whose father or other ancestor rejoiced in a permanent resting place in Inferno, thanks to Dante's excellent memory — who heartily wished that he had forgotten some things. Strangely enough, one of the very few traditions which have persisted in the popular mind, and which have not found their way into print until almost our own day, concerns Dante's memory.

"There is a popular tradition," says Fraticelli,<sup>1</sup> "that when Dante was in Florence, on warm evenings he used to frequent the Piazza di Santa Maria del Fiore, then called Santa Reparata, to enjoy the cool air, sitting on a bit of wall, at a place where a few years ago a tablet was set up with the inscription *Sasso di Dante*. Now one evening while he was sitting there, a stranger approached and asked him: 'Messere, I am pledged to give an answer and I know not how to get out of my trouble. You who are so learned perhaps can suggest a way to me. What is the best mouthful?' Dante without hesitating answered, 'The egg.' A year later, he was sitting on the same wall, when the man appeared again and had no sooner seen him than he asked, 'With what?' And Dante promptly, 'With salt.' And it was a wonderful thing — according to those who believe such tales — that although caught thus off his guard, he managed to recall the first question and, connecting it with the second, to answer so perfectly to the point." This is one of the tales that rivals the phoenix; in the seventeenth century it turns up in Sicily, as an event in the life of a popular poet, Pietro Fullone, and I have heard of its being told within the last decade, almost without change, to a class in psychology, as an actual occurrence illustrating the association of ideas.

Turning now to what Boccaccio is pleased to include among Dante's *qualità e difetti*,<sup>2</sup> we learn that "he took full much to himself; nor, as those of his day report, did he deem himself of lesser worth than in truth he was. The which appeared once, amongst other times, most notably, whilst he was with his faction at the highest point of the government of the Commonwealth. For when they who were undermost had, by mediation of Pope Boniface VIII, summoned a brother or relative of Philip, then king of France, whose name was Charles, to make straight the affairs of our city, all the chief men of that faction with which Dante

<sup>1</sup> *Vita di D. A.*, p. 263; also in Papanti, p. 205, and in Crane, *Italian Popular Tales*, Boston, 1885, p. 381.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita*, p. 60.



held, assembled in council to make provision against this; and there, amongst other things they ordained that an embassy should be sent to the Pope, who was then at Rome, to induce him to oppose the coming of the said Charles, or to make him come in concert with the party which was then in power. And when they came to consider who should be the chief of this embassy, they all said that it must be Dante; to which request Dante, after pondering in himself for a space, replied, 'If I go, who stays? If I stay, who goes?' As though he alone amongst all the others had any worth or gave any worth to the rest."

The anecdote is probably apocryphal and is found in a collection of *Facezie e motti* of the fifteenth century<sup>1</sup> as the remark of a certain Duke Giovanni, instead of Dante. But disregarding the question of its actual occurrence, let us consider what there is in Dante's own work which would warrant such a charge of presumption against him.

As he walks on the dike beside the fire-swept sand, conversing with Brunetto Latini, his old teacher says:

"Se tu segui tua stella,  
Non puoi fallire al glorioso porto,  
Se ben m' accorsi nella vita bella:  
E s' io non fossi sì per tempo morto,  
Veggendo il cielo a te così benigno,  
Da' to t' avrei all' opera conforto.  
Ma quell' ingrato popolo maligno,  
Che discese di Fiesole ab antico  
E tiene ancor del monte e del macigno,  
Ti si farà, per tuo ben far, nimico:  
Ed è ragion; chè tra li lazzi sorbi  
Si disconvien fruttare al dolce fico."

(*Inf.* XV, 55-66)

Herein at once we have a commendation of past service and a promise of future glory; his confidence in the future is as great as his sense of satisfaction with the past. There are numerous passages in the *Divina Commedia* which point to this confidence, particularly with respect to his

<sup>1</sup> *Facezie e motti dei secoli XV e XVI*, ed. Papanti, Bologna, 1874 (*Scelta di curiosità letterarie*, CXXXVIII), No. 13, p. 9:

"Il signore Ruberto da san Severino usa dire: E' si vuole vincere. Item: chi vuole ire, vada. Et pero il duca Giovanni, quando era in consulta di far la impresa del reame, dubitando delle cose di casa sua, disse: Se io sto, chi va? et se io vo, chi sta qui, Signore?"



fame as a poet. In *Limbo* he is taken into the goodly company of the poets — Virgil, Homer, Horace, Ovid, and Lucan (*Inf.* IV, 100–102); speaking of Guinizelli's having yielded to Cavalcanti the glory of the tongue, he says:

" — e forse è nato  
Chi l' uno e l' altro cacerà di nido,"  
(*Purg.* XI, 98–99)

which seems with all probability to refer to himself. Passing over the implication of the line

"Chè il nome mio ancor molto non suona,"  
(*Purg.* XIV, 21)

we have from the lips of Cacciaguida a definite statement of the divine call and the earthly power of his work.

"Tutta tua vision fa manifesta,  
E lascia pur grattar dov' è la rogna;  
Chè se la voce tua sarà molesta  
Nel primo gusto, vital nutrimento  
Lascerà poi quando sarà digesta.  
Questo tuo grido farà come vento  
Che le più alte cime più percore;  
E ciò non fa d' onor poco argomento."  
(*Purg.* XVII, 128–135)

We, to-day, in view of the verdict of the centuries, may well accept as natural such a splendid self-assurance, but it is not surprising if Boccaccio and others of his day sometimes felt that Dante was arrogating unto himself more than was becoming to a mortal. But Boccaccio manifestly looks on his demeanor as justifiable if not actually praiseworthy; it is the dignified self-satisfaction of the man who is confident of his verdict from God and from man, the true magnanimity, or better, in Aristotle's language, *μεγαλοψυχία*.

## 2. "ALMA SDEGNOSA"

For all of the traits of Dante of which we have caught a glimpse thus far, we are indebted to Boccaccio; outside of frequent repetitions by his followers, he is the only interpreter. One phase of Dante's nature, however, remained, as Professor Del Lungo has said,<sup>1</sup> "traditionally

<sup>1</sup> *Dal secolo e dal poema di Dante*, Bologna, 1898, p. 353.

characteristic of Dante the man and Dante the poet, — disdain, or rather scorn." And there has survived a considerable body of tradition which emphasizes this trait, scattered through writers of every sort, from the serious chronicler to the dispenser of airy badinage. This was the one item of personal comment which the first of his biographers, Giovanni Villani,<sup>1</sup> saw fit to include in his outline. "This Dante," he says, "because of his knowledge was somewhat haughty and reserved and disdainful, and after the fashion of a philosopher, careless of graces and not easy in his converse with laymen."<sup>2</sup> Boccaccio, to illustrate this scornful temperament, relates a story from his experience — I quote from the *Compendio*,<sup>3</sup> in which it takes the form of an anecdote.

"Dante was of a very lofty and disdainful disposition, in so much that when a certain friend of his strove to bring about his return to Florence, and could find no other way thereto, unless he should abide for a time in prison and then be presented as an offering, by way of mercy, at the church of S. Giovanni, Dante, crushing his ardent desire to return, answered, 'God forbid that any man, bred and reared in the lap of philosophy, should become the sorry candle of his commune.'" In the *Vita*,<sup>4</sup> moralizing he continues: "Oh worthy and magnanimous disdain, how didst thou play the man!"

With this story one naturally associates the *Epistola Amico Fiorentino*,<sup>5</sup> and with more reason, inasmuch as the letter is found in that text of Boccaccio's which also contains the "Letter of Hilary." I will cite a portion to show how closely it tallies with Boccaccio. "Is this then the glorious recall wherewith Dante Alighieri is summoned back to his country after an exile patiently endured for almost fifteen years? Did his innocence, manifest to whomsoever it may be, deserve this — this, the sweat and unceasing toil of study? Far be the rash humility of a heart of earth from a man familiar with philosophy, that like a prisoner he may suffer himself to be offered up after the manner of a certain Ciolo and other criminals. Far be it from a man who preaches justice after having

<sup>1</sup> *Cronica*, II, 235.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Antonio Pucci, *Centiloquio*, lines 256-258 (in Solerti, p. 7):

"Dante fu bene assai presuntuoso  
E co' laici poco conversava  
E di tutti era schifo e disdegnoso."

<sup>3</sup> *Compendio*, p. 52; also in Papanti, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita*, p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> *Epistola IX*, p. 413.

patiently endured injury to pay his money to those inflicting it, as though they were his benefactors." Bartoli<sup>1</sup> and Scartazzini<sup>2</sup> have argued against the authenticity of the letter and with justice. The very fact that in the passage just quoted and also a few lines later, the name "Dantes" appears is almost convincing evidence that it does not come from the hand of the poet, who, when for the first and only time in all his writings he has allowed his own name to be uttered—in Beatrice's words,

"Dante, perchè Virgilio se ne vada,  
Non pianger anco, non pianger ancora,"  
(*Purg.* XXX, 55-56)

thinks it necessary to add,

"... mi volsi al suon del nome mio,  
Che di necessità qui si registra."<sup>3</sup>  
(ll. 62-63)

Whether it was Boccaccio or some contemporary who fabricated the epistle, it stands as an example of the traditional conception of Dante's scornful independence.

In another letter,<sup>4</sup> formerly attributed to Dante but now generally admitted to be spurious, we find the same trait thrown into relief. Dante is represented as writing to Guido da Polenta some account of his embassy to the Venetian republic<sup>5</sup> and has remarked how his careful speech of felicitation on the election of a new Doge, couched in seemly Latin, was answered by a request to provide an interpreter or change in mode of speech. "Thus between astonishment and scorn," he continues, "I know not which the more, I began to say a few words in that tongue which I have used from what time I was in swaddling clothes, which was but little more familiar and natural to them than the Latin had been. . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Vita di D. A.*, ed. cit., p. 287, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> In *Ein Kapitel aus dem Dante-Roman* (in *Schweizerische Rundschau*).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Convivio*, I, 2, 15 ff. "Non si concede per li rettorici alcuno di sè medesimo senza necessaria cagione parlare."

<sup>4</sup> In Papanti, pp. 3-5.

<sup>5</sup> Giovanni Villani, II, 235, mentions an embassy to Venice, and Filippo Villani (in Solerti, pp. 86-87) says that on this embassy he contracted the illness which resulted in his death. Manifestly it is not the one, then, which is referred to in this letter, dated March 30, 1314. But the author was rather careless of dates—a fact demonstrated by the knowledge that Guido was not "Lord of Ravenna" in 1314 and that no Doge of Venice was elected between 1312 and 1328. Cf. Latham, *Dante's Eleven Letters*, p. 277.

But that they do not understand the Italian speech is not at all a matter of wonder, since, descended from Greek and Dalmatian progenitors, they have brought to this delectable land nothing but the worst and most shameful customs, together with the mire of all unbridled lasciviousness." The bitterness of the attack on the Venetians can hardly have been suggested by Dante's comment on their idiom in the *De vulgari eloquentia* (I, 14), where he treats them with leniency, and we must rather suppose the author to have been prompted by some civic animosity. For the rest, the letter adds little to our understanding of Dante.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the various anecdotes illustrative of Dante's scornful temper, we may well pause for a moment to observe what evidence of this trait we may find in his works. The *Inferno* presents Dante in a rôle which must assuredly have exercised a considerable influence in perpetuating this conception of him; only rarely does he show compassion for the damned, as in the case of Francesca or of Brunetto Latini; usually we find him cutting the tormented souls with a bitter thrust. So to the question of Filippo Argenti, sunk in the mud of the Styx — "Chi se' tu che vieni anzi ora?" — he answers,

"S'io vegno, non rimango;  
Ma tu chi se', che sei sì fatto brutto?"

And after Filippo's pathetic reply,

"Vedi che son un che piango,"

comes this terrific burst of scorn,

"Con piangere e con lutto,  
Spirito maledetto, ti rimani:  
Ch'io ti conosco, ancor sia lordo tutto."  
(*Inf.* VIII, 33 ff.)

Again, in the next circle, he finds Farinata degli Uberti among the other heretics. From his fiery tomb the patriot recalls to Dante that his Guelph ancestors have twice been cast out of Florence by the Ghibellines; and Dante,

"S'ei fur cacciati, ei tornar d'ogni parte,"  
Rispos' io lui, "l'una e l'altra fiata,  
Ma i vostri non appreser ben quell' arte."  
(*Inf.* X, 49-51)

There is cruel irony in his retort to Alessio Interminei, who from the filth of the flatterers has demanded,

"Perchè se' tu sì ingordo  
Di riguardar più me, che gli altri brutti?"  
Ed io a lui: "Perchè, se ben ricordo,  
Già t' ho veduto coi capelli asciutti."  
(*Inf.* XVIII, 120-123)

And finally his scorn prompts him even to do violence to Bocca degli Abati, as he lies buried in the ice of Antenora (*Inf.* XXX, 97 ff.).

It is well to remark that such a treatment of the damned was to Dante's thinking veritably commendable;

"E cortesia fu in lui esser villano,"

he says after his refusal to abide by his promise to Frate Alberigo (*Inf.* XXXIII, 150), and earlier in the *Inferno*, after his retort to Filippo Argenti, which we have just mentioned, Virgil kisses him and says:

"Alma sdegnosa,  
Benedetta colei che in te s' incinse."  
(*Inf.* VIII, 44-45)

Of his high respect for the quality of disdain when rightly directed we have some hint in the figures he has drawn. The angel, who advances across the Styx to impose subjection on the keepers of the gate of the City of Dis, is "pien di disdegno" (*Inf.* IX, 88), and in the *Purgatorio*, Sordello, who becomes under Dante's impression almost a stamp of the Italian patriot, is thus greeted:

"O anima Lombarda,  
Come ti stavi altera e disdegnosa!"  
(*Purg.* VI, 61-62)

which we have seen to be precisely the description given of Dante by Boccaccio.

To Dante, then, disdain, righteous scorn, was not a sin, and had he written the last *trattato* of the *Convivio*, he would no doubt have distinguished it carefully from pride. We need not here enter into a discussion of the latter quality; let it suffice to quote one of the many passages which are brought forward to demonstrate how keenly alive

Dante was to this particular shortcoming, — his words as he enters the circle of Envy, having left that of Pride, —

"Tropo è più la paura, ond' è sospesa  
L' anima mia, del tormento di sotto,  
Che già lo incarco di laggiù mi pesa."  
(*Purg.* XIII, 136-138)

Inasmuch as most of the anecdotes which typify Dante as the *alma sdegnosa* are also examples of his sharpness of tongue, it is not out of place to record at this point the statements of his early biographers with respect to this characteristic. Boccaccio<sup>1</sup> and his amplifier Manetti<sup>2</sup> merely observe that he was "eloquent and copious with excellent and ready delivery" (*eloquentissimo fu e facondo, e con ottima e pronto prola-zione*), but Bruni assures<sup>3</sup> us that he was "very keen in retort" (*nelle sue risposte molto sottile*), and Filelfo, not to be outdone, glibly records: "He was full of *bons mots*, quips, and apothegms"<sup>4</sup> (*Erat autem salium cavillorumque plenissimus et apophthegmatum*) — which would seem, after all, to be more applicable as an encomium of some local *uomo di corte* than of the judge of popes and kings. The few examples we have cited to illustrate his scornful temper in the *Inferno* will be sufficient to show how true to life this tradition was.<sup>5</sup> Let us now look at the anecdotes of Dante which bear out this general belief in his sharp-tongued scorn.

Among the thousands of quaint and curious bits of information garnered in the *Res Memorandae* of Petrarch, there are two pictures of Dante at the court of Can Grande della Scala.<sup>6</sup>

"Dante Alighieri, who was not long since a fellow citizen of mine, was famous as a writer in the vernacular, but through arrogance he was too free in his manners and speech to find favor with the delicate eyes and ears of the princes of our time. And so as an exile, at the court of Can Grande, at that time the common place of refuge for the distressed, he was at first held in honor, but little by little he began to lose favor and to be less pleasing to his host. At table with him there used to sit

<sup>1</sup> *Vita*, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> In Solerti, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> In Solerti, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> In Solerti, p. 175.

<sup>5</sup> There is another phase of Dante's humor, — I mean the playful, the whimsical, — of which tradition took little account and which is often disregarded by modern students. One day I hope to return to this question.

<sup>6</sup> *Res Memorandae*, Basel, 1581, Book II, p. 427; also in Papanti, pp. 31-32. There is a translation in Toynbee's *Dante*, pp. 176-177.



buffoons and low fellows of every sort, as is customary, and one of them, whose words and behavior were especially wanton, was held in great esteem. Can Grande, suspecting that Dante was piqued at this, called the fellow out before the company one day, and when he had showered him with praise, turning to Dante,

" 'I wonder,' he said, 'what is the reason that this witless fellow has skill to please us all and to be loved by us all — a thing which you, who are supposed to be wise, cannot accomplish!'

" Dante retorted,

" 'You would not wonder if you knew that equality of manners and similarity of mind is the cause of friendship.' "

Domenico Bandini (fl. ca. 1400) in a chapter on Dante<sup>1</sup> included in the book *De viris claris* of his still unpublished *Fons memorabilium universi* quotes the story of Petrarch and assigns the episode as the reason for Dante's leaving Verona for Ravenna. The frequent repetition of this and other anecdotes in which Dante scores Can Grande seems to have been the source of this belief in the lack of harmony between them. And yet if we are to interpret Dante's own tribute to his patron in the most obvious way, the words,

" A lui t'aspetta ed ai suoi benefici;  
Per lui fia trasmutata molta gente,  
Cambiano condizion ricchi e mendici,"  
(*Par.* XVII, 88-90)

would point to a very high appreciation of his sense of justice. In all probability, Cacciaguida's prophecy,

" Tu proverai sì come sa di sale  
Lo pane altrui, e com'è duro calle  
Lo scendere e il salir per l'altrui scale,"  
(*Par.* XVII, 58-60)

was a sufficient warrant to the story's being told on Can Grande, even in spite of any inaccuracy. For the tale-monger, finding that Dante was a man of sharp tongue, that he knew the bitterness of a courtier's life and that he had been at the court of Can Grande, it is a perfectly logical conclusion that Dante vented his scorn on Can Grande. Just how was, of course, a matter for each *novelliere* to determine for himself.

<sup>1</sup> In Solerti, p. 93.



As we have already observed, this "bird of a feather" story was very widely repeated of Dante. In a slightly different form it appears in Poggio's *Facetiae*,<sup>1</sup> in a manuscript of Michele Savonarola,<sup>2</sup> grandfather of Girolamo, in the *Facezie*<sup>3</sup> of Lodovico Carbone, in a brief note on Dante in the *Epitoma in vitas scriptorum illustrium latinae linguae* of Sicco Polenton,<sup>4</sup> and finally, as happening at the court of the French king, by Vespasiano da Bisticci.<sup>5</sup> I will quote Dr. Toynbee's translation<sup>6</sup> of Savonarola's version as a specimen of the variants.

"I will tell you the answer made by Dante to a buffoon at the court of the Lord della Scala of Verona, who, having received from his master a fine coat as a reward for some piece of buffoonery showed it to Dante, and said, 'You with all your letters and sonnets and books, never received a present like this.' To which Dante answered, 'What you say is true; and this has fallen to you and not to me, because you have found your likes, and I have not yet found mine. There, you understand that.'"

In this form the story becomes familiar: it is the old anecdote of Marco Lombardo, told in the *Novelle Antiche*,<sup>7</sup> which ends with almost the same words, "You have found more of your likes than I of mine." As an experience of Marco Lombardo it is also recorded in the *Anonimo Fiorentino*<sup>8</sup> comment on the line

"Lombardo fui, e fui chiamato Marco."

(*Purg.* XVI, 46)

Manifestly, then, we have here a well-known anecdote which in time, seeming to accord with the traditional idea of Dante, was associated with his name. As Mr. J. A. Macy remarks in his whimsical paper entitled "The Career of the Joke,"<sup>9</sup> "To express new oil from jests once dry with wit and to-day not too dry with age, it is necessary only to fit

<sup>1</sup> *Facetiae*, London, 1798, pp. 66-67; also in Papanti, pp. 90 and 92.

<sup>2</sup> In Papanti, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Facezie*, ed. Abd-el-Kader Salza, Livorno, 1900, LXXI, pp. 51 ff.; also in Papanti, p. III.

<sup>4</sup> In Solerti, p. 155; added is: "Salsa quidem responsio et mordax."

<sup>5</sup> In Papanti, pp. 116-117.

<sup>6</sup> *Dante*, pp. 177-178.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Biagi, Florence, 1880, cod. Laurenz., XVII, p. 221.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. P. Fanfani, Bologna, 1868, II, 262; also in *Libro di Novelle Antiche*, ed. F. Zambrini, Bologna, 1868, No. LXXVII, p. 200; and Papanti, p. 95.

<sup>9</sup> In *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xcvi (1905), pp. 498-510.

it to modern instances, to apply it locally or to connect it with the name of a contemporary celebrity"; and we shall find that to the retailer of incidents in Dante's career, the mere fact that a tale was first written down a few centuries before is only an added incentive to spur him into a masterly exercise of his ingenuity in making it fit snugly in its new surrounding.

Papanti<sup>1</sup> and Köhler<sup>2</sup> have listed numerous repetitions of this tale in Latin, French, and German, some of them with Dante still as the hero, others once more transferred to a new figure. As far as I can discover, it is the only anecdote which found its way into England. With the rubric, "Nota exemplum cuiusdam poete de Italia qui Dantes vocabatur," Gower gives this version in the *Confessio Amantis*:<sup>3</sup>

"I not if it be ye or nay,  
How Dante the poete answerde  
To a flatrour, the tale I herde,  
Upon a strife betwene hem two  
He said him, there ben many mo  
Of thy servauntes than of min.  
For the poete of his covine  
Hath none, that woll him cloth and fede,  
But a flatrour may reule and lede  
A king with all his londe about.  
So stant the wise man in doubt  
Of hem that to folly drawe,  
For such is now the comun lawe."<sup>4</sup>

But the vicissitudes of these tales are of no particular moment; Petrarch has another to tell.<sup>5</sup>

"On another occasion when he was a guest at a banquet of noble folk, and the master of the feast, who was already merry with wine and well stuffed with food, was sweating copiously, all the while talking a stream of frivolous, false and idle stuff, for some time he listened in angry silence. At last the whole company grew surprised at his silence, and the talkative

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 96-97.

<sup>2</sup> *Ueber Papanti*, etc., pp. 630-633.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Dr. R. Pauli, London, 1851, III, 163.

<sup>4</sup> This is quoted in P. Toynbee, *The Earliest References to Dante in English Literature* (*Miscellanea di Studi Critici in onore di Arturo Graf*), Bergamo, 1903, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Res Memorandae*, pp. 427-428.

fellow, who, by this time, was in a spirit of exaltation at having won distinction as a wit by the consensus of opinion, laid his dripping hands on Dante and said,

" 'What! Did you think that a man who tells the truth is not working?'

" And Dante —

" 'I was wondering why you were in such a sweat.' "

Although this keen retort is repeated in the *Facezie e Motti*<sup>1</sup> and in a garbled form in *La Zucca*<sup>2</sup> of Antonfrancesco Doni as well as the *Detti e fatti di diversi signori*<sup>3</sup> of Lodovico Domenichi, there is apparently no version of it before Petrarch's. The reply is rather too *recherché* to suggest that it was one of the jests bandied about by the idlers in barbers' and apothecaries' shops.

A good old tale, fairly green with age, is one told by Benvenuto da Imola in his comment<sup>4</sup> on

" Credette Cimabue nella pittura

Tener lo campo, ed ora ha Giotto il grido."

(*Purg.* XI, 94-95)

" Once when Giotto, while still a young man, was painting a chapel in Padua, in a place where there had formerly been a theatre or an arena, Dante came in. Giotto took him home full courteously and there Dante saw several ugly-looking little children who looked very much like their father. Dante asked him, 'Worthy master, why is it, I wonder, that although your other faces are so beautiful that we say you have no equal in the art of painting, your own are so ugly?' Giotto answered with a smile, 'I make my pictures (*pingo*) by daylight but I make my children (*fingo*) by night.' This reply amused Dante greatly not because it was original, for it is found in the *Liber Saturnaliū* of Macrobius, but because it seemed in keeping with the man's nature."

Giotto enjoyed no small fame as a wag and he is often the subject of tales.<sup>5</sup> Although the laugh is on Dante in this instance, his question is full of his customary air of superiority. In Macrobius<sup>6</sup> the tale is told of an otherwise unknown painter, one L. Mallius. But it is not necessary

<sup>1</sup> Ed. cit., No. 140, p. 91; also in Papanti, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Id., p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> In Papanti, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. cit., III, 313.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, VI, 5, and Sacchetti, *Novelle*, 63 and 75.

<sup>6</sup> *Saturnalia*, II, 2, 10, ed. Eyssenhardt, Leipzig, 1893, p. 139.

to suppose that this version came directly from him, for we have evidence that this was a well-known pun from its appearance among some Latin stories<sup>1</sup> of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries under the heading "De quodam picture." In fact, it is one of the primitive jests which were probably current in Rome as early as the art of painting.

In the *Commento d' Anonimo Fiorentino* there is told a quick retort of Dante's which has every savor of actuality about it.<sup>2</sup>

"Belacqua was a citizen of Florence, an artisan and manufacturer of necks of lutes and guitars, and he was the laziest man that ever was. The story is told of him that he would come to his shop in the morning and sit down and never get up, except when he wanted to go to dinner or to bed. Now Dante Alighieri was an intimate acquaintance of his and he used to chide him severely for his indolence. And so, one day when he was thus chiding him, Belacqua answered in the words of Aristotle, 'Sedendo et quiescendo anima efficitur sapiens.' To which Dante replied, 'Assuredly, if a man grows wise by sitting still, no man was ever wiser than you.'"<sup>3</sup> Benvenuto in his comment<sup>3</sup> on the same passage (*Purg.* IV, 97 ff.) tells us that Dante frequented his shop because of his fondness for music, "for Belacqua sometimes played." Outside of a translation by Serravalle in his commentary,<sup>4</sup> it is not found elsewhere.

From the pen of Franco Sacchetti, that merry bourgeois of Florence whose *Trecento Novelle* belong in style and artistic polish to a period between the *Novelle Antiche* and the *Decameron*, though they were not written till late in the fourteenth century, we have several stories of Dante which accord with the conception of him which we have been illustrating. The first<sup>5</sup> presents Dante in a part in which we have not thus far found him.

"There was at one time in the city of Genoa, a learned citizen, right well versed in sundry branches of learning; and in person he was small and passing spare. Moreover he was deeply in love with a fair lady of Genoa, who, either because of his spare frame or from her own high

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thomas Wright, *A Selection of Latin Stories from MSS. of the 13th and 14th Centuries*, London, 1842, No. CXXVIII, p. 122. (Quoted by Köhler.)

<sup>2</sup> Ed. cit., II, 74 (on *Purg.* IV, 97 ff.); also in Papanti, p. 45, and Zambrini, *Libro di Novelle Antiche*, ed. cit., No. LXIX, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. cit., III, 133.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. cit., p. 474.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. O. Gigli, Florence, 1888, No. 8, p. 23; also in Papanti, pp. 51-53.

sense of honor or for some other reason, far from loving him, never even turned her eyes on him but rather, to avoid him, would turn them in the opposite direction. Wherefore, despairing of success in this love and hearing of the great renown of Dante Alighieri, and how he dwelt in Ravenna, he minded him to go thither to see him and to become acquainted with him, desiring to secure from him aid or advice, how he might win the lady's love or at least how he might move her to be less hostile to his suit. And so he set forth and came to Ravenna, where after a season he succeeded in obtaining an invitation to a dinner at which Dante was a guest. As they sat at table not far from each other, the Genoese seeing his opportunity said,

"'Messer Dante, I have heard much of your ability and of the renown which is current about you. May I ask you for your advice?'

"Dante replied, 'Provided that I can give it.'

"Then the Genoese said: —

"'I have loved, and still love, a lady with all the loyalty that love demands. Never have I been rewarded by her, — not to mention with her love, — but even with a single glance.'

"Dante, hearing these words and observing his spare appearance, said: 'Messere, willingly would I do anything which would give you pleasure, and touching the matter with regard to which you ask me at this present, I see only one course; that is this: you know that ladies with child always crave strange things and therefore it is necessary that the lady whom you love so dearly be brought to bed with child. If she were with child, — even as it often happens that they have a longing for unusual things, — so it might come to pass that she have a longing for you. In this wise you would be able to fulfill your desire; otherwise it would be impossible.'

"The Genoese, realizing that he was stung, said: 'Messer Dante, you have advised me two things which are more improbable than the original; for it is improbable that the lady be brought to bed with child, inasmuch as this has never yet happened, and if it should happen, it would be far more improbable, considering the divers manners of things which they desire, that she should chance to desire me. But, God knows, no other reply was becoming to my question than that which you have made me.'

"Thus did the Genoese come to understand himself, for Dante had better understood what sort of man he was, than he himself. In truth,

he was of such a sort that well-nigh any lady would have shunned him. And he came to have such acquaintance with Dante that for many days he tarried in his house, dwelling with him in the greatest intimacy. This Genoese was a man of learning but he was not destined to be a philosopher — of the sort we have to-day; inasmuch as philosophy knows all things naturally. And if a man knows not himself first of all, how shall he ever know that which is outside of him? This man had he looked upon himself, be it in the mirror of the mind or in one of matter, would have divined what was his frame and have realized that a fair lady, even though she be chaste, desires that he who loves her shall have the form of a man and not of a bat. But it seems that to most men may be applied the proverb: 'There is no deceit worse than self-deceit.'"

The theme of this story is made the subject of an anecdote, recorded in the *Facezie e Motti*,<sup>1</sup> about one Zanobi di Raphaello Acciaiuolo, who was enamored of a certain Maria di Girolamo Moregli and was put to shame by the same counsel; and the general vagueness of the background is a further reason for making it almost certain that this is another of the perennial stories transplanted to new surroundings.

There is another story of Dante as the purveyor of advice to the love-lorn which I will quote here, although its spirit is quite alien to that of the other tales.

"Aldrovandino Donati, a young man of about Dante's age, once asked him how he might subject to his will the lady whom he loved and for whose sake he had in vain devoted himself to verses of love. Dante answered, 'Do you know, Aldrovandin, my friend, why the nightingale, whose song is sweeter than that of any other bird, spends part of the year pouring out his soft tones day and night, and the rest, is silent?' When Aldrovandino said he did not know, Dante continued, 'So long as he loves, he sings; and as soon as he can satisfy the love for which he lifted such melody to heaven, he ceases every sweet sound. Wherefore, if you are become as virtuous as you say, by virtue of the lady who is so dear to you, to bring her to your will without human virtue — even as the nightingale which is only a bird — would be to nullify all the worth whence so much praise comes to you.'"

<sup>1</sup> Ed. cit., No. 53, p. 46. (I believe no one has cited this parallel.)



First published in 1882 by Pedrazzoli,<sup>1</sup> the tale was said by him to be drawn from a Trecento manuscript containing three anecdotes from Dante. However, I find it also related in the *Life of Dante* by Filelfo<sup>2</sup> toward the end of the fifteenth century, together with some remarks on morals to show that Dante was so continent that he never burned with love for any woman. The fact that it is so strikingly different from the other tales of Dante which appear in the first centuries — and this is also true of one of the other tales found in the same manuscript — inclines me to believe that the date has been erroneously assigned and that it is only a translation of Filelfo. And Filelfo, we know, would not have scrupled to invent a new deluge, if it had been necessary to prove his point.

Two of Sacchetti's tales are variations of one and the same motive — a motive, too, which we shall see has amused many nations.<sup>3</sup>

"That most excellent poet in the vulgar tongue, whose fame will never die, Dante Alighieri of Florence, lived in Florence not far from the Adimari family, one of whom, a young man, got into trouble through some misdoing or other, and was like to be sentenced to punishment by one of the magistrates. As the magistrate was a friend of Dante's, the young man begged the latter to intercede in his favor, which Dante readily consented to do. After dinner Dante went out from his house and started on his way to fulfill his promise. As he passed by the Porta San Piero, a blacksmith was hammering iron on his anvil, and at the same time bawling out some of Dante's verses, leaving out lines here and there, and putting in lines of his own, which seemed to Dante a most monstrous outrage. Without saying a word he went up to the blacksmith's forge, where were kept all the tools he used to ply his trade, and seizing the hammer flung it into the street; then he took the tongs and flung them after the hammer and the scales after the tongs; and did the same with a number of the other tools. The blacksmith, turning around to him with a coarse gesture, said: 'What the devil are you doing? are you mad?' Dante replied: 'What are you doing?' 'I am about my business,' said the smith, 'and you are spoiling my tools by

<sup>1</sup> *Tre motti inediti di Dante (per le nozze Montecchi-Boselli)*, Mantua, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> In Solerti, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Novelle*, ed. cit., CXIV, pp. 274 ff.; also in Papanti, pp. 53 ff. The translation is Dr. Toynbee's, in his *Dante*, pp. 180-183.



throwing them into the street.' Dante retorted: 'If you do not want me to spoil your things, do not you spoil mine.' The smith replied, 'And what of yours am I spoiling?' Dante said, 'You sing out of my book and you do not give the words as I wrote them. That is my business and you are spoiling it for me.' The blacksmith, bursting with rage, but not knowing what to answer, picked up his things and went back to work. And the next time he wanted to sing, he sang of Tristram and Lancelot and let Dante's book alone.

"Dante meanwhile pursued his way to the magistrate; and when he was come to his house and bethought himself that this Adimari was a haughty young man, and behaved with scant courtesy when he went about in the city, especially when he was on horseback (for he used to ride with his legs so wide apart that if the street happened to be narrow he took up the whole of it, forcing every passer-by to brush against the points of his boots—a manner of behavior which greatly displeased Dante, who was very observant), Dante said to the magistrate: 'You have before your court such a young man for such an offence; I recommend him to your favor, though his behavior is such that he deserves to be the more severely punished, for, to my mind, usurping the property of the commonwealth is a very serious crime.' Dante did not speak to deaf ears. The magistrate asked what property of the commonwealth the young man had usurped. Dante answered: 'When he rides through the city he sits on his horse with his legs so wide apart that whoever meets him is obliged to turn back and is prevented from going on his way.' The magistrate said: 'Do you regard this as a joke? It is a more serious offence than the other.' Dante replied: 'Well, you see, I am his neighbor, and recommend him to you.' And he returned to his house, where the young man asked him how the matter stood. Dante said: 'He gave me a favorable answer.' A few days afterward the young man was summoned before the court to answer the charge against him. After the first charge had been read, the judge had the second read also, as to his riding with his legs wide-spread. The young man, perceiving that his penalty would be doubled, said to himself: 'I have made a fine bargain. Instead of being let off through the intervention of Dante, I shall now be sentenced on two counts.' So returning home he went to Dante and said: 'Upon my word, you have served me well! Before you went to the magistrate he had a mind to sentence me on one count; since you

went he is like to sentence me on two,' and in great fury he turned to Dante and said: 'If I am sentenced I shall be able to pay, and sooner or later I will pay out the person who got me sentenced.' Dante replied: 'I did my best for you, and could not have done more if you had been my own son. It is not my fault if the magistrate does not do as you wish.' The young man, shaking his head, returned home, and a few days afterwards was fined a thousand lire for the first offence, and another thousand for riding with his legs wide-spread — a thing he never ceased to resent, both he and all the rest of the Adimari. And this was the principal reason why, not long after, Dante was expelled from Florence as a member of the White party, and eventually died in exile at Ravenna, to the lasting shame of his native city."

Early in the third century of our era, when scholarship was beginning to sink to the age of commentaries and compendiums, Diogenes Laërtius gathered together a formidable array of facts in his *Lives of Famous Philosophers*, and there, in his life of Arcesilaus, he briefly states the theme of this story.<sup>1</sup> The original protagonist was Philoxenus of Alexandria and he, "having overheard some brickmakers singing his songs badly, trampled on their bricks, saying, 'As you ruin my property, so I yours'" (*ὡς ὑμεῖς τὰ ἐμὰ διαφθείρετε, οὕτω καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα*). Once more, in the first part of the fourteenth century, it turns up, this time in the *Libro del cavallero et del escudero*<sup>2</sup> of Don Juan Manuel, where the angry versifier is a *cavallero de Perpinnan* and the unwitting victim is a cobbler. Papanti also calls attention<sup>3</sup> to the fact that since Dante's time it has been told of Ariosto — the best natured of men — by Blanchard in his *Plutarque de la jeunesse*.

If the first part of the anecdote is only an adaptation of a time-worn "chestnut," the latter part records an event for which there is some degree of probability. Balbo, in his *Vita di Dante*,<sup>4</sup> was the first, I believe, to suggest that the young man of the Adimari family may have been Filippo Argenti, "il fiorentino spirito bizzarro," who, we have seen before, was treated with such bitter scorn by Dante. The early

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Cobet, Paris, 1850 (*Scriptorum Graecorum Bibliotheca*), Bk. IV, chap. 6, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. S. Gräfenberg, *Romanische Forschungen*, VII (1891-1893), pp. 443-444; also in J. D. M. Ford, *Old Spanish Readings*, Boston, 1906, pp. 52-53.

<sup>3</sup> P. 62.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. cit., p. 188.

commentators<sup>1</sup> on the passage in the *Inferno* (VIII, 32), almost without exception, state that Filippo was one of the Adimari, and Boccaccio<sup>2</sup> has an explanation of his nickname "Argenti." "This Filippo Argenti," he says, "was very rich, so that sometimes he had his horse shod with silver (*d'ariento*) and from this was taken his nickname. He was a man of huge frame, dark-skinned and sinewy and of marvelous strength and exceedingly wrathful."<sup>3</sup> This picture certainly accords closely with Sacchetti's and, although the latter's closing words about the cause of Dante's exile are far-fetched, this ill feeling between the two would offer a not unreasonable explanation for the almost personal venom which Dante displays toward him in their brief colloquy on the Styx.<sup>4</sup>

The other story of Sacchetti's makes a donkey-driver the object of Dante's ire.<sup>5</sup>

"On another occasion, as Dante was walking through the streets of Florence on no particular errand, and, according to the custom of the day, was wearing a gorget and arm-piece, he met a donkey-driver whose donkeys were loaded with refuse. As he walked behind the donkeys, the driver sang some of Dante's verses, and after every two or three lines he would beat one of the donkeys and cry out: 'Arri!' ('Get-up'). Dante going up to him gave him a great thump on the back with his arm-piece and said: 'That *arri* was not put in by me.' The driver not knowing who Dante was, nor why he had struck him, only beat his donkeys the more, and again cried out, 'Arri!' But when he had got a little way off, he turned around and put out his tongue at Dante and 'made the fig' with his hand saying, 'Take that!'<sup>6</sup> Dante seeing this, said to him: 'I would not give one word of mine for a hundred of yours.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Scartazzini's edition of the *Divina Commedia*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>2</sup> *Comento*, II, 150.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Decameron*, IX, 8 (Florence, 1904, II, 323 ff.), where Filippo is described as "uomo grande e nerboruto e forte, sdegnoso, iracundo e bizzarro più che altro."

<sup>4</sup> For further discussion cf. A. Bartolini, *Studi Danteschi*, Siena, 1889, I, 97-108, and G. Federzoni, *Studi e Diporti Danteschi*, Bologna, 1902, pp. 337 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Novelle*, ed. cit., CXV, pp. 276-277; also in Papanti, pp. 57-58. Toynbee's translation.

<sup>6</sup> Papanti points out (p. 64) that this gesture and retort are found in the *Novelle Antiche* (ed. cit., p. 229), told of a certain Messer Beriuolo and a lackey. One thinks, too, of Vanni Fucci, defiant under his torment, like Beëlzebub:

"Le mani alzò con ambedue le fiche,

Gridando: 'Togli, Iddio, chè a te le squadro.'

(*Inf.* XXV, 2-3)

Oh! gentle words, worthy of a philosopher! Most people would have run after the donkey-driver with threats and abuse; or would have thrown stones at him. But the wise poet confounded the donkey-driver, and at the same time won the commendation of every one who had witnessed what took place."

Quite as ancient as the tales of the poet and the unhappy singer is one which appears in a new garb in the *Novelle* of Giovanni Sercambi of Lucca.<sup>1</sup>

"In the days when King Robert of Naples was still alive, Dante, the poet of Florence, having been forbidden to live in his native city or anywhere within the States of the Church, took refuge sometimes with the Della Scala family at Verona, and sometimes with the Lord of Mantua, but oftenest with the Duke of Lucca, namely Messer Castruccio Castracani. And inasmuch as the fame of the said Dante's wisdom had been noised abroad, King Robert was desirous of having him at his court, in order that he might judge of his wisdom and virtue; wherefore he sent letters to the Duke, and likewise to Dante, begging him to consent to come. And Dante having decided to go to King Robert's court, set out from Lucca and made his way to Naples, where he arrived, dressed, as poets mostly are, in somewhat shabby garments. When his arrival was announced to King Robert, he was sent for by the King; and it was just the hour of dinner as Dante entered the room where the King was. After hands had been washed and places taken at table, the King sitting at his own table and the barons at theirs, at the last Dante was placed in the lowest seat of all. Dante, being a wise man, saw at once how little sense the King showed. Nevertheless, being hungry, he ate, and after he had eaten, he, without waiting, took his departure, and set out towards Ancona on his way back to Tuscany. When King Robert had dined, and rested somewhat, he inquired what had become of Dante, and was informed that he had left and was on his way towards Ancona. The King, knowing that he had not paid Dante the honor which was his due, supposed that he was indignant on that account and said to himself: 'I have done wrong: after sending for him, I ought to have done him honor, and then I should have learned from him what I wanted.' He therefore without delay sent some of his own servants after him, who caught up with him before he reached Ancona. Having received the King's letter, Dante turned round and went back to Naples, and dressing

<sup>1</sup> Ed. A. D'Ancona, Bologna, 1871, IX, pp. 62-66; also in Papanti, pp. 65-67.

himself in a very handsome garment, presented himself before King Robert. At dinner the King placed him at the head of the first table, which was alongside of his own; and Dante, finding himself at the head of the table, resolved to make the King understand what he had done. Accordingly, when the meat and wine were served, Dante took the meat and smeared it over the breast of his dress, and the wine he smeared over his clothes in like manner. King Robert and the barons who were present, seeing this, said, 'This man must be a good-for-nothing; what does he mean by smearing the wine and gravy over his clothes?' Dante heard how they were abusing him but held his peace. Then the King, who had observed all that passed, turned to Dante and said: 'What is this that I have seen you doing? How can you, who are reputed to be so wise, indulge in such nasty habits?' Dante, who had hoped for some remark of this kind, replied: 'Your Majesty, I know that this great honor which you now show me, is paid not to me, but to my clothes; consequently I thought that my clothes ought to partake of the good things you provided. You must see that what I say is the case, for I am just as wise now, I suppose, as when I was set at the bottom of the table, because of my shabby clothes; and now that I have come back, neither more nor less wise than before, because I am well dressed, you place me at the head of the table.' King Robert, recognizing that Dante had rebuked him justly, and had spoken the truth, ordered fresh clothes to be brought for him, and Dante after changing his dress ate his dinner, delighted at having made the King see his own folly. When dinner was over, the King took Dante aside, and, making proof of his wisdom, found him to be even wiser than he had been told; wherefore King Robert paid Dante great honor and kept him at his court, in order that he might have further experience of his wisdom and virtue."

Although this anecdote is not found in classic literature, it is widely spread throughout Europe and Asia, appearing (at times in a slightly varied form) in the *De contemptu mundi*<sup>1</sup> of Innocent III, written between 1190 and 1198, in the so-called *Liber de Donis*<sup>2</sup> of Étienne de Bourbon (thirteenth century), and in the *Jests* of Nasr-eddin Hodja,<sup>3</sup> a

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Achterfeldt, Bonn, 1855, Bk. ii, § 39, pp. 113-114; also in Papanti, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris, 1877, No. 507, p. 438.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Plaisanteries, traduites du turc par Decourdemanche*, Paris, 1876, No. LV, p. 48.



Turkish collection of about the fourteenth century. Since Dante's time it has been often repeated of one philosopher or another and it also appears in Sicilian folklore in the *Nuvella di Giufà*.<sup>1</sup>

Before discussing Dante's relation to Robert of Naples, we may well quote another anecdote of Sercambi's purporting to have taken place at the same court.<sup>2</sup>

"You have heard in the preceding tale how King Robert of Naples, out of curiosity to see Dante and to gain experience of his wisdom, called him to his court. And having learned that he was wise he wished to test whether he was strong in suffering insult. He planned to provoke him by means of his buffoons; summoning six of them before him, he bade them bait Dante till he grew angry. However, he would not that they say or do anything offensive but only that they try him with jesting words. The buffoons, who are naturally quick and cunning, undertook to enrage Dante with some jests; and at the same time, they thought to vilify his learning in a decent manner. Having laid their plans, each one of them, arrayed in fair garments, entered into the presence of the King and Dante. The King, who was aware of their intention, taking Dante by the hand, walked up and down the room with him, questioning him anon, until the buffoons, approaching the King, said: 'Your Majesty, we marvel that you are so familiar with this prelate who seems to be a man of small worth.' The King said: 'What! Do you not know that he is the wisest man in Italy?' The buffoons said: 'Tell us how that is. Is he Solomon?' 'He is Dante,' answered the King. 'Well, well!' said one of the buffoons. 'Who would have thought it! He looks like one of those low fellows from Florence and I am not sure that he is wise enough to know that the Arno flows backward so that little fish may be caught at Monte Murlo.'

"Before he had stopped, the second began, 'Your Majesty, if Dante is as wise as he holds, I wish that he would tell me why a black hen lays a white egg.'

" 'How well you have spoken, comrade,' said the third, 'for if Dante is the wise man he pretends to be, when he has answered your question, he will tell me why the ass lays square dung from a round opening.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Laura Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, Leipzig, 1870, No. 37, I, 258-259; also given in T. F. Crane, *Italian Popular Tales*, Boston, 1885, p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> *Novelle*, ed. cit., No. X, p. 67; also in Papanti, pp. 67-71.

"The King stops and is tempted to laugh, but to conceal the cause from Dante he refrained. Dante, who had recognized the buffoons at first sight, saw that the King was at the bottom of it and thought how he might make reply to all the questions by a figure of speech, casting all the shame on the King.

"The fourth buffoon, hearing the subtle and profound questions, turns toward Dante and says: 'Dante, your fame flies in every direction, like feathers tossed from a tower — one going up, another down, this way and that; tell me, what do the planets do?'

"The fifth buffoon says: 'Assuredly Dante must know, having searched thoroughly within and without, how a man may serve God and the world.'

"The last one says: 'Oh King, I have heard that Dante is wise; for my part I do not believe it, inasmuch as the wise man always gains, and gaining, lives in honor, while *he* lives in shameful fashion. Therefore, realizing that each one of you has greater understanding than he, I count it unbecoming, your Majesty, that he should go thus on terms of equality with you.'

"Dante who had swallowed it all without the least sign of anger, said nothing, as though it had not been addressed to him.

"'Dante,' says King Robert, 'are you not going to answer what these men have asked and said to you?'

"'I thought that they were talking to you, Sire,' says Dante, 'and therefore I left the answer to you. But since you say that they were speaking to me, I will undertake the task of answering, although it little becomes me to speak of such matters in your presence, for it were rather fitting for such as you to make answer. But since it is your pleasure, I will answer them all — according to the content of their question. Beginning with the first, then, how the Florentines have made the Arno flow backward to catch little fish, I say, that they turned back the sea, which is water of great power, and far from catching small fish, they caught one large one and many medium-sized and smaller ones — and that was when they captured the fair castle of Prato, where the king who was lord of it was captured.'

"When King Robert heard this, he saw the truth of it and said, 'Pay me back in my own coin; I am listening.'

"Turning to the second buffoon Dante said: 'Every realm, however large it may be, as King Robert knows, pretends to be the egg of the cage; that is, every lord should be subject to the Empire.'



"King Robert, who was an ardent Guelph, realized that he was aiming at him.

"Then to the third: 'The round,' he said, 'cannot rationally be unequally distant from the centre, but is everywhere equally distant, and anything which is transformed from the round may be said to be adulterated. Therefore, I say that the court in which there are adulterers, that is, men who are deformed from the round, that is from the realm, may be called square dung, and consequently the man who supports them may be considered an ass and not a lord.' The King, understanding these words, counted Dante to be wise, as having perceived the trick.

"Then turning to the fourth buffoon, Dante said, 'You have asked me of other things; I answer you this: that you are not capable of understanding what you ask, but a man who believes he is capable and has the desire will never care to have acquaintance with hidden things, if he consorts with buffoons like you.' King Robert, who was always desirous of knowing, saw that Dante's words were meant for him.

"The fifth buffoon was standing on tip-toe in his eagerness to hear the solution of his question. Dante said: 'I will show you how you may win Paradise and Hell; hold your head in Rome and your other end in Naples'—as much as to say, 'in Rome all things are holy; in Naples all the ladies and all the men are given over to desire and lust.' In this way, the King understood that in Naples there was not a lady nor a man who was free from the vice of lust.

"Desirous of giving his answer to all, Dante turned to the last buffoon, saying, 'If Dante found as many lunatics as you find, he would be better garbed than you, for naturally sense ought to be held in higher esteem than lunatics and buffoons.'

"At this the King said: 'Are we who keep buffoons then, lunatics?'

"'If you love virtue,' answered Dante, 'you are mad to follow this present custom of consuming your substance on such fellows.'

"The King and the buffoons saw that Dante had put them to shame, and the King turning to Dante, said: 'Now I perceive that your ability is greater than was reported,' and he told him the plan he had employed with his buffoons saying, 'Now I would have you remain in my court.' And he honored him with gifts.

"In this wise did Dante out-wit the buffoons and bring the King to a better understanding."

To speak truth, Sercambi has not greatly enhanced our esteem of Dante by this tale; the answers are badly strained — sometimes so far as to break with sense. But it is reminiscent of the discussion in Paris of which Boccaccio told,<sup>1</sup> with its fourteen propositions and refutations. As for Dante's having been at the court of Robert, there is absolutely no reason for thinking that there is any truth in the statement of Sercambi. Filelfo does say<sup>2</sup> that one of Dante's embassies took him "ad regem Parthenopæum"; but this could not have been Robert, who did not receive the crown until 1309, and for that matter, Filelfo is negligible as far as the truth is concerned. Furthermore, it is hardly within the realm of the probable that Dante would have accepted an invitation from the king whose representative as governor of Florence renewed the decree of exile against him in 1315,<sup>3</sup> although he refers to him without bitterness in the *Paradiso* (VIII, 76 ff.). On the whole, it looks as though Sercambi was prompted by a desire to portray the great Ghibelline outwitting a famous Guelph and at the same time to heap a little general abuse on Naples and the Neapolitans — a manifestation of local pride and spirit which we have observed before and which has always been prevalent among the Italian *novellieri*.

In his lively, though vulgar, collection of strange events and cute sayings, the *Facetiae*, Poggio Bracciolini has left us three anecdotes of Dante. One<sup>4</sup> — that of the "birds of a feather" — we have already discussed; the other two supplement the conception of Dante which informs the tales we have already cited.

"Once at a dinner with the elder and the younger Cane della Scala, the servants of both the lords, with a view to provoking Dante, covertly placed all the bones at his feet. When the table was removed the whole company turned toward Dante in wonder that the bones should be seen only before him. With his usual readiness in retort, he said: 'It is not at all strange if the dogs (*Canes*) ate their bones; but I am not a dog.'"<sup>5</sup>

Here again is a venerable old story, rejuvenated to apply to Dante. A wag at the court of Ptolemy Euergetes — one Tryphon by name — plays the same trick on Hyrcanus, according to the story told by Flavius Josephus<sup>6</sup> in his *Jewish Antiquities*, and Hyrcanus retorts: "Oh

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 32.    <sup>2</sup> In Solerti, p. 184.    <sup>3</sup> Cf. Carpenter, *Documents*, No. XI, pp. 51-53.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. pp. 40-42.

<sup>5</sup> *Facetiae*, ed. cit., p. 67; also in Papanti, p. 92.

<sup>6</sup> *Opera omnia*, ed. Bekker, Leipzig, 1856, III, 92 (*Antiquities*, XII, 4, 9).

King, dogs are wont to eat the bones with the meat even as these fellows, but men eat the meat" (*εἰκότως ὦ δέσποτα τοὺς μὲν γὰρ κύνας τὰ ὀστᾶ σὺν τοῖς κρέασι κατεσθίειν ὥσπερ οὗτοι . . . οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι τὸ κρέας ἐσθίουσι*). In the Middle Ages the tale is told of two buffoons in the *Disciplina Clericalis*<sup>1</sup> of Petrus Alfonsus and in two early verse redactions in French called "Le chastolement d'un père à son fils" under the caption *De deus juglors*. In the popular tradition it is found in the fabliau of *Les deux parasites*. Papanti quotes an analogous tale from the popular Persian stock:

"A King was eating dates along with his Wuzeer, and flung all the stones near the latter. When they had done, the King said to the Wuzeer, 'Thou art a great glutton, to have such a number of date stones before thee.' The Wuzeer answered, 'No, the Asylum of the World has a voracious appetite, having left neither dates nor stones.'"

Poggio's version was several times imitated by later Italian tale-tellers and one, Lodovico Carbone,<sup>2</sup> naïvely suggests how the story came to be told, for his account ends, "And this he said because his host's name was *Cane* (dog)." The rest of the story is easily built with this foundation.

The other story of Poggio's illustrates a further characteristic of Dante.<sup>3</sup>

"When our poet Dante was an exile in Siena, he was standing one day in the Church of the Frati Minori with his elbows on an altar, buried in thought of some secret matter. A troublesome fellow came up to ask a question. Dante said: 'Tell me, what is the greatest of all the brutes?' 'Why, the elephant!' said he. 'Elephant,' said Dante, 'leave me alone and do not annoy me, for my mind is busy with matters of more import than your chatter.'"

Aside from the references we have already made to Dante's habit of burying himself in his own thoughts, we have the testimony of Boccaccio,<sup>4</sup> who says: "He delighted to be alone and far removed from all folk, that his contemplations might not be broken in upon; and if some thought that pleased him well should come to him when in company, howsoever he should be questioned about aught, he would answer his questioner

<sup>1</sup> These tales are all recorded in Papanti, pp. 168-172.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. cit., No. LXX, p. 50. This and others may be found in Papanti, pp. 112, 139, and 166.

<sup>3</sup> *Facetiae*, ed. cit., p. 129; also in Papanti, pp. 92-93. For imitations, see Papanti, pp. 129, 148, and 177.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita*, p. 45.

never a word until he had either accepted or rejected this his imagination. And many times this chanced to him as he sat at table, or was journeying with companions and elsewhere too, when questioned." In a later anecdote<sup>1</sup> we shall see a charge of heresy brought against him, as a result of this abstraction.

There are several short *motti* attributed to Dante which should be placed among the anecdotes which bring into prominence his sharpness of speech.

From an anonymous pen<sup>2</sup> we have this boorish reply.

"A peasant, whom Dante asked what time it was, answered: 'It is time to water the cattle' (*bestie*). Dante retorted: 'What are you doing, then?'"

Filelfo tells us:<sup>3</sup>

"When Gieri del Bello once asked Dante who was the wisest man in the city, he received this answer: 'It is he who is most hated by the fools.'"

And again, to demonstrate his readiness in repartee, he spins this yarn:<sup>4</sup>

"When someone objected that Florence was being badly governed, inasmuch as it was suffering from a famine, while Siena was enjoying a season of plenty, he said, 'Perhaps corn is cheaper at Cortona too,' meaning that Florence was so great and so wealthy that things could not be so cheap there as in rural districts where there is a dearth of money."

It is hardly conceivable that so extensive a body of stories, all of which are expressions of the same characteristic, should have grown up in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries apart from a popular tradition. We have an additional proof of the existence of such a tradition in the fact that such of the stories as are repeated show slight variations in treatment or expression—a condition not likely to appear unless they had been told from hearsay. There are, too, some signs of that popular exaggeration which verges on the legend. The Dante who lived in the memory of the men and women of the Trecento and Quattrocento was not the trembling lover of Beatrice, but the proud figure who sounded the depths of the *Inferno*, the *alma sdegnosa*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Facezie e Motti*, ed. cit., No. 148, p. 94; also in Papanti, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> In Solerti, p. 175; also in Pedrazzoli, *Tre Motti di Dante*, ed. cit.

<sup>4</sup> In Solerti, p. 175.

## CHAPTER IV

### DANTE'S SIN

Of a very different type is the tradition which appears not long after Dante's death, bringing against him the charge of licentiousness. In the *Vita* of Boccaccio we have this general statement: <sup>1</sup> "Amid all the virtue, amid all the knowledge that hath been shown above to have belonged to this wondrous poet, lechery found most ample place not only in the years of his youth, but also of his maturity; the which vice, though it be natural, and common, and scarce to be avoided, yet in truth is so far from being commendable that it cannot be suitably excused." The *Compendio* is more explicit; <sup>2</sup> having told of Dante's love for Beatrice, the story continues: "Nor was this the only love with which our poet burned, but he was rather greatly subject to this passion. We find that in his more mature years he often sighed for other women and, especially after his exile during his stay in Lucca, for a maiden whom he names Pargoletta; and furthermore toward the end of his life in the mountains of the Casentino for a mountain girl, who — if I am not falsely informed — although fair in countenance, had a goitre. And for one or the other of these he wrote full many praiseworthy works in rhyme."

Serravalle, who derives most of the contents of his *Preambula* from Boccaccio, repeats <sup>3</sup> the statement about the maid of Lucca named Pargoletta (*philocaptus in Luca de una alia puella, nomine Pargoletta*), and Manetti, deriving his matter, as usual, from the *Vita* not the *Compendio*, makes the general charge <sup>4</sup> (*Lascivis aliquantulum amoribus obnoxium plus indulsisse visus est quam viro philosopho convenire videretur*), going on to remark that Socrates had been accused of the same offense. In his comment on Beatrice's reproof of Dante, the author of the *Ottimo Commento* lists certain of Dante's loves; <sup>5</sup> "Beatrice says that neither the maiden whom in his verses he called Pargoletta nor that Lisetta nor that

<sup>1</sup> *Vita*, pp. 61-62.

<sup>2</sup> *Compendio*, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. cit., p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> In Solerti, pp. 140-141.

<sup>5</sup> *Ottimo Commento*, ed. Accademici della Crusca, Pisa, 1827-1829, II, 549.

other mountain maid nor any other ought to have weighed downward the feathers of his wings."

Even more atrocious are the villanies charged to his account by some of the early commentators. Pietro Alighieri has two passages of this sort: one<sup>1</sup> as an explanation of the *corda* which Dante ungirds to lower to Geryon, "verum quia fraudem solum commiserat circa deceptiones mulierum, ideo fingit in chordula, hoc est quia zona luxuria figuratur"; the other<sup>2</sup> in his comment on Pyramus and Thisbe (*Purg.* XXVII, 37 ff.), "nota auctorem in hoc vitio [defloratione virginum] fuisse multum implicitum." All of the early commentators agree with Pietro in calling the *corda* the symbol of Dante's deceit of women.<sup>3</sup> There is also a somewhat related statement in the *Liber de Theleutologio*, where, under the subject of "Luxuria et ejus effectibus," the author says,<sup>4</sup> "Haec illa est quae Dantem Alagherii . . . adulterinis amplexibus venenavit."

In beginning I remarked that this tradition was of a very different sort from that which recalled his disdainful spirit. This is apparent in several respects. In the first place, that it was not a universally accepted belief is evidenced by Bruni's definite contradiction:<sup>5</sup> "He consorted in his youth with amorous swains and was himself too engaged in the passion, not by way of wantonness but in gentleness of heart." Filelfo's defense<sup>6</sup> we must discard on principle. Moreover, all of the specific charges made are based on Dante's own works. So, the reference to Gentucca by Bonagiunta da Lucca,

" 'Femmina è nata, e non porta ancor benda,'  
Cominciò ei, 'che ti farà piacere  
La mia città, come ch' uom la prenda, '"

immediately following the words

" — e non so che ' Gentucca '  
Sentiva io là,"

(*Purg.* XXIV, 37-38)

<sup>1</sup> *Commentarium*, ed. V. Nannucci, Florence, 1846, p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 489.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Scartazzini, *Commedia*, p. 155.

<sup>4</sup> In Solerti, p. 30, n. 1. N. Zingarelli, in *La Data del Teletologio* (*Studi di Letteratura Italiana*, I, 180 ff.), suggests that this phrase had best be taken metaphorically as referring to *luxuria*.

<sup>5</sup> In Solerti, p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> In Solerti, p. 163.



combined with the reference to a "Pargoletta" by Beatrice (*Purg.* XXXI, 59), was certainly the source of Boccaccio's statement in the *Compendio*. The "mountain maid" is, of course, drawn from the famous canzone "Amor, dacchè convien pur ch'io mi doglia" (XI), and "Lisetta," named in the *Ottimo*, is apparently from the sonnet "Per quella via che la bellezza corre" (XLIV).

Probably Beatrice's reproof and Dante's confession of error are the principal source for all of these statements. It is outside the province of this study to enter into a discussion of the true meaning of the passage,<sup>1</sup> which has so long vexed commentators and interpreters. From those who understand his faithlessness to have been only his devotion to poetry or philosophy to those who would have it refer to one sin or other of the flesh, there is a far cry. Whatever may have been Dante's meaning, Boccaccio and certain other writers of the years immediately after Dante's death, interpreted it in its sensual aspect. I have been inclined to believe that Boccaccio was led to accept this interpretation the more readily because he found in the "Life" of Virgil, prefixed to the Commentary of Donatus, a statement<sup>2</sup> that Virgil was "libidinis in pueros prunior." There can be little doubt that Boccaccio was familiar with this "Life"; his own story of the dream of Dante's mother, of which we shall speak later,<sup>3</sup> is apparently an imitation of that told of Virgil's mother in this same work. Finding, then, that lust was charged to Virgil, he naturally would be less moved to scruple to attribute a similar sin to his confessed pupil.

In the tradition outside of men of letters this conception of Dante never gained any hold in Italy. There is not a single reference to it in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and after that time the few tales which do reflect on Dante's reputation — scabrous colloquies with prostitutes for the most part — are rather signs of the general literary degeneracy of the times than evidence of any popular belief that they accorded with Dante.

<sup>1</sup> Kraus, *Dante*, pp. 147-151, has a thorough discussion.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nettlehip, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. pp. 76-79.



## CHAPTER V

### DANTE AND THE CLERGY

"Questi fur cherchi, che non han coperchio  
Piloso al capo, e Papi e Cardinali —"

Virgil tells Dante, as they pass a tonsured group, pushing weights by force of chest in the Circle of the Avaricious, and tradition, prompted by his daring here and by his frequent invectives against the clergy who were still alive, — for the average man is always a bit gratified at the discomfiture of those in authority, — invented some tales of his own personal experience. So we hear from Benvenuto da Imola:<sup>1</sup>

"At a dinner in Verona an inquisitive fellow asked him, 'How is it learned sir, that a man who has once been shipwrecked goes to sea again, that a woman who has borne a child is willing to conceive again, that so many thousands of poor men do not swallow up the few rich?' Dante, fearing lest he be charged with error by the less intelligent guests, wisely avoided offering a solution and answered: 'Add this: why do princes and kings of the earth reverently kiss the foot of the son of a washer-woman or a barber, when he has been made Pope?'"

The story is nowhere else told and, in point of fact, has its answer in at least two passages of the *Divina Commedia*, which reveal how deep was his respect for the papal authority. To Nicholas III he cries:

"E se non fosse, che ancor lo mi vieta  
La riverenza delle somme chiavi,  
Che tu tenesti nella vita lieta,  
I' userei parole ancor più gravi,"  
(*Inf.* XIX, 100-103)

and in answer to Hadrian V's question as to why he kneeled, he says:

"Per vostra dignitate  
Mia coscienza dritto mi rimorse."  
(*Purg.* XIX, 131-132)

But the story is typical of Dante's attitude toward the popes as men.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. cit., III, 514 (on *Purg.* XIX, 127); also in Papanti, p. 38.

The unmasking of a Franciscan friar through Dante's penetration is the theme of a tale found in a Trecento manuscript in the Biblioteca Riccardiana.<sup>1</sup>

"While Dante was staying at the court of a certain lord on terms of the greatest intimacy, he noticed that a Franciscan friar, an excellent Christian and a man of parts, withal, who enjoyed a great reputation for spiritual living, frequented the court and often went to visit the gentleman's wife, frequently remaining alone with her in her apartments, with the door locked. Dante, deeming that this intimacy was not wholly honorable, out of love for his host could not refrain from telling him frankly of the affair. The husband told him that the friar was looked upon almost as a saint. Thereupon Dante returned to him on the following day, and on that very day and at that very hour the friar arrived and after a short stay with the gentleman went to visit the lady. When the friar had departed, Dante seeing when he had gone, approached his host and gave him these four verses, which induced the said gentleman to order, to his honor, that henceforth the said friar should not go to visit his wife without him. And he had the verses written in many places in his palace. The verses are as follows :

" Chi nella pelle d' un monton fasciasse  
 Un lupo, e fra le pecore 'l mettesse,  
 Dimmi, cre' tu, perchè monton paresse,  
 Ched ei però le pecore salvasse? "

The quatrain about which this story has been built has had a complicated history. First published together with the anecdote by Lami<sup>2</sup> in 1756, it was reprinted alone as Dante's composition in Trucchi's<sup>3</sup> *Poesie italiane* in 1846. In the latter edition there is also printed a mutilated sonnet of which this is the first quatrain. Viani, publishing an edition of the *Rime*<sup>4</sup> of Bindo Bonichi, a didactic Siennese poet of the early fourteenth century, in 1867, on the authority of a Laurentian manuscript which gives the sonnet complete, restored it to Bindo, the more readily,

<sup>1</sup> Papanti, pp. 40-41; also in Zambrini, *Libro di Novelle Antiche*, ed. cit., No. XIII, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum*, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Poesie italiane inedite*, Prato, 1846, I, 296.

<sup>4</sup> *Rime*, ed. P. Viani, Bologna, 1867 (*Curiosità letteraria*, LXXXII), Sonnet XX, p. 184, and note on pp. 150-151.

as he says, "because Bonichi's muse was accustomed to find delight in heaping scorn on the clergy of his time, as may be seen in his sonnets." Bindo's version runs:

" Chi nella pelle d' un monton fasciasse  
 Un lupo, e tra le pecore 'l mettesse,  
 Dimmi, cre' tu, perchè monton paresse,  
 Ched' e' perciò le pecore servasse?  
 O delle carni lor e' non mangiasse,  
 Come più tosto giugner le potesse,  
 Purchè 'l pastore non se n' accorgesse,  
 Qualunque e l' una non la divorasse?  
 Io prego ognun, che del guardar s' ammanni  
 Da questi cota' frati ripentuti,  
 Che ad ingannare altrui portan gli panni.  
 Giuroti in fede mia, se Dio m' aiuti,  
 Che la lor santità è pur d' inganni,  
 E di ciò molti esempi n' ho veduti."

Two French scholars<sup>1</sup> had already pointed out that the quatrain is a rough translation of a speech of Faux-semblant in the *Roman de la Rose*:<sup>2</sup>

" Qui de la toison dan Belin,  
 En leu de mantel sebelin  
 Sire Ysangrin afubleroit,  
 Li leu qui mouton sembleroit,  
 S'il o les brebis demorast,  
 Cuidiés vous qu' il nes devorast? "

and the rest of the sonnet of Bindo Bonichi is a free version of the following lines in the *Roman*. When Castets published an unedited manuscript in 1881, containing a series of sonnets called *Il Fiore*,<sup>3</sup> by one Durante, which was frankly a version of the *Roman de la Rose*, and one of the sonnets of Falsenbiant began,

" Chi della pelle del monton fasciasse  
 I[l] lupo e tralle pecore il mettesse,  
 Credete voi perche monton paresse  
 Che de le pecore e' non divorasse? "

<sup>1</sup> Th. Puymaigre, *Poètes et romanciers de la Lorraine*, Paris, 1848, p. 10; and E. J. B. Rathery, *L'influence de l'Italie sur les lettres françaises*, Paris, 1853, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Marteau, Orleans, 1878, III, 76, ll. 11511-11516.

<sup>3</sup> *Il Fiore par Durante*, ed. F. Castets, Montpellier, 1881, Sonnet XCVII. Cf. note, pp. 153-155.

the whole question of the authorship of the *Fiore* was made to hang on the other quatrain. Not to enter at length into the various arguments,<sup>1</sup> it seems unlikely that the *Fiore* is Dante's work and still more improbable that the isolated quatrain is from his hand. Possibly Bonichi's sonnet was mutilated by some cleric who desired to destroy the allusion to the fraternity and in its truncated form gave rise to the tale we have quoted. The belief that Dante was the author may have been facilitated by similar figures used by Dante himself in referring to the clergy in such passages as,

"il maladetto fiore  
Ch' ha disviate le pecore e gli agni,  
Perocchè fatto ha lupo del pastore,"

(Par. IX, 130-132)

or

"In vesta di pastor lupi rapaci  
Si veggion di quassù per tutti i paschi."

(Par. XXVII, 55-56)

Troya<sup>2</sup> tells us that the lord at whose court the incident took place was Guido Salvatico di Casentino, and the lady, the Countess Caterina, his wife, a statement for which Trucchi quotes<sup>3</sup> a manuscript as authority, but the whole account is probably the invention of some well-meaning commentator who desired to explain the genesis of this isolated verse and was conscious that Dante had little love for the representatives of the Church, outside of their spiritual capacity.

His frequent invectives against both popes and prelates need not be discussed here; they form a thread which runs through all of his works. Carducci remarks<sup>4</sup> that this Voltairian characteristic was one of the chief causes of the charge of heresy which was brought against him after his death. According to Boccaccio,<sup>5</sup> the *De Monarchia* was the cause of the accusation and he even says that Dante's remains were in jeopardy. The anecdote is worth repeating.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. Mazzoni, *Se possa Il Fiore essere di Dante Alighieri (Raccolta di studij critici dedicata ad A. D'Ancona)*, Florence, 1901, pp. 657 ff., and F. D'Ovidio, *Se possa Il Fiore essere di Dante Alighieri (Nuovi studii danteschi)*, Milan, 1907, pp. 567 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Del Veltro Allegorico*, ed. cit., p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> *Poesie italiane*, I, 296.

<sup>4</sup> *Della varia fortuna di Dante (Studi letterari)*, Livorno, 1880, p. 277.

<sup>5</sup> *Vita*, p. 73.

"This book was condemned several years after the author's death by Messer Beltrando, Cardinal of Poggetto, and papal legate in the parts of Lombardy; Pope John XXII being in the Chair. And the reason was because Lewis, Duke of Bavaria, chosen King of the Romans by the electors of Germany, came to Rome for his coronation, against the pleasure of the said Pope John, and being in Rome, he made a minor friar, called brother Piero della Corvara, Pope, in violation of the ordinances of the Church, and he made many cardinals and bishops; and there he caused himself to be crowned by this Pope. And a question as to his authority rising up in many cases, he and his followers, having come upon this book, began to make use of many of the arguments it contained, in support of his authority and of themselves; whereupon the book, hitherto scarcely known, became very famous. But afterwards, when the said Lewis was gone back to Germany, and his followers, especially the clergy, had come to their fall and were dispersed, the said Cardinal, with none to gainsay him, seized the aforesaid book, and condemned it publicly to the flames, as containing heresies. And in like manner he was bent on dealing with the bones of the author, to the eternal infamy and confusion of his memory, had it not been opposed by a valiant and noble cavalier of Florence, by name Pino della Tosa, who was then at Bologna, where this thing was being discussed."

Outside of a statement of Bartolo de Saxoferrato, quoted in the *Life of Dante* of Domenico Bandini<sup>1</sup> to the effect that "It was the opinion of Dante in this *Monarchia* that the Empire was not dependent on the Church; but after his death he was well-nigh condemned for heresy on this account," we have little positive evidence of this charge in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, two works<sup>2</sup> written to refute the *De Monarchia* being the most important — one by Fra Guido Vernani, the other from St. Antonino, archbishop of Florence, who died in 1409.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Solerti, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Carducci, *Della varia fortuna di Dante*, pp. 272-273.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that there is some allegorical significance in the fact that as Dante and Virgil enter the circle of the heretics in *Inferno*, they at first turn to the right, for the first time in their descent. My own feeling is that the most probable interpretation is that first steps toward a fuller knowledge of the truth may be right, and through some subsequent perversion they enter into the realm of error. Dr. Moore (*Early Biographers*, pp. 160-161) has discussed the question of the exclusion of the heretics from the ethical scheme of the *Inferno* and their absence from the *Purgatorio*.

There are, on the contrary, a considerable number of denials of the justice of this charge which serve as evidence of its existence. Most of these are anecdotic in form and, while rehabilitating Dante's reputation for orthodoxy, take the opportunity to describe the confusion of some cleric through his pious retort.<sup>1</sup> Such is a tale of Lodovico Carbone of Ferrara.<sup>2</sup>

"Dante Alighieri, the Florentine poet, was exceedingly quick in retort. Being greatly inclined to speculation and contemplation, one day while listening to mass, whether because he was absorbed in some subtle fancy or perhaps with intent to mock his enemies, he did not kneel nor remove his hood when the Host was raised. His enemies—and they were many, for he was a man of most exemplary life—straightway ran to the bishop, accusing Dante of being a heretic and of not having shown due respect for the Sacrament. The bishop summoned Messer Dante and reproving him for his behavior, asked him what he had done when the Host was elevated. 'Verily,' said Dante, 'my mind was so intent on God, that I do not remember what my body was doing, but those vile fellows whose mind and eyes were more on me than on God, can tell you, beyond doubt. And if they had had their mind on God, they would not have been watching what I was doing.' The bishop accepted his excuse and perceived that Dante was a man of wisdom because he revealed the villainy of the envious."

Similar to this is a group of stories, embodying a single idea, although couched in different terms, designed to explain the composition of the *Credo* or *Professione di Fede*. Papanti<sup>3</sup> gives three versions and Moore<sup>4</sup> has still another; one will serve as an illustration of them all.

"After the author, that is Dante, had finished and published his book, and had studied under many famous masters in theology, among others, under Minor Friars, they found in a chapter of the *Paradiso* where Dante pretends that he finds St. Francis, and that St. Francis asks him about this world and how the friars of his order fare, with regard to whom he says he is deeply surprised, since during all the time that he has been in Paradise, not one of them has ever come up nor has he

<sup>1</sup> On the prevalence of this habit of bringing scorn on the clergy, cf. A. Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del Medio Evo*, Turin, 1893, II, 3 (*La leggenda di un pontefice*).

<sup>2</sup> *Facezie*, ed. cit., No. LXIX, p. 49; also in Papanti, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 46-49.

<sup>4</sup> *Early Biographers*, pp. 158-159.



heard from them. To which Dante answers what is found in that chapter. Now all the friars of the order took great offense at this and laid a plan which was intrusted to their most famous masters, that they should study his book to see if they could find anything in it to warrant his being burned or charged with heresy. In this wise they brought action against him and accused him before the inquisitor of being a heretic who did not believe in God nor observe the articles of faith. He went before the inquisitor and since vespers were already past, he said, 'Give me respite until the morrow and I will give you in writing how I believe in God, and if I am in error, punish me as I deserve.' Thereupon the inquisitor gave him until the third hour in the morning. Dante stayed up all night and gave his answer in the same verse as that in which his book is written, as follows herewith, in which he defines all our faith and all the articles — an excellent and perfect thing for unlettered men and abounding in good and useful examples and prayers to God and to the blessed Virgin Mary — as may be seen, if you will read it. For there is no need to have nor to search other books in order to know all the articles, nor the seven deadly sins, for he defines it all so well and so clearly, that as soon as the inquisitor had read it with his council in the presence of twelve masters in theology, they knew not what to say nor allege against him. Therefore the inquisitor dismissed Dante and made sport of the friars, all of whom marveled how he had been able to write so notable a thing in so short a time."

It is interesting to note that in all of the other versions of the story the accusers are Franciscans, and in the one just quoted a reason for their animosity is given. To be sure, there is no such statement in the *Paradiso* as is there given, but there can be little doubt that the storyteller had in mind the passage in the twelfth Canto, in which St. Bonaventura brands the degeneration of the Franciscans (ll. 112-126). Perhaps some of the good friars, too, had taken offense at the affront to their founder in the victory which the black cherub won over him by his superior logic in the debate for the soul of Guido da Montefeltro (*Inf.* XXVII, 112 ff.). But there was a strong tendency to refute any such prejudiced judgment of him who was popularly called *poeta nostro*, and the *Professione di Fede* itself is only another proof of the eagerness of the following generation to demonstrate that Dante was orthodox.



A curious example of this impulse to defend Dante's name in matters religious is a prayer which he is said to have sung every hour, first printed in a Genoese calendar for 1474 entitled "La raxone de la Pasca: e de la Luna: e le Feste."<sup>1</sup>

"Io credo in Dio, e in vita eterna spero,  
In santo Spirito, e Gesù di Maria,  
Si com' la Chiesa scrive, e canta il vero,  
O Padre nostro! che nei cieli stia  
Santificato il tuo santo Nome.  
Rendiamo grazia di quel che tu sia  
Da' oggi a noi la quotidiana manna,  
Senza la qual per questo aspro deserto  
A retro va chi più di gir s' affanna;  
E come noi del mal, che abbiām sofferto,  
Perdoniamo a ciascun, e tu perdona  
Benigno, e non guardare al nostro merto."

Papanti has pointed out<sup>2</sup> that this is merely a rude dovetailing of some passages from the *Professione di Fede* and the *Purgatorio*. From the former we have

"Siccome santa Chiesa aperto canta "  
and (l. 24)  
"O padre nostro, che ne' cieli stai,  
Santificato sia sempre il tuo nome."<sup>3</sup>  
(ll. 211-212)

The last six lines are taken without alteration from the Prayer of the Proud in the *Purgatorio* (XI, 13-18).

Such are some of the attempts to uphold the reputation of Dante against the attacks of the aggrieved clerics. Naturally the pendulum swings in the opposite direction in the ardor of interest until we find such a verse as this, attributed to Dante's son, Pietro:<sup>4</sup>

"O Signor giusto, facciamti preghiero  
Che tanta iniquità deggia punire  
Di que' che voglion dire  
Che 'l mastro della fede fossi errante:  
Se fossi spenta, rifariala Dante."

<sup>1</sup> In Papanti, pp. 82-84.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> These in turn are from "O padre nostro, che ne' cieli stai, . . . Laudato sia il tuo nome" (*Purg.* XI, 1, 4).

<sup>4</sup> In Trucchi, op. cit., II, 140.

## CHAPTER VI

### OTHER-WORLD

#### I. THE APOTHEOSIS

Not only were the enthusiasts prompt to clear Dante's name from the stigma of heresy, but they soon came to see in his *Commedia* the touch of a more than mortal hand. As early as the time of Benvenuto da Imola we have evidence that the popular reader was impressed by the exceptional qualities of his work. Benvenuto, having observed that Dante from a Guelph had become a most pronounced Ghibelline, goes on,<sup>1</sup> "That reminds me of an amusing remark made by one of that party, who, having heard this statement made, said, 'Why, surely he could never have written such a great work if he had not become a Ghibelline.' " If Caccioguida's advice,

" s'ì che a te fia bello  
Averti fatta parte per te stesso,"  
(*Par.* XVII, 68-69)

was not enough of a warrant to place Dante above the pride of parties in the common conception of the next generation, the charge of Beatrice,

" Ritornato di là, fa che tu scrive,  
(*Purg.* XXXII, 105)

before long assumed the virtue of the divine commission which Dante certainly meant it to be.

Filippo Villani, before the end of the Trecento, writes,<sup>2</sup> "I believe that without the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, our poet could not have thought out such a sublime, profound subject, nor reached such heights with the aid of human genius alone, nor have sung so fluently in such chastened speech." Then, after advancing as a proof of this, the marvelous discovery of the last cantos, of which we shall speak presently, he concludes, "Verily by this miracle it will be apparent that the work of the poet is beyond doubt a divine production."

<sup>1</sup> *Comentum*, I, 339; also in Papanti, pp. 36-37.

<sup>2</sup> In Solerti, pp. 89-90.

An anecdote appended to a fourteenth century manuscript of the *Divina Commedia* will further illustrate this attitude.<sup>1</sup>

"This famous poet, Dante, wrote a little book in Latin at the time when the Emperor, Henry of Luxembourg, was crowned in Rome (in the year 1312) by three cardinal legates of the Pope, Clement IV, which book was called, and is still called, the *Monarchia*. The book is divided into three parts, for it proposes and solves three questions or doubts." After an analysis of the book and a jibe at the clergy who have denied its value, the writer continues:

"And I would have the reader note that I, the writer, happening to be at Trapani in Sicily, visited an old man from Pisa, who had the reputation throughout all Sicily of being well versed in the *Commedia* of Dante. In our frequent discussions and conversations about the *Commedia*, this worthy man told me this story. 'I once was in Lombardy and I went to see Messer Francesco Petrarch in Milan. He, in his courteous manner, entertained me for several days. Now one day while I was with him in his study, I asked him if he had the book of Dante. Answering "Yes," he got up and after searching among his books, he found the aforementioned book called the *Monarchia* and threw it down before me. I looked at it and said that that was not what I had meant, but his *Commedia*. Then Messer Francesco was manifestly surprised that I should call the *Commedia* the work of Dante. He questioned me whether I believed that Dante had written that book. And when I said "Yes," he reproved me earnestly, saying that he did not see how that work could have been written by the human intellect without the particular gift of the Holy Spirit, and concluding that the *Monarchia* might properly be said to be Dante's but that the *Commedia* was the Holy Spirit's rather than Dante's. Then he added, "Tell me, for you seem concerned and versed in this *Commedia*; how do you understand the three verses which he places in the *Purgatorio* in the twenty-fourth Canto, where he represents Guido Guinicelli (sic) of Lucca as asking if it were he who said 'Donne che avete intellecto d'amore' and Dante said

'Et io a lui: Io mi sono uno che, quando  
Amor mi spira, noto, et in quel modo  
Che dicta dentro vo significando'?

<sup>1</sup> In Papanti, pp. 85-87.

Do you not see that he says clearly that when the love of the Holy Spirit inspires his intellect, he notes the inspiration and afterwards reveals it according as the Spirit dictates and points out? desiring to point out that the subtle, profound subjects whereof he treats in this book may not be conceived without the singular favor and gift of the Holy Spirit? ” ” ”

The first part of this story is a close transcript of a passage in Boccaccio's *Vita*<sup>1</sup>; for the rest, Carducci has said<sup>2</sup> that such a tale no doubt originated because of a popular suspicion that Petrarch was not duly reverent to his predecessor, which made men eager to attribute to him an opinion more consonant with their own conviction. The closing words are a repetition of the idea already found in Villani.

Even more extravagant, and bordering on the grotesque, is a tale of Sacchetti's<sup>3</sup> concerning Antonio da Ferrara — a whimsical figure of the Trecento, who in his day was looked upon as something of a poet and who has even been suggested as the author of the *Professione di Fede*.<sup>4</sup>

“ Master Antonio da Ferrara was a man of stout heart, as well as something of a poet and temperamentally he was somewhat of a buffoon; and he was a man of vicious and sinful life. While he was in Ravenna — at the time when it was in the power of Bernardino da Polenta — it chanced that this Master Antonio, who was much addicted to gambling and one day had staked and lost all that he possessed, almost in despair entered the church of the Minor Friars, where is the tomb of the Florentine poet, Dante. Having observed an ancient Crucifix, half burned and smoked by the numerous candles which were placed about it, and seeing many of them lighted near it at the time, straightway he drew near and picking up all the candles and tapers which were burning there, he went toward Dante's tomb and placed them on it saying, ‘ Take these, for thou art more worthy of them than he. ’ The people, beholding this, marveled greatly, saying, ‘ What does this man ? ’ And all looked at one another. A steward of the lord of Ravenna who was passing through the church at that time saw this, and on his return to the palace told the lord what he had seen Master Antonio doing. The lord, who, like all men, was interested in such things, informed the Archbishop of Ravenna of what

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 72-73.

<sup>2</sup> *Della varia fortuna di Dante*, p. 355; cf. also p. 66, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Novelle*, ed. cit., No. CXXI, pp. 289 ff.; also in Papanti, pp. 58-61.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Carducci, op. cit., p. 309.

Master Antonio had done and bade him summon him before him, as though he were going to bring against him a charge of leaning toward the heretical doctrines of the Paterinians. The Archbishop sent for him without delay and he appeared. When the charge was read to him, that he might offer his defense, he denied not a word but confessed all, saying to the Archbishop, 'If you were to burn me, I would not speak otherwise, for always have I recommended myself to the Crucifix and never has he done me other than evil. Therefore, seeing so much wax set before it that it is half burned (would that it were wholly so!), I took up the lights and placed them on the tomb of Dante, who seemed to me to deserve them more than he. And if you do not believe me, look at the writings of each; you will judge those of Dante to be marvelous beyond nature and human wisdom and you will count the Gospels stupid. And even if there were lofty and marvelous things therein, it is small wonder that he who sees all things and has all things should show part of them in his writings. But the wonderful thing is that a man as insignificant as Dante, not having all things nor even a part of them, has seen all and written all. For this reason, then, he seems to me more worthy of such an array of lights than the other and henceforth I mean to recommend myself to his care. You perform your office and you take your ease, who for love of Him have fled all discomfort and live like sluggards. When you would hear more clearly from me, I will tell you on another occasion, when I have not staked all that I possess.'

"The Archbishop perceived him to be in straits and said: 'Then you have played and lost? You will return again.' Master Antonio replied: 'Would that you and all your likes had lost all that you possess! I would be right merry. Whether I return or no is my affair; and returning or not returning, you shall always find me thus minded or worse.' The Archbishop said: 'Well, depart with God's blessing—or with the devil's. And if I send for you, you will not come here. At least take to your lord some of the fruits that you have given me.' And so he departed.

"The lord, having learned what had happened, was greatly pleased with Master Antonio's arguments and made him a present that he might be able to pay. And for several days he took great delight with him over the candles which were offered to Dante. Afterwards Master Antonio set out for Ferrara—in a better mood. For at the time when Pope Urban V died and a picture of him was set up in a famous church in a

large city, he saw burning before it a huge torch of a candle that must have weighed two pounds, and before the Crucifix which was not far away was a sorry little penny candle. Taking up the torch, he stuck it up before the Crucifix, saying: 'A curse be on us if we would shift and change the realm of heaven as we daily change the earthly realm.' And so he went home. This was as fair and as noteworthy a speech as could have been spoken under such circumstances."

Dante, Christ, and the Pope, then, is the order of Antonio's hierarchy. Ricci<sup>1</sup> has made a study of the facts of the tale and has very plausibly demonstrated their possibility in point of time and temper, if not their actual occurrence. To us the story is of peculiar interest in that Sacchetti represents essentially the bourgeois, the average Italian of the fourteenth century rather than the trained aristocrat. If this may be looked upon as an example of his popular apotheosis, we have a no less striking tribute of homage from the man of letters in the sonnet, long attributed to Boccaccio:<sup>2</sup>

"Dante Alighieri son, Minerva oscura  
D'intelligenza e d'arte, nel cui ingegno  
L'eleganza materna aggiunse al segno  
Che si tien gran miracol di natura.

L'alta mia fantasia pronta e sicura  
Passò il tartareo e poi 'l celeste regno  
E 'l nobil mio volume feci degno  
Di temporale e spirital lettura.

Fiorenza gloriosa ebbi per madre,  
Anzi matrigna a me pietoso figlio,  
Colpa di lingue scellerate e ladre.

Ravenna fummi albergo nel mio esiglio  
Et ella ha il corpo, e l'alma il sommo Padre,  
Presso cui invidia non vince consiglio."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Fanfulla della Domenica*, 14 Nov. 1886. I am obliged to accept the reference on the authority of L. di Francia, *Francesco Sacchetti*, Pisa, 1902, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Antologia delle opere minori*, ed. Gigli, Florence, 1907, p. 300. Mr. E. H. Wilkins informs me that there is no evidence that this sonnet is Boccaccio's and believes that there is some internal evidence that it is a Renaissance work. Cf. also L. Manicardi & A. F. Massera, *Introduzione al testo critico del Canzoniere di Giovanni Boccacci*, Castelfiorentino, 1901, p. 13, n. 2, and p. 23. It has, however, been generally attributed to Boccaccio, even by Carducci. I have to thank Mr. H. W. L. Dana for calling my attention to this and to other points.



## 2. FANTASTIC

To enhance the idea of Dante's superhuman powers and virtues one of the most natural methods was the use of the miraculous, the supernatural. Since neither Iris nor the angel Gabriel was engaged in the duties which had once made glad the hearts of men or stricken them with fear, the only recourse was to the allegorical dream. This Boccaccio recognized. His first care was to provide the proper auguries for Dante's birth.<sup>1</sup>

Dante's mother, he says, "when pregnant, and not far removed from the time when she should be delivered, saw in a dream of what wondrous kind the fruit of her womb should be; albeit it was not then understood of her nor of any other, though now, because of the event that has come to pass, it is most manifest to all.

"The gentle lady thought in her dream that she was under a most lofty laurel tree, on a green meadow, by the side of a most clear spring, and there she felt herself delivered of a son, who in shortest space, feeding only on the berries which fell from the laurel tree and the waters of the clear spring, her thought grew up into a shepherd, and strove with all his power to have of the leaves of that tree whose fruit had nourished him; and, as he struggled thereto, her thought she saw him fall, and when he rose again, she saw he was no longer a man, but had become a peacock. At the which thing, so great amazement laid hold of her that her sleep broke; and in no long space the due time came for her labor, and she was delivered of a son, whom by common consent with his father, they called by name Dante (the Giver); and rightfully so, because, as will be seen in the sequel, the issue was most perfectly consonant with this name. This was that Dante of whom is the present discourse."<sup>2</sup>

In the closing chapter of the *Vita*,<sup>3</sup> he interprets this dream in what he is pleased to call "a rather superficial manner" (*assai superficialmente*). I will not take the space to quote his interpretation in full, but the gist is this: "The laurel under which the lady thought she gave our Dante to the world signifieth methinks that the disposition of heaven at his birth showed itself such as to indicate magnanimity and poetic eloquence; which two things are shown forth by the laurel, the tree of Phœbus,

<sup>1</sup> *Vita*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Benvenuto da Imola, *Comentum*, I, 13-15, for another account based on Boccaccio.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita*, pp. 76-82.



wherewith poets are wont to be crowned, as hath been shown at large above. The berries whence the child, when born, was nourished I understand to be the effects produced aforetime by such like disposition of the heavens; to wit, books of poetry and what poets teach . . . The clear spring of which she thought he drank I take to indicate naught else than the exuberance of philosophic teaching, moral and natural . . . His growing straightway into a shepherd signifies the excellence of his wit . . . His striving to possess some of those leaves, the fruit whereof had nourished him, shows forth naught else than the burning longing which he had (as said above) for the laurel crown . . . And whilst he was most ardently longing for these leaves it says that she saw him fall, which fall was no other than that whereby we all fall to rise no more, to wit death; which (if what was said above be borne in mind) came to pass at the moment of his utmost longing for the laurel crown.

"Then it goes on to say that from a shepherd she straightway saw him change into a peacock, by which transformation his after fame may right well be understood, which how far so ever it may rest on his other works yet chiefly liveth in his Comedy, which in my judgment excellently conforms to the peacock, if the characteristics of one and the other be examined. The peacock, as would seem, amongst his other attributes hath four notable ones: the first is that he hath angelic feathers, wherein he hath an hundred eyes; the second is that he hath foul feet and noiseless tread; the third is that he hath a voice right dreadful to hear; the fourth and last is that his flesh is odoriferous and corrupteth not. Now these four things are fully compassed by our poet's *Commedia*."

Proceeding, then, with a minute analysis of the application of these four attributes to the *Divina Commedia* he concludes, "for which thing, and for the others indicated above, it clearly appears that he who was a shepherd when alive hath become a peacock after his death, as we may believe was revealed by divine inspiration in sleep to his dear mother."

In speaking of the charge of licentiousness which Boccaccio brings against Dante, I have had occasion to mention the possible influence of a passage in the life of Virgil, commonly attributed to Suetonius. At the very beginning of that life,<sup>1</sup> we find the following dream story. "His mother while pregnant dreamed that she had brought forth a laurel branch which had no sooner touched the ground than it took root and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nettlehip, op. cit., p. 9.

sprang up straightway into a full-grown tree, laden with divers fruits and flowers, and on the morrow, as she was betaking herself with her husband to a nearby country-seat, turning aside from the road she brought forth a son in a ditch by the way."

Although Boccaccio makes no mention of Virgil in this connection, several of his imitators compare the dream of Dante's mother with that of Virgil's mother. So Giovanni da Serravalle,<sup>1</sup> having closely copied Boccaccio's version of the former, gives the latter in the very words of the Suetonius form, and attempts to demonstrate by a comparison Dante's superiority to Virgil. And Manetti adds to Boccaccio's account:<sup>2</sup> "I am readily inclined to believe dreams of this sort to be true, especially in the case of pregnant women whose hour is near, for it is a well-known fact, recorded by authors of merit, that the mothers of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, and of Maro, the most renowned of all our poets, and of certain other famous men have seen strange things in the still of night." He then quotes the dream about the mother of Dionysius directly from Valerius Maximus<sup>3</sup> and briefly paraphrases the Suetonius story. Landino,<sup>4</sup> in his account, also gives the story of the dream of Virgil's mother and further, as analogous, the second of the two dreams of Astyages concerning his daughter Mandané, the mother of Cyrus, as it is recorded in Herodotus.<sup>5</sup>

Of course it is not to be overlooked that Dante has a similar account of prenatal warnings in his story of St. Dominic,

"E come fu creata, fu repleta  
Sì la sua mente di viva virtute  
Che nella madre lei fece profeta,"  
(*Par.* XII, 58-60)

where the reference is to the black and white dog to which she dreamed she had given birth.<sup>6</sup> And in a passage immediately following he has another suggestive conception, that in which he tells us how Heaven inspired the parents of St. Dominic to name him aright:

"Quinci si mosse spirito a nomarlo  
Del possessivo di cui era tutto.  
Dominico fu detto" — (ll. 68-70)

<sup>1</sup> Ed. cit., p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> In Solerti, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> *Facta dictaque memorabilia*, ed. Kempf, Leipzig, 1888, Bk. i, chap. vii, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> In Solerti, pp. 186-187.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Blakesley, London, 1854, I, 107-108.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Scartazzini, *Divina Commedia*, p. 815.

a bit of allegorizing which is distinctly like Boccaccio's explanation of the word "Dante," although the type of explanation is so common that little can be said of any probability of influence. On the whole, considering the fact that the most natural figure with whom to associate Dante's name was Virgil and that the fifteenth century biographers expressly quote the parallel episode from his life, I am inclined to believe that Boccaccio had the Suetonius story in mind when he wrote the account of the dream of Dante's mother.

A dream is also employed by the master of fiction to lend an other-world dedication to the *Divina Commedia*.<sup>1</sup>

"It was Dante's wont, whenever he had done six or eight cantos, more or less, to send them from whatever place he was in, before any other had seen them, to Messer Cane della Scala, whom he held in reverence above all other men; and when he had seen them, Dante gave access to them to whoso desired. And having sent to him in this fashion all save the last thirteen cantos, which he had finished but had not yet sent him, it came to pass that, without bearing it in his mind that he was abandoning them, he died. And when they who were left behind, children and disciples, had searched many times, in the course of many months, amongst all his papers, if haply he had composed a conclusion to his work, and could by no means find the remaining cantos, and when every admirer of his in general was enraged that God had not at least lent him to the world so long that he might have had opportunity to finish what little remained of his work, they had abandoned further search in despair since they could by no means find them.

"So Jacopo and Piero, sons of Dante, both of them poets in rhyme, moved thereto by certain of their friends, had taken it into their minds to attempt to supplement the parental work, as far as in them lay, that it might not remain imperfect, when to Jacopo, who was far more zealous than the other in this work, there appeared a wondrous vision, which not only checked his foolish presumption but showed him where were the thirteen cantos which were wanting to this divine *Commedia* and which they had not known to find. A worthy man of Ravenna, whose name was Piero Giardino, long time a disciple of Dante's, related how when eight months had passed after the death of his master, the afore-said Jacopo came to him one night, near to the hour that we call matins,

<sup>1</sup> *Vita*, pp. 68-70; Wicksteed's translation.

and told him that that same night a little before that hour, he, in his sleep, had seen his father Dante approach him, clad in whitest garments, and his face shining with an unwonted light; whom he seemed to ask if he were yet living, and to hear in reply that he was, but in the true life, not in ours. Whereon he seemed further to ask him if he had finished his work or ever he passed to that true life; and, if he had finished it, where was the missing part which they had never been able to find. 'To this he seemed to hear again in answer, 'Yea! I finished it.' Whereon it seemed that he took him by the hand and led him to that chamber where he was wont to sleep when he was living in this life; and touching a certain spot, he said, 'Here is that which ye so long have sought.' And no sooner was uttered that word than it seemed that both Dante and sleep departed from him at the same moment. Wherefore he averred, that he could not hold but come and signify what he had seen, that they might go together and search in the place indicated to him, which he held most perfectly stamped in his memory, to see whether a true spirit or a false delusion had shown it him. Wherefore, since a great piece of the night still remained, they departed together and went to the place indicated, and there found a mat fixed to the wall, which they lightly raised, and found a recess in the wall which neither of them had ever seen, nor knew that it was there; and there they found certain writings, all mouldy with the damp of the wall, and ready to rot had they stayed there much longer; and when they had carefully removed the mould and read, they saw that they contained the thirteen cantos so long sought by them. Wherefore, in great joy, they copied them out, and, after the author's wont, sent them first to Messer Cane, and then joined them on, as was meet, to the imperfect work. In such manner did the work of many years see its completion."

I think I have spoken before of Filippo Villani's use of this dream as an argument for the divine inspiration of the poem, a concession that is the more curious inasmuch as he brands the story of the dream of Dante's mother as "fabulous." But after all, belief in dreams is in essence a matter of temperament, and it is not incumbent on us to believe that Boccaccio put any great trust in his own stories. For him they are rather an artistic than a didactic device.

Outside of Boccaccio there is little attempt to introduce the supernatural and fantastic as a factor in Dante's life. But there is one

noteworthy example in the *Trattato della vita civile*<sup>1</sup> of Matteo Palmieri, a Florentine of the Quattrocento, who is more widely known as author of the *Cita di vita*, a philosophical poem inspired by St. Augustine's *Civitas dei* and manifestly influenced by the *Divina Commedia*.

"The poet Dante when young and eager for glory, at the time when preparations were being made in the Casentino for a hard battle between the Aretines and the Florentine forces, choosing a faithful comrade, a student of philosophy and one of the most learned men of the time in letters and liberal studies, went out to the Florentine camp. There they stayed a long time, giving helpful advice to the leaders of the army. At last when the day of battle came, and the companies were boldly arrayed on either side, the fight was waged for many hours with doubtful outcome. Finally by favor of fortune the balance of victory swung to the Florentines so that they put all their enemies to flight; and not without bloodshed and death on our side we won a complete victory.

"In this battle Dante put forth his strongest efforts; and so close was the pursuit of the scattered, fleeing enemies that few escaped their victorious hands; and with their onslaught they won Bibbiena and many other strongholds of the country of Arezzo. Engaged in these tasks for two days they departed far from the field of battle. On the third day, returning where the cruel conflict had taken place they found many of their own dead among the enemy. And so the joy of victory was mingled with grief for their lost friends, each one bearing his loss grievously, — one of a relative, another of a friend, — and they consoled and comforted one another, grieving at the fate of those who had departed. After several days, having poured out their hearts to one another, and, now that their grief was in large measure mitigated at the thought of their glorious death, consoled by their victory, they turned their minds to providing for their burial, especially of some of their noblest and most distinguished citizens. While they were thus occupied in finding bodies, Dante had for some time been searching for his dear friend, who had been stripped of mortal life by his wounds. When at last he came where the body lay, torn and wounded as he was — I know not whether resuscitated or dead — he suddenly leaped to his feet before Dante in the semblance of a living being (of so much I am certain by hearsay). Dante seeing him rise contrary to his expectation, full of surprise began to

<sup>1</sup> In Papanti, pp. 98-108.



tremble all over and for some time lost all power of speech, until the wounded man, addressing him, said :

" ' Give heed and dismiss all suspicion, since not without cause am I sent through special grace by a light of the universe only to tell thee what I have beheld in the three days between the two lives. Therefore, give attention and keep in thy memory what I shall say, since it is ordained that through thee my secret vision shall be made known unto the human race.'

" Dante, hearing this, recovered his faculties and throwing off his terror began to speak, saying, ' All thy speech shall be right dear to me, but if it be not displeasing, satisfy me first as to thy condition, that I may understand what grace has preserved thee so mightily these three days, with so many mortal wounds, and without nourishment or sustenance.'

" ' It is grievous to me,' he replied, ' that I may not satisfy thee wholly in thy questioning ; willingly would I disclose myself to thee, if I might. But take from me what I may give for it is not lawful for me to promise more.

" ' While our companies were being arrayed, perceiving that the enemy were strong and well stationed, I was seized with such terror, that fearful and timid, I determined in my heart to take flight and to abandon our host. In this intention I persisted until Vieri de' Cerchi, in whom lay the salvation of our army on that day, spurring toward the press of the enemy, cried out, " Let him who would save his country follow me ! " When I heard these words and saw him, who was the richest and most renowned of all our citizens, out of love for his country, rushing into such danger and into almost certain death with his nephew and his own son, I felt so rebuked that I condemned my error within me and recovering courage, instead of being timid, I became one of the bravest and did make resolve to fight with daring and to offer for the salvation of my country my life and all my possessions. So minded, together with many others, I followed the noble and daring Vieri ; and fighting valiantly against the reckless onslaught of the enemy, who nobly defended themselves with the greatest courage, we dealt and received blows and even death for some space of time, until we had victoriously broken the first two lines of the enemy. When now we were exhausted, lo ! Guglielmino, the captain and chief of the hostile side, with a fresh, well-trained company entered the battle with such a rush that the victory in truth was



beginning to incline in their favor, had not I, aroused by our losses, calling on God to save us from our evils, spurred furiously into the thickest of the fray, straight upon Guglielmino, the chief of them all, and — with God's good pleasure — struck him down with a mortal blow. Immediately I was encompassed by all his followers, but for a time I defended myself; at last strength failed my limbs and, pierced through, as you see me, I left me a bloody and well-avenged victory. At this point my knowledge of myself begins to grow shadowy, nor can I well satisfy your question whether I remained in the body or lived outside the body in another. But alive I surely was and I felt hampered by my heavy limbs, as one who cannot help himself when he dreams of danger. And lo! without knowing how, I found myself on the confines of a bright orb, which at first seemed to my eyes to be large beyond measure. This seemed to be so brightly illumined by another's light that it provided light to the whole earth. I, eager to rise to it, was closed within myself nor did my courage avail me, when lo! an old man of reverent authority appeared before my sight, like to an imperial majesty, oftentimes seen depicted by me. When I beheld him, I was all a-tremble; he, taking my right hand said: "Be of good courage and give heed to what I shall tell thee, and keep it in memory." Somewhat restored by his words of comfort, trembling I began, "Excellent Father, if it is lawful for thee and if such a boon is not forbidden me, in mercy be not loath to tell me who thou art, before thou enterest into longer speech." Benignly he replied, "On earth I was named Charlemagne."

"Full dear a favor is thy sight to me," said I, "oh, holy Emperor," and reverently bowing low, I placed my lips upon his feet; then rising, I continued, "Charles, not only the grandeur and the glory of thy excellent deeds but also the merit of thy many virtues, thy meekness, mercy, supreme justice, and the ordered fashion of all thy words and deeds, aided and adorned by thy learning and study of divine and human letters, are a fitting cause that thou shouldst be called 'Great.' And verily thy fame and glory, as is meet, lasts and shall last forever with the world, known even to the stars. For the Christian faith, thou didst fight against many nations—Spain, Flanders, France, and even in distant Britain and Ireland thou didst conquer and convert to the faith. Then, returning to succor Italy in its misery, hitherto the slave of the barbarians for five hundred years, thou didst liberate it from the hand of Desiderius, putting

an end to the mad fury of the pernicious Lombards. The Supreme Pontiff, insulted and for many years deprived of his dignity, thou didst restore to his sometime honor and pristine state in the Apostolic See. The Empire, deserted for many centuries, thou didst anew raise to dignity and in thee alone lay the salvation of Christendom and by thee a large part of the earth was restored and freed."

"'While I was still desirous of continuing, the holy Father interrupted me, saying, "Thy words are superfluous with me and delay that which will make thee content. Give heed and know that thou art in the centre of the universe. All those immeasurable bodies, which diffuse so bright a light above thee and which may be contemplated by elevation of mind, are eternal, and first causes which are preserved immutable. The part which is below thee is mutable and by a necessity imposed upon it by the eternally stable powers continually suffers and varies. This essence, operating by a power which nourishes itself in its own life, generates the first causes, together with the eternal movement of the whole universe. From this are formed all the animals which are on earth, what flies through the air and all the marvels that the ample sea hides within its waves; the fragile body and all the mortal members are from that lower part which I have said is mutable, sustained by the glowing vigor which is diffused in them according to its measure. To men alone is given the mind of these eternal bodies, which, luminous and resplendent, animated by a divine spirit, move in wondrous wise. That which is within us of these lower, corruptible bodies is servile, mortal and common to the beasts; wherefore, if we are subject to earthly passions, in all things we shall be blinded, overcome and conquered; and without regard for uprightness, given over to the delights of the senses, we shall be like beasts. But the spirit of divine nature, which is perforce stable, commands in God's behalf and places laws on the appetites. He who, disobedient, presumes in his own desire and follows his own will, scorns the commandment made by that God to whom belong these heavens and all that thou dost see. Wherefore, as on a servant, unfaithful and rebellious to his law does he close the gates through which I came to thee, nor will he permit him to return into His city. Whence he remains forever in that place where he is most delighted. This place ye on earth and we likewise in heaven call by the same word, 'Hell.' Whenever he encloses souls within the infernal borders, they are in death, for they are removed

from the simple and individual source of their nature. For this reason what ye on earth call life is certain death and only those live who, obedient to God, after they are loosed from their bodily bonds are carried up to these heavens. This great light, to which thou hast risen by thyself, is the moon, which is illumined by another's light, as ye say on earth."

"'At this I assure you that I became dumb with wonder nor ever should I have recognized it, so transformed did it seem from that which we behold from the earth, and in magnitude it surpassed all our measurements. In reverence I did not interrupt and he continued,

"'This is the border between life and death; above, all is eternal gladness and immortal joy; below, are all the evils, torments and penalties which can be suffered. That is the blind world, wherein are Lethe and Acheron, the Styx, Cocytus and Phlegethon. Down there Rhadamanthus and Minos administer the laws under whose judgment no guilty soul is pardoned. Down there are the vultures who feed on the hearts which never are consumed. That is the place where men starve in the midst of delicate viands; there is the wheel which turns with its sharp, tearing teeth. One by force of chest rolls weights and one, trembling, fears lest the projection of heavy weights, in peril of which he constantly sees himself, may crash upon his head. In short, that is the centre where every torment roasts; Charon leads all and Pluto and Cerberus devour all. The soul, fastened by its bodily fetters, easily falls headlong through the open door into this Hell; the toilsome task is to return upward afterward and to rise to the lofty stars, since one must scale the glowing cliffs by the opposite path. By this path is the first salvation — to restrain the appetites under the control of the mind, that we may not seem to scorn reason, granted to us by God for our salvation. Nothing is done on earth more pleasing to God than loving justice, mercy and piety, qualities which, though valuable in our relations to individuals, are most valuable in our relations to our country. To the saviors of their country the path to Heaven is open, to those everlasting places which thou dost behold from here."

"'At these words I asked with fear and reverence if it was permitted to me to pass through these eternal lights. He answered, "Only the ardent love which made thee, out of devotion to thy country, fight bravely at Campaldino, makes thee worthy of this and to no one does God so liberally command these doors to be opened, as to the governors of

republics, who preserve the throng of citizens, legally gathered together in a union of corporate contentment. This ample love for universal salvation was ever my guide on earth; now in Heaven I am happy with the blest in far greater good; and I still find the virtue which he cultivates among mortals below so pleasing that through this kinship in interest I become his friend; moved by this and seeing that thou wert dead for love of my Florence, which once I restored on earth, I descended to thee to show thee that glory awaits each one who gives heed to this in your life."

"Thus speaking he took us out of a shade, as if a lamp were taken out of a lantern, and I found myself light and free, as a thing without members. Then he started forth and put me behind him in the first of the eternal lights. There he said to me, "Look, while we go, how the universe is bound together by nine orbs; the lowest which is fixed in the midst, as a centre toward which all the surrounding weights fall, must be familiar to thee. See how diminished your earth appears already, and from heaven it will seem to thee almost a point. This, in which we are, is the least of the holy lights, more distant than any other from Heaven and nearer the earth; see how it is lighted and adorned by the rays of the sun. Mercury is next to this and revolves with wonderful speed. Bright Venus is the one which gazes on herself in the third circle about the sun. Behold the sun which in order is placed in the midst of all as the guide and prince of the other lights; illuminating, it fills all things with its brightness, until because it appears alone (*solo*) on earth, among the celestial lights it is called the Sun (*Sole*). This other with the redder glow, which seems horrible, is Mars. Benign and resplendent is the rise to Jupiter, and Saturn is the last which may be reached in Heaven."

"Arrived there, marvelous contemplation seized me; for I saw countless stars never before seen by me on earth, and their greatness was beyond all human conception. The sky appeared adorned with so many varied signs, that in its loveliness it seemed fashioned by some good master of certain purpose. With twice five signs it was marked off in opposite regions. One of these seemed far more flashing with brilliant whiteness than the other and within were flashing lights of blazing flames. Two gates appeared in it in opposite regions, one had the Crab as its sign, the other, in a higher place, the Capricorn. The sun marked its

course as far as these when it reached its highest degree. "Within these gates," said my guide, "are the blest." Then, having warned me that man may not enter the higher gate, he put me in through the gate of the Crab.

"In vain should I tell, if only I could tell, the great and holy company of eternal creatures who dwell in that Heaven in joy without end. But I truly believe that I should speak the truth if I said, that for every man who ever lived in the world there are thousands of heavenly creatures there. There I saw the souls of all the citizens who in this world have governed well their states. Among them I recognized Fabricius, Curtius, Fabius, Scipio and Metellus, and many others who for the salvation of their country counted themselves and their own interests of little weight, but to tell their names would be without profit.

"Charles, with gladsome mien, turning to me said, "Thou canst now see in very truth that men are not mortal, but that it is the flesh which dies in them and that man is not what his form shows. As is the mind, so is the man; for if the mind properly nourishes the soul, it is joined with God and as an eternal thing eternally abides. Nothing in the world is more excellent than training it with good acts in good deeds. No task can be better among men than watching out for the safety of the country, preserving the cities and maintaining the union and harmony of the properly incorporated throngs. Those who practice this virtue beyond all others, in these divine seats, as in their own house, shall live eternally content among the blest, for this is the place to which the saviors of their states on earth have come and to which they are at last to return."

"Dante who harkened with wonderment to all these words wished to reply, 'Since you have made known to me so excellent a reward, I will strive with all diligence to attain it.' But even as he began, the body of his dead friend fell to the ground. Then after he had waited for some time, to see if he would rise again, he provided for his burial and returned to the army."

This fantastic tale, as Dr. Moore has observed,<sup>1</sup> is evidently constructed from a reminiscence of the myth at the end of Plato's *Republic*, respecting Er the son of Armenius, with further details suggested by a familiarity with the *Divina Commedia*. Numerous incidents and turns of phrase

<sup>1</sup> *Early Biographers*, pp. 115 ff.



are fashioned from Dante's own, such as the "old man of reverent authority" who is another Cato ("un veglio degno di tanta riverenza in vista," *Purg.* I, 31-32), or the phrase "by force of chest" ("per forza di poppa," *Inf.* VII, 27), many of which have been gathered together by Dr. Moore. He might well have added, however, that the influence of the *Æneid* is quite as strong, the whole scene of Hell being a paraphrase of the description of Tartarus by the Sibyl.<sup>1</sup>

As to Dante's presence at Campaldino, it is now generally accepted, in spite of Bartoli's assertion<sup>2</sup> that it is a legend, that Dante bore a part in the battle. Lionardo Bruni's account<sup>3</sup> has almost the savor of documentary evidence and he even quotes a letter, now lost, in which Dante says,<sup>4</sup> "Ten years had already passed since the battle of Campaldino, wherein the Ghibelline faction was all but utterly slain and undone, and wherein I found myself, not raw in arms; and wherein I had much dread and at the end the greatest gladness, by reason of the varying chances of that battle." Moreover it is hard not to interpret Dante's own words,

"Io vidi già cavalier mover campo,  
E cominciare stormo, e far lor mostra,  
E talvolta partir per loro scampo:  
Corridor vidi per la terra vostra,  
O Aretini, e vidi gir gualdane,  
Ferir torneamenti, e correr giostra,"  
(*Inf.* XXII, 1-6)

as a vivid personal recollection of the day which broke the hopes of the Ghibelline cause.

Such are the few instances of fantastic events associated with Dante's name. Although they are not essentially different in subject matter from many of the purely popular medieval legends, there is a certain sophistication about their form which makes it impossible to consider them as such. Even if this were not the case, the fact that there is no suggestion of them outside of the few imitators or copiers of Boccaccio would argue against their popular diffusion. However, it is easy to go too far in such an inference and we should do well to avoid the utilization of such negative testimony. That a story is not found in literature is of course no evidence that it did not exist in oral tradition.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Æneid*, VI, 562-627.    <sup>2</sup> *Vita*, p. 93.    <sup>3</sup> In Solerti, p. 99.    <sup>4</sup> *Id.*, p. 100.



## 3. LEGENDARY

As an instance of the fallacy of following this method of argument, we may cite a story of Dante which is said to be still current in Florence.

"LO SPIRITO DI DANTE ALIGHIERI"<sup>1</sup>

"When anyone is passionately fond of poetry, he should sit by night on the *panchina* (curbing) in the Piazza di Santa Croce or in other places and, having read his poetry, pronounce the following:

' Dante, che eri  
La gran poeta,  
Siei morto, ma vero,  
Il tuo spirito  
E sempre rimasto,  
Sempre per nostro  
Nostro aiuto.

Ti chiamo, ti prego!  
E ti scongiuro  
A voler aiutarmi.  
Questa poesia  
Voglio imparare;  
Di più ancora,  
Non voglio soltanto  
Imparar la a cantare,  
Ma voglio imparare  
Di mi testa  
Poter le scrivere,  
E così venire  
Un bravo poeta.'

"And then a form of a man will approach from around the statue, advancing gently to the causeway, and will sit on it like any ordinary person, and begin to read the book, and the young man who has invoked the poet will not fail to obtain his wish. And the one who has come from the statue is no other indeed than Dante himself.

"And it is said that if in any public place of resort or inn, any poet sings the poems of Dante, he is always present among those who listen, appearing as a gentleman or poor man, according to the place.

<sup>1</sup> C. G. Leland, *Legends of Florence*, New York, 1895, 1st series, pp. 63-64.

"Thus the spirit of Dante enters everywhere without being seen.

"If his poems be in the house of any person who takes no pleasure in them, the spirit of the poet torments him in dreams until the works are taken away."

This legend — for it certainly may properly be so called — must have been handed down from century to century, and yet there is not the least trace of it in the literature of the earlier centuries. And there is little doubt that around many places in Florence, for that matter in the rest of Italy, such as the so-called "Sasso di Dante" already mentioned,<sup>1</sup> or the house in Gubbio<sup>2</sup> where he is said to have rested, there has been an unbroken tradition of local interest orally preserved from generation to generation.

Whatever interest such legendary remains may have for us, the Dante whom they trace is a colorless, indefinable figure, quite different from the man who lived in the memory of the first centuries after his death. For them he was the pilgrim, wandering from court to court, looking down with calm disdain alike on princes and on buffoons, distraught with the high concerns of the spheres beyond this present; for them he was the divinely inspired poet of the *Divina Commedia*. To-day their garrulous tales and keen anecdotes still fashion the man — sensitive, reserved, scornful — a man not unworthy to travel in man's behalf

"Giù per lo mondo senza fine amaro,  
E per lo monte, del cui bel cacume  
Gli occhi della mia Donna mi levaro,  
E poscia per lo ciel di lume in lume."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pelli, *Memorie per servire alla vita di Dante Alighieri*, 2d ed., Florence, 1823, p. 136.

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- EDWIN B. GAGER . . . . . Derby, Conn.
- MRS. JOHN L. GARDNER . . . . . Boston, Mass.

\* Deceased.

# *LIST OF MEMBERS*

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*HENRY W. LONGFELLOW	
*MRS. MORRIS LONGSTRETH	
MISS GEORGINA LOWELL . . . . .	Boston, Mass.

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MARTIN MOWER . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.

## \*JAMES J. MYERS

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## \*C. E. NORTON

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MRS. HÉLOISE DURANT ROSE . . . . .	New York, N.Y.
G. H. SAVAGE . . . . .	Newark, N.J.
MRS. EBEN G. SCOTT . . . . .	Wilkesbarre, Pa.
MISS MARY AUGUSTA SCOTT . . . . .	Northampton, Mass.
MISS THEODORA SEDGWICK . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.

\* Deceased.



# LIST OF MEMBERS

ix

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K. C. M. SILLS . . . . .	Brunswick, Maine
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MRS. BELLAMY STORER . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
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C. D. ZDANOWICZ . . . . .	Madison, Wis.

\* Deceased.

## STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

(From May 21, 1912, to May 20, 1913)

Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May		
21, 1912 . . . . .	\$991.12	
Members' fees till May 20, 1913 . . . . .	440.00	
Subscriptions to Latin Concordance . . . . .	154.85	
Sale of Sheldon Concordance . . . . .	7.00	
Copyrights, etc. . . . .	<u>44.97</u>	
		\$1637.94
Paid Clarendon Press . . . . .	\$450.00	
Paid the Treasurer of Harvard College (for		
Library) . . . . .	150.00	
Refunded from sales of the Fay Concordance . . . . .	72.00	
Printing, postage, etc. . . . .	17.15	
Balance on hand, May 20, 1913. . . . .	<u>948.79</u>	
		\$1637.94

## BY-LAWS

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1. This Society shall be called the DANTE SOCIETY. Its object shall be the encouragement of the study of the Life and Works of Dante.

2. Any person desirous to become a member of this Society may do so by signifying his or her wish in writing to the Secretary, and by the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

3. An Annual Meeting for the election of officers shall be held at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of May, of which due notice shall be given to the members by the Secretary.

4. Special meetings may be held at any time appointed by vote of the members at the Annual Meeting, or by call from the President and Secretary.

5. The officers shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Librarian, who, together with three members thereto chosen, shall form the Council of the Society. All these officers shall be chosen at the Annual Meeting, and their term of service shall be for one year, or until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled for the remainder of the year by the Council.

6. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice President, or, in the absence of both, any member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council.

7. The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep a record of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, shall collect and receive all dues, and keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the Society, shall give notice of meetings, and shall perform all other duties appropriate to his office.

8. The Council shall hold meetings at such times as it may appoint, shall determine on the use to be made of the income of

the Society, shall endeavor to promote the special objects of the Society in such ways as may seem most appropriate, and shall make an annual report of their proceedings, including a full statement of accounts, at each Annual Meeting. This report shall be made in print for distribution to the members.

9. No officer of the Society shall be competent to contract debts in the name of the Society, and no expenditure shall be made without a vote of the Council.

10. A majority of the Council shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. Any person distinguished for his interest in the purposes of the Society, or who has rendered it valuable service, may be chosen an Honorary Member at any regular meeting of the Society, and shall be entitled to all its privileges without annual assessment.

12. The preceding rules may be changed at any time by unanimous vote of the Council.

## THE DANTE PRIZE

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The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars for the best essay by a student in any department of Harvard University, or by a graduate of not more than three years' standing, on a subject drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1913-1914 the following subjects were proposed :

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*
12. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
13. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
14. *A criticism of Torraca's edition of the Divina Commedia.*

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., on or before the first day of May.

Essayists are at liberty to write on any one of the subjects which have been proposed in the years during which the Dante Prize has been offered, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

On the title-page must be written an assumed name and a statement of the writer's standing, i.e. whether he is a graduate or an undergraduate (and of what college or university); if he is an undergraduate, to what class he belongs, and to what department of the college or university. Under cover with the essay must be sent a sealed letter containing the true name and address of the writer, and superscribed with his assumed name.

The essays must be written upon letter paper, of good quality, of the quarto size, with a margin of not less than one inch at the top, at the bottom, and on each side, so that they may be bound up without injury to the writing. The sheets on which the essay is written must be securely stitched together.

The judges of the essays are a committee of the Dante Society.

In case the judges decide that no essay submitted to them deserves the full prize, they are at liberty to award one or two prizes of fifty dollars, or to award no prize.

The Dante Society has the privilege of retaining and depositing in the Dante Collection of the Harvard College Library any or all essays offered in competition for the Dante Prize, whether successful or not.

Since its establishment the Dante Prize (in full or in part) has been awarded to the following persons :

HEINRICH CONRAD BIERWIRTH . . . . 1887.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas*.

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888.

For an essay entitled *The Interpretation and Reconciliation of the Different Accounts of his Experiences after the Death of Beatrice, given by Dante in the Vita Nuova and the Convito*.

CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM . . . . 1890.

For an essay entitled *A Translation into English of Dante's Letters, with Explanatory and Historical Comments*.



KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894.

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo*.

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Influence upon Spanish Literature during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*.

ANNETTE FISKE . . . . 1897.

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to Old French and Provençal Lyric Poetry*.

ARTHUR NEWTON PEASLEE . . . . 1900.

For an essay entitled *A Metrical Rhyming Translation of the Three Canzoni of the Convito*.

HENRY LATIMER SEAVER . . . . 1901.

For an essay entitled *A Translation of the Canzoni in the Convito*.

ALAIN CAMPBELL WHITE . . . . 1902.

The Latham Prize for an essay entitled *A Translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra, and a Discussion of its Authenticity*.

ALPHONSO DE SALVIO . . . . 1902.

For an essay entitled *The Verse Endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch' erano appo gli altri dicatori usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS . . . . 1903.

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

CHANDLER RATHFON POST . . . . 1906.

For an essay entitled *The Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature*.

ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS . . . . 1907.

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova*.

RALPH HAYWARD KENISTON . . . . 1909.

For an essay entitled *The Dante Tradition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*.

ROGER THEODORE LAFFERTY . . . . 1912.

For an essay entitled *The Philosophy of Dante*.

GEORGE HUSSEY GIFFORD . . . . 1913.

For an essay entitled *Expressions of Gratitude in Dante*.

## ANNUAL REPORT

The thirty-second annual meeting of the Society was held at the house of the Secretary, Longfellow Park, Cambridge, on May twentieth, 1913. The usual reports were presented, and the officers of the preceding year were all reëlected. It was announced that two essays had been submitted for the Dante prize and that a half-prize of fifty dollars had been awarded to Mr. George Hussey Gifford, of the senior class in Harvard College, for a study of "Expressions of Gratitude in Dante." After the transaction of the regular business the President spoke briefly of an important contribution to Dante scholarship by a member of the Society, the edition of the *Divine Comedy* then just completed by Professor Grandgent.

Since the annual reports have been allowed, for various causes, to fall in arrears, it has seemed best to the Council to issue the present one, accompanied by two short papers, without further delay. Material for two other reports is in preparation, and they will probably be printed during the current year.

Of the papers now published, that of Miss Jackson makes an interesting addition to the series of bibliographical articles included in earlier reports. It is a satisfaction to know that the valuable manuscripts here described are the property of an American library and

are not far distant from the Society's own Dante collection. Mr. Dyer's letter, which forms the second paper, was never meant by the writer for publication, but gives an account of an extended essay on Dante's conception of Fortune which Mr. Dyer sent to Professor Norton and which the Council intended to print. A topical outline of the paper, too brief and fragmentary to be suitable for publication, is in the possession of the Secretary, but the completed essay is apparently lost. It was probably returned by Professor Norton for final revision to Mr. Dyer, who died before finishing the work. The letter now printed therefore appears to be the only existing statement by Mr. Dyer of a theory of considerable interest concerning one of the sources of Dante's philosophy and the development of the mediæval idea of Fortune. A few sentences at the end, which deal merely with estimates of the length of the paper, have been omitted in printing.

Unfortunately the treatise of Aegidius Romanus, *De Bona Fortuna*, to which Mr. Dyer makes reference, seems not to be accessible in Cambridge. According to Nicola Mattioli, a recent biographer of Aegidius (*Studio Critico sopra Egidio Romano Colonna*, Roma, 1896, pp. 140-141), it was printed at Venice in 1496 and 1551, and manuscripts of it exist at Paris, Vienna, Milan, Bruges, and the English Cambridge, as well as at Oxford. Mattioli's description of the work, however, is too brief to be of any assistance in the examination of Mr. Dyer's arguments. In one puzzling statement, too,

Mattioli identifies the *De Bona Fortuna* with a commentary entitled *In Parva Naturalia*, — an indication of some combination of texts or confusion of headings in the manuscripts. It is a matter of dispute whether Aegidius wrote any work on the *Parva Naturalia*, but the title seems most applicable to the treatise *De Morte et Vita*, which apparently corresponds to Aristotle's *Περὶ Νεότητος καὶ Γήρωος, καὶ Ζωῆς καὶ Θανάτου, καὶ Ἀναπνοῆς*, and is said to be found in two early editions combined with the *De Bona Fortuna*. The latter work, according to the description of it, again very meagre, given in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (Vol. XXX, p. 474), is based, not upon the *Parva Naturalia*, but upon passages from the *Magna Moralia* and the *Eudæmian Ethics*. Moreover, the sentence about *νοῦς* and *τύχη*, cited by Mr. Dyer as the ultimate source of Dante's quotation in the *Convivio*, occurs in the *Magna Moralia*, Book II, Chapter 8.

It is to be hoped that some scholar, in pursuance of Mr. Dyer's suggestions, will make careful examination of the *De Bona Fortuna*, and perhaps also of other discussions of Fortune in the works of Aegidius. In the *Commentarius in Octo Libros Physicorum* (Venice, 1504, fol. 36), for example, there is an exposition of Aristotle's *Physics*, Book II, Chapters 4–6, probably the most familiar and influential of all the Aristotelian discussions of Fortune.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

*Secretary*

JULY 3, 1915



A LETTER CONCERNING DANTE'S  
CONCEPTION OF FORTUNA

By LOUIS DYER





Sunbury Lodge, 68 Banbury Road, Oxford

February 25, 1908

To the Dante Society,  
Cambridge, Mass.

By the kindness of C. E. Norton Esq.  
Gentlemen,

In view of a correspondence between Professor Norton and myself, and between Professors Robinson and Norton, of which last the drift has been kindly conveyed to my knowledge by Professor Norton, I venture through Professor Norton to make the following statement, which I have the less hesitation in doing because of my former close connexion with your Society. My statement contains the result in type-written MSS. of a twelve-month's hard work bestowed by me from June 1905 to June 1906 upon the topic of Dante's conception of Fortuna. This work culminated in my discerning what I consider to be the source of Dante's picture of Fortuna in *Inferno*, VII, 67-95, with which, — apart from *Paradiso*, XXVII, 139-148, *Canzone*, III, and touches in the description of riches and *nobiltà* in *Convito*, IV, — every other mention by him of Fortuna is in glaring contrast.

This source I find in a MS. of the end of the XIIIth century, No. 281 among the Merton College MSS. It contains first among several items one (covering ten large folio vellum leaves with four columns each and one column on leaf 11) entitled *De Bona Fortuna Aristotelis Ægidii scriptum*. Briefly and baldly stated, my reasons for thinking this Commentary to have been familiar to Dante are :

(1) In *Convito*, IV, xi, ll. 84 ff., Dante quotes a dictum from Aristotle, with a strikingly vague reference "disse Aristotile." Also he takes the liberty in quoting of using the word *soggiace*, —

foreign to the Aristotelian original, which is οὐ πλείστος νοῦς καὶ λόγος ἐνταῦθα ἐλαχίστη τύχη, οὐ δὲ πλείστη τύχη ἐνταῦθα ἐλάχιστος νοῦς, represented by Dante's *Quanto piu l'uomo soggiace allo intelletto, tanto meno soggiace alla fortuna*. Dante plainly did not know where in Aristotle this was to be found; (a) because he would have given chapter and verse if he had, in place of *disse Aristotile*; (b) because he was incapable of so free a rendering as his *soggiace* makes of his citation, except where he was perfectly vague as to the exact words of Aristotle. Egidius in his commentary does not know where in Aristotle exactly the two chapters *De Bona Fortuna* are to be found. Dante knows as little and as much as Egidius, not more. Egidius is not only thoroughly vague as to where the particular quotation of *Convito*, IV comes from, but he so multiplies and rings the changes on the dictum in question throughout his commentary that Dante, if he read the commentary, must necessarily have been befogged as to Aristotle's exact wording. This accounts for his free rendering so unlike the scrupulous and scholarly accuracy of the other quotations in the *Convito*.

(2) My second point concerns the striking divergence in conception between (a) the Fortuna of *Inferno*, VII, 67-95 and *Paradiso*, XXVII, 139-148, and (b) Fortuna elsewhere in the poems and prose of Dante. This is accounted for by the fact that in the two places in question he adopts for the nonce what is fundamentally the optimistic conception of Bona Fortuna; elsewhere Fortuna is positively evil and often devilish. This contention is borne out by striking parallels in thought and detailed expression between the Egidian Commentary and *Inferno*, VII, 73-78. The same is true of (1) *vostro saper non ha contrasto a lei*; (2) *necessità la fa esser veloce*. Cf. Egidius: "Habent enim benefortunati velociorem et meliorem divinativam quia melius divinant de fine quam sapientes et prudentes benefortunati. Non oportet suscipere eam divinativam que est a ratione, sed que est a divino instinctu qui superat omnem sensitivam et

omnem intellectivam." Similarly close parallels to the thought and diction of the last five lines of *Paradiso*, XXVII are found in the Egidian Commentary. There are also five passages in the Egidian Commentary which throw a flood of light upon Dante's conception of the roaring of the spheres in *Ruggiran sì questi cerchi superni*.

(3) Finally Egidius brings at last a solution to the vexed question concerning *Purgatorio*, XXV, 34-48. Philalethes thinks that Dante turned philosopher for the nonce and differed from St. Thomas about the origin of the sensitive soul in the getting of a man. It is quite evident, however, that Dante got his doctrine out of Egidius, unless the Egidian doctrine given on this point in the present commentary can be traced to another source.

These are the salient points in my attempt to prove the familiarity of Dante with this commentary of Egidio Eremita. But they are so vague when presented thus in outline that I am venturing to submit the whole paper as read by me on June 11th of last year at the Vice Chancellor's lodgings to the long-suffering generosity of Professor Norton's perusal, and I need not say how honored I should be if any other member of the Society could find leisure to read it. Moreover, since the fact of Dante's prevailing conception of Fortuna being contradictory to that inspired by Egidius is material, I am also submitting my paper read a year ago at Queen's College. I fear it is too long for anyone to read quite through.

. . . . .

With much respect,

Very faithfully yours,

Louis Dyer



BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE  
MANUSCRIPTS OF BOCCACCIO'S *LIFE*  
*OF DANTE* AND THE *COMPENDIUM*  
TOGETHER WITH THE *CANZONIERE*  
IN THE PLIMPTON COLLECTION OF  
THE WELLESLEY COLLEGE LIBRARY

A. THE LIFE, BY BOCCACCIO	P. 751
B, A. THE COMPENDIUM }	
B, B. THE CANZONIERE }	P. 861

BY MARGARET H. JACKSON





## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

### A. THE LIFE

Qui comenza La uita costumi delo excelēte Poeta uulgari Dante alegierj de firēze | honore egloria delo idioma fiorentino. Scrito | e composto p lo famosissimo homo miss Zuan | bochacio de certaldo scrito della origine uita | Studij e costumj del clarissimo homo Dante | Aleghieri Poeta fiorentino Edelopere com|poste per luj comenza felice-mente. E in que|sto primo capitolo tocha la sententia di Solo,ne La quale e mal seguita p li fiorentinj | Capitolo primo ||

No colophon.

Manuscript on paper, 3d quarter of the XVc, 43 folios, 31 lines to the full page, 14.50 + 8 cts. Folios 1-38 contain *Dante's Life* by Boccaccio, the following four, 39-41, contain the *Life of Petrarch*, in Latin, by Paolo Vergerio, the elder; followed by seven blank folios with the top, bottom, and side margins ruled. The paper shows no water-mark. The writing is distinct, the ink black. The title and chapter headings are in red with spaces left for the initials, which were to have been more or less ornamental. Bound in half calf. The armorial book-plate—"Ex libris Gualtieri Sneyd."<sup>1</sup>

In preparing his exhaustive study of Boccaccio's *Life of Dante*,<sup>2</sup> Dr. Macri-Leone examined twenty-two manuscripts, twenty in Florence and two in Venice—eighteen on paper and four on vellum. With regard to other manuscripts than these he says:—"dell' esistenza di altri manoscritti non sono ne potrei essere garante, ne mi maraviglierei o mi offliggerei se un bel giorno ne venisse fuori qualche altro che ora non conosco o *si tiene celato in qualche angolo del mondo*."<sup>3</sup>

He divides the manuscripts into three main groups: (a) those which contain Giovanni del Virgilio's epitaph; (b) those which do not; and (c) those

<sup>1</sup> The late Reverend Walter Sneyd of Keel Hall, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staff.

<sup>2</sup> *La Vita di Dante scritta da Giovanni Boccaccio*, testo critico con introduzione note e appendice di Francesco Macri-Leone, Firenze, Sansoni, 1888.

<sup>3</sup> M-L. op. cit. p. cliv. The italics are not in the text.

which give the first line of Del Virgilio, followed by two six-line epitaphs, the one beginning "Inclita Fama"; the other, "Jura Monarchae."<sup>1</sup>

Since it contains the Del Virgilio epitaph with the correct reading *Atropos* instead of *Antropos*, the Plimpton manuscript would seem to belong to group *a*, but it contains chapter headings found in no manuscript consulted by Macrì-Leone but found in the *Vita* prefaced to the 1477 edition of the *Divina Commedia*,<sup>2</sup> which he considers to be derived from group *c*, the least correct.<sup>3</sup>

Careful examination of the writing points to Fra Filippo della Strada as copyist. This would account for occasional lapses into local spelling, as, *Zuan bochacio, comenza, antigua, secondo aluni*. Fra Filippo was a Dominican friar born in Pavia but living and working in the Benedictine monastery of San Cipriano at Murano between 1450 and 1498. He was a prolific copyist and shared with Vespasiano de' Bisticci his dislike of printed books.

The remarkable feature of the Plimpton manuscript is its division into twenty-eight chapters, each preceded by an argument. None of the manuscripts described by Macrì-Leone are so divided; he therefore adopts the divisions as found in Milanese's edition.<sup>4</sup> There are seventeen sections, each preceded by a title; as 1 PROEMIO. 2 NASCIMENTO E STUDI DI DANTE. 3 AMORE PER BEATRICE E MATRIMONIO DI DANTE, and so forth. The 1544 edition,<sup>5</sup> printed separately, is divided into twenty-eight sections, the divisions being indicated by having the first word printed in small capitals and not preceded by a title or argument. In the Vendelin edition of the *Divina Commedia* (Venice, 1477) the text is preceded by Boccaccio's *Vita*, the first time it appears in print. It is divided into twenty-eight chapters, each with its number and argument. The wording of these arguments and those of the Plimpton manuscript is almost identical; the spelling is less capricious. For comparison the headings of the first five chapters will serve.

<sup>1</sup> M-L. op. cit. p. clxi.

<sup>2</sup> This editio princeps is the only one which divides the work into twenty-eight numbered chapters, each with its subject written at the head.—Karl Witte, *Essays on Dante*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1898, p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> M-L. op. cit. pp. clvi-clvii.

<sup>4</sup> Sebbene i codici non mi autorizzano, pure credo opportuno, per comodo dei lettori, di conservare l'uso della divisione in capitoli co' relativi argomenti, introdotto sin dalla prima edizione. Per questa parte mi attengo fedelmente a l'edizione Milanese.—M-L. op. cit. p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Vita di Dante*, Roma, Fco. Priscianese, fiorentino, 1544.

## PLIMPTON MANUSCRIPT

Qui comenza La uita costumi delo  
 excelēte Poeta uulgari Dante ale-  
 gierj de firēze honore e gloria delo  
 idioma fiorentino Scrito e com-  
 posto **p** lo famosissimo homo miss  
 Zuan bochacio de certaldo scritto  
 dela origine uita Studij e costumj  
 del clarissimo homo Dante Aleghi-  
 erj Poeta Fiorentino E de lopere  
 composte per luj comenza felice-  
 mente E in questo primo capitolo  
 tocha la sententia de Solone La  
 quale emal sequita **p** li fiorentini.  
 Capitolo primo.

Capitolo secondo nel qual dice  
 la destrutione fata **p** Atila de fi-  
 renze E la redificatiō fata **p** carlo  
 magno ede cuj desese dante, el  
 sogno ch fece la madre de dante.

Nel terzo capitolo dice etrata la  
 natiuita de Dante e doue e in che  
 studio luj studio e doue ebe la  
 perfection del studiar.

Nel quarto Capl'o dimosta ī qual  
 eta dante se namorase de Beatrice  
 e cui fo fiola e de lonesta fo tra  
 loro.

Nel Quinto Capitolo pone la Morte  
 de beatrice el dolore che nebe dante,  
 e infine come se marito.

## VENDELIN EDITION, 1477

Qui comincia la vita e costumi  
 dello excellēte Poeta vulgari Dante  
 alighieri di Firenze honore e glo-  
 ria delidioma Fiorentino. Scripto  
 e composto per lo famosissimo  
 homo missier giouani Bocchacio da  
 certaldo. Scripto de la origine  
 vita. Studii e costumi del clari-  
 simo huomo Dante alleghieri Poeta  
 Fiorentino. E dellopere composte  
 per lui in comincia felicemente.  
 E in questo primo capitolo tocha  
 la sententia de Solone la qualee  
 mal seguita **p** gli Fiorentini.<sup>1</sup>

Capitolo secondo nel quale dice  
 la distrutione fatta per atila de  
 firenze e la redifficatōne facta per  
 Carlo magno. E de cui disciesse  
 Dāte el sompno chessi feccie la  
 madre di Dante.

Nel terzo chapitolo dicie & tratta  
 la nativita di Dante. E dove e in  
 qua studio lui studio. E dove ebbe  
 la perfectiōe del studiañ.

Nel quarto capitolo dimostra in  
 quale eta Dante senamorasse di  
 Beatrice e di cui essa fue fegliuola.  
 Equāto honesta fue tra loro.

Nel qnto capitolo pone la morte d  
 beaīce el dolore cñ nebbe Dāte  
 & ī fine cōe se marito.

<sup>1</sup> Il titolo può essere uno specimen degli errori e dell' ortografia del testo, difetti però come ben osserva il Witte (op. cit. p. 265) comuni alla maggior parte del quattro cento. — M.-L. p. cxxiv.

Given the above noted similarities and the fact that Vendelin's edition was printed in Venice at the time when Fra Filippo was at his best as a scribe, the opinion seems justified that Vendelin made use of the above described manuscript in publishing the *Vita di Dante* by Boccaccio with which he prefaces his edition of the *Divina Commedia*.

#### B, A. THE COMPENDIUM

(Compendium <sup>f. 12</sup>) Comincia della origine uita costu|mi & studij del famosissimo poeta | Dante aleghieri de firenze. & dellopere composte dallui: ||

(Colophon, <sup>f. 69 v.</sup>) Qui finisce il brieue tractato della | origine uita costumi & opere del | chiaro poeta Dante allighieri di firenze. Fatto ï laude honore & com|enditiõe del detto poeta dal peritissimo & famoso poeta Messer | Johānj Boccaccio da certaldo di fire. ||

#### B, B. THE CANZONIERE

(Canzoniere, <sup>f. 69 r.</sup>) Canzon prima dello Splendore | ytalico Dante Aleghierj Poeta | Fiorentino. Nella quale tracta | la rigidita della sua donna cõ | Rigide rime dimostra ||

(Colophon, <sup>f. 129 r.</sup>) Qui finiscono tutte le canzoni che | si truonano del famoso Poeta fiorẽtino | Dante Alighieri le quali Io Iohānj | Bonafe trāscripsi a preghi del valo|roso Giovane: ||

On the *verso* of folio 130 a later hand has written: "In mondo spes nula boni" and "Spes nula salutis."

Manuscript on vellum, written by Giovanni Bonafè, second half of the fifteenth century; 130 unnumbered folios. Sixty-eight contain the *Compendium* of Boccaccio's *Vita*; ff. 69-130 Dante's *Canzoniere*. 7 + 5 cms. 16 lines to the full page. Brown calf, armorial book-plate of the Marchese Gerolamo d'Adda of Milan; shelf A. IV, No. 19.<sup>1</sup> Lead government seal attached.

The initial letter of the *Compendium* and that of the *Canzoniere* are similar in treatment; the letter itself, taking up one quarter of the page, is in gold with decorations in various colors—that of the former is somewhat rubbed, that of the latter is in perfect condition. The initials of

<sup>1</sup> Belonging to the Marchese Gerolamo d'Adda, parchment, written with extreme beauty (Witte op. cit. p. 264).

the sections of the *Compendium* are in red and blue, blue letters with red tendrils alternating with red letters and blue tendrils; those of the *Canzoniere* are of exquisite workmanship, gold and white on an ultramarine ground.

Manuscripts of the *Compendium* are rare. Macrì-Leone describes fifteen, twelve in Florence, one in Genoa, two in Milan; of these only two are described as on vellum. The manuscripts in Milan and Genoa he has not examined personally. The Milan manuscripts are those of the Marchese Trivulzio and of the Marchese d'Adda. It is the latter manuscript which has passed into the possession of Wellesley College. Macrì-Leone<sup>1</sup> owes the collation to Professor Francesco Novati, who, however, misread the name of the scribe — Boccafè for Bonafè. Owing to the fact that it is a registered and catalogued manuscript — that is, one of historical or artistic importance — it bears the government seal permitting it to leave the country.

Although unable, as yet, to compare the Wellesley manuscript with those in the Italian libraries, the writer is satisfied that it does not vary in any essential from the accepted text of the *Compendio*. The lacunæ and additions seem to be the same.

As manuscripts of Dante's *Canzoniere* are somewhat rare and vary so much both as to what they include and what they exclude, the writer has thought it might be of interest to add to the foregoing bibliographical notes on Boccaccio's *Vita de Dante* and the *Compendio*, similar notes on the *Canzoniere* of Dante, as found in the last sixty folios of the D'Adda-Wellesley manuscript.

Professor Santi<sup>2</sup> in his study of the *Canzoniere* divides the ninety-two manuscripts examined by him in Florence and Rome into two well-defined groups.

One consists of fifty-one manuscripts. These may show interesting variants and have an important historical value, but they indicate clearly that they form no part of a prearranged collection; the canzoni vary in number and present no scheme of arrangement.

In the other, consisting of forty-one manuscripts, the scheme is strictly defined. Fifteen canzoni are arranged in an unvarying order.

<sup>1</sup> M-L. op. cit. pp. cxlvi and cxlvii.

<sup>2</sup> Santi, Antonio, *Il Canzoniere di Dante Alighieri*, Vol. II, Roma, Loescher, 1907.

These fifteen are sometimes preceded or followed by one or more sonnets or ballate—in one case they are preceded by two canzoni of the *Vita Nuova*, in another followed by the three of the *Vita Nuova*, but otherwise there is no change. It is to this smaller but homogeneous group that the Wellesley manuscript belongs; its list of first lines is as follows:

- 1 Così nel mio parlar voglio esser aspro,<sup>1</sup>
- 2 Voi che intendendo il terzo ciel movete,
- 3 Amor, che nella mente mi ragiona
- 4 Le dolci rime d'amor, ch'io solìa
- 5 Amor, che muovi tua virtù dal cielo,
- 6 Io sento sì d'Amor la gran possanza,
- 7 Al poco giorno, ed al gran chercchio d'ombra
- 8 Amor, tu vedi, ben che questa donna
- 9 Io son venuto al punto della rota,
- 10 E' m'incresce di me sì malamente,
- 11 Poscia ch'Amor del tutto m'ha lasciato'
- 12 La dispietata mente, che pur mira
- 13 Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute,
- 14 Doglia mi reca nello core ardire,
- 15 Amor, dacchè convien pur ch'io mi doglia,
- 16 Ai fals ris! per qua traitz avetz
- 17 Donne, ch'avete intelletto d'amore,
- 18 Donna pietosa e di novella etate,
- 19 Gli occhi dolenti per pietà nel core<sup>2</sup>

Of the first fifteen canzoni three (Nos. 2, 3 & 4) are found in the *Convivio*; five are referred to in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (Nos. 5, 7, 8, 11, 14); six have been ascribed to Dante on the authority of tradition, supported by the foremost Dante scholars and critics (Nos. 1, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13) and one is appended to the *Epistle to Morcio Malaspina* (No. 15). Then follows one of doubtful authenticity (No. 16) and three from the *Vita Nuova* (Nos. 17, 18, 19).

The Canzoni in the Wellesley manuscript are therefore nineteen in number, the first fifteen follow the normal order, then the doubtful one

<sup>1</sup> In this list the spelling of Moore's edition has been followed.

<sup>2</sup> The Canzone "Morte perch'io" and "O patria degna" are not found in either the Wellesley manuscript or in those of the same group.



found in only one other manuscript of those consulted by Santi<sup>1</sup> and then the three of the *Vita Nuova*.

Professor Santi subdivides his forty-one manuscripts into those, fifteen in number, that have an argument either in Italian or Latin<sup>2</sup> preceding each canzone, and those which have none.

A further subdivision reduces the fifteen to six, these having a formal beginning and end, an *incipit* and *explicit*, showing that the arrangement of the canzoni is that of a predetermined collection and is entirely distinct from any compositions that may precede or follow it in the manuscript. Of these six collections, three manuscripts belong to the Riccardi Library in Florence (Nos. 1007, 1083, 1085), two to the National Library in Florence (Palatino 186 and Magliabecchiano VII, 1023), one to the Vatican, Rome (Urbino, 686). Four of these consist simply in the fifteen canzoni; in two, the fifteen canzoni are followed by the Ballata "I mi son pargoletta."

The Wellesley manuscript may be added as an important seventh to this group, for besides the fifteen canzoni *de rigueur*, the arguments, the *incipit* and *explicit*, it adds the doubtful canzone "Ai fous ris" and the three of the *Vita Nuova*. To be sure, in two manuscripts we find the *Vita Nuova* canzoni, in the *Vatican Barberini* 3662 (where the arrangement is "Donne che avete," "Donna pietosa," the fifteen canzoni, and "Ai fous ris") and in the *Vatican Ottobuoni* (which contains the fifteen canzoni and the three from the *Vita Nuova*), but since the Barberini manuscript has neither *incipit* nor *explicit* and the Ottobuoni lacks the arguments, they do not form part of the group of six. It therefore includes all the desirable features of a *Canzoniere* and adds besides that of being a manuscript on vellum<sup>3</sup> "of extreme beauty."<sup>4</sup>

In view of the rarity of manuscripts of the *Canzoniere* treated as complete collections, a comparison of the arguments of the Wellesley-d'Adda manuscript and that of the Vatican-Urbino 686 may be of interest.

<sup>1</sup> Santi, op. cit. 499.

<sup>2</sup> As the Italian and Latin arguments are practically identical he does not subdivide further (op. cit. p. 34).

<sup>3</sup> Of the group of forty-one manuscripts Santi registers twelve as being on vellum and of the perfect six only two (Riccardi 1007 & Urbino 686) as on vellum.

<sup>4</sup> Witte, op. cit. p. 264.



## VATICAN-URBINO 686

Qui cominciano le canzoni dis-  
tese del chiaro poeta Dante Ali-  
ghieri fiorentino. Nelle quali di  
varie cose va tractando: Nella  
prima la rigidità della sua donna  
con rigide rime dimostra.

*Così nel mio parlar —*

Canzona seconda di Dante nella  
quale egli del suo amore parla  
alle intelligentie del terzo cielo.

*Voi, che intendendo —*

Canzona tertia di Dante nella  
quale egli parla della virtù e della  
bellezza della sua donna.

*Amor, che nella mente —*

Canzona quarta di Dante  
nella quale nobilmente parla  
della Gentilezza.

*Le dolci rime d'amor —*

Canzona quinta di Dante nel-  
la quale egli parla ad amor della  
donna sua cioè

*Amor, che muovi —*

Canzona sexta di Dante nella  
quale dimostra quanto sia  
innamorato.

*Io sento sì d'Amor —*

Canzona septima di Dante  
nella quale mostra se per lo tempo  
del verno non lasciare d'amare.

*Al poco giorno —*

## WELLESLEY-D'ADDA

Canzon prima dello Splendore  
italico Dante Alighieri Poeta  
Fiorentino. Nella quale tracta  
Larigidita della sua donna cō  
Rigide rime dimostra:

*Così nel mio parlar —*

Canzon 2<sup>da</sup> de detto dante nella  
quale egli parla del suo Amore  
all'intelligentie del terzo cielo.

*Voi ch'entendete —*

Canzon terza di Dante nella quale  
parla della virtù & della bellezza  
della sua donna:

*Amor che nella mente —*

Canzon quarta di Dante nella  
quale nobilmente parla della  
gentilezza:

*Le dolci rime d'amor —*

Canzon quinta di Dante nella  
quale egli parla ad amore della  
donna sua.

*Amore che muovi —*

Canzon VI<sup>a</sup> di Dante nella quale  
dimostra quanto sia innamorato.

*Io sento sì d'amor —*

Canzon VII<sup>a</sup> di Dante nella  
quale mostra se per lo tempo  
del verno non lasciare d'amare.

*Al poco giorno —*

Cançona octava di Dante nella quale priega Amore che ammollicha la durezza della sua donna.

*Amor, tu vedi ben —*

Cançona nona di Dante nella quale mostra il suo amor non mutarsi per nessuna variazione di tempo.

*Io son venuto al punto —*

Cançona decima di Dante nella quale egli con le donne si duole della donna sua.

*E' m' incresce di me —*

Cançona undecima di Dante nella quale egli noblissimamente parla della vera leggiadria.

*Poscia ch' Amor del tutto —*

Cançona duodecima di Dante nella quale egli humilmente priega la sua donna che di lui abbia pietà.

*La dispietata mente —*

Cançona tredicesima di Dante nella quale artificiosamente parla delle virtù.

*Tre donne intorno al cor —*

Cançona quattordicesima di Dante nella quale parla contra i viciosi et maxime contra gli avari.

*Doglia mi reca nello core —*

Cançona quintadecima di Dante nella quale si duole della rigidità d'una crudele donna.

*Amor dacche convien —*

Canzon VIII<sup>a</sup> di Dante nella quale pega amore che amollicca la durezza della sua donna:

*Amor, tu vedi ben —*

Canzon IX<sup>a</sup> di Dante nella quale mostra il suo amore nõ mutarsi Per niuna uariatione omutatione di tempo:

*Io son uenuto al punto —*

Canzon X<sup>a</sup> di Dante nella quale egli cõ le doñe si duole della doña sua:

*E mincresce de me —*

Canzon XI di Dante nella quale egli noblissimamente parla della uera leggiadria:

*Poscia ch' amor del tutto —*

Canzon XII<sup>a</sup> di Dante nella quale egli humilmente priega la sua doña che di lui abbia pietà.

*La dispietatamente —*

Canzon XIII di Dante nella quale artificiosamēte parla delle vertu.

*Tre donne intorno al cor —*

Canzon XIII<sup>a</sup> di Dante nella quale parla cõtra uitiosi. & maxime contra gli auari:

*Doglia mi reca nello cor ardire*

Canzon XV<sup>a</sup> di Dante nella quale si duole della rigidità duna crudele donna di casentino.<sup>1</sup>

*Amor da che cõuen —*

<sup>1</sup> Of the ninety-one manuscripts only two give the place name of Casentino.

Qui finischono le quindici canzone del chiaro poeta Dante alighieri fiorentino. Amen. Deo gratias.<sup>1</sup>

Canzon XVI<sup>a</sup> di dāte nella quale tracta della crudelta della doña sua itreligue.

*Ai faus ris pouquoi tray aues*

Canzon XVII di Dante nella quale tracta alaude della doña sua:

*Donne che avete intellecto damore*

Canzon XVIII di dante nella quale tratta duna visione della sua doña come **p** essa ti manifesta & come dolcemēte la uide portare dagliangeli in cielo:

*Donna pietosa di novella etate*

Canzon XVIII di dante nella quale si lamēta della morte della sua donna.

*Gli occhi dolenti per pietà del core*

Qui finiscono tutte le canzoni che si truouano del famoso Poeta fiorētino Dante Alighieri le quali Io Johañj Bonafe trascrissi a prieghi delualoroso Giouane.

<sup>1</sup> Santi, op. cit. pp. 32-34.

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\* Deceased.

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MISS MARY V. YOUNG . . . . .	South Hadley, Mass.
C. D. ZDANOWICZ . . . . .	Madison, Wis.

\* Deceased.

# STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

(From May 20, 1913, to May 19, 1914)

Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May 20, 1913 . . . . .	\$948.79	
Members' fees till May 19, 1914 . . . . .	355.00	
Copyrights and sales . . . . .	56.63	
Interest . . . . .	18.16	
	<hr/>	\$1378.58
Paid Ginn and Company . . . . .	\$133.74	
Paid the Treasurer of Harvard College (for the Library) . . . . .	150.00	
Paid the Treasurer of Harvard College (for the Dante prize). . . . .	100.00	
Refunded from sales of the Fay Concordance . .	36.00	
Printing, postage, etc. . . . .	12.80	
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May 19, 1914 . . . . .	946.04	
	<hr/>	\$1378.58

## BY-LAWS

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1. This Society shall be called the DANTE SOCIETY. Its object shall be the encouragement of the study of the Life and Works of Dante.

2. Any person desirous to become a member of this Society may do so by signifying his or her wish in writing to the Secretary, and by the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

3. An Annual Meeting for the election of officers shall be held at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of May, of which due notice shall be given to the members by the Secretary.

4. Special meetings may be held at any time appointed by vote of the members at the Annual Meeting, or by call from the President and Secretary.

5. The officers shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Librarian, who, together with three members thereto chosen, shall form the Council of the Society. All these officers shall be chosen at the Annual Meeting, and their term of service shall be for one year, or until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled for the remainder of the year by the Council.

6. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice President, or, in the absence of both, any member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council.

7. The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep a record of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, shall collect and receive all dues, and keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the Society, shall give notice of meetings, and shall perform all other duties appropriate to his office.

8. The Council shall hold meetings at such times as it may appoint, shall determine on the use to be made of the income of the Society, shall endeavor to promote the special objects of the Society in such ways as may seem most appropriate, and shall make an annual report of their



proceedings, including a full statement of accounts, at each Annual Meeting. This report shall be made in print for distribution to the members.

9. No officer of the Society shall be competent to contract debts in the name of the Society, and no expenditure shall be made without a vote of the Council.

10. A majority of the Council shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. Any person distinguished for his interest in the purposes of the Society, or who has rendered it valuable service, may be chosen an Honorary Member at any regular meeting of the Society, and shall be entitled to all its privileges without annual assessment.

12. The preceding rules may be changed at any time by unanimous vote of the Council.

## THE DANTE PRIZE

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The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars for the best essay by a student in any department of Harvard University, or by a graduate of not more than three years' standing, on a subject drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1914-1915 the following subjects were proposed:

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*
12. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
13. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
14. *A criticism of Torraca's edition of the Divina Commedia.*

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College Cambridge, Mass., on or before the *first day of May*.

Essayists are at liberty to write on any one of the subjects which have been proposed in the years during which the Dante Prize has been offered, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

On the title-page must be written an assumed name and a statement of the writer's standing, i.e. whether he is a graduate or an undergraduate (and of what college or university); if he is an undergraduate, to what class he belongs, and to what department of the college or university. Under cover with the essay must be sent a sealed letter containing the true name and address of the writer, and superscribed with his assumed name.

The essays must be written upon letter paper, of good quality, of the quarto size, with a margin of not less than one inch at the top, at the bottom, and on each side, so that they may be bound up without injury to the writing. The sheets on which the essay is written must be securely stitched together.

The judges of the essays are a committee of the Dante Society.

In case the judges decide that no essay submitted to them deserves the full prize, they are at liberty to award one or two prizes of fifty dollars, or to award no prize.

The Dante Society has the privilege of retaining and depositing in the Dante Collection of the Harvard College Library any or all essays offered in competition for the Dante Prize, whether successful or not.

Since its establishment the Dante Prize (in full or in part) has been awarded to the following persons :

HEINRICH CONRAD BIERWIRTH . . . . 1887

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas.*

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888

For an essay entitled *The Interpretation and Reconciliation of the Different Accounts of his Experiences after the Death of Beatrice, given by Dante in the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*

CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM . . . . 1890

For an essay entitled *A Translation into English of Dante's Letters, with Explanatory and Historical Comments.*

KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo*.

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895

For an essay entitled *Dante's Influence upon Spanish Literature during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*.

ANNETTE FISKE . . . . 1897

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to Old French and Provençal Lyric Poetry*.

ARTHUR NEWTON PEASLEE . . . . 1900

For an essay entitled *A Metrical Rhyming Translation of the Three Canzoni of the Convito*.

HENRY LATIMER SEAVER . . . . 1901

For an essay entitled *A Translation of the Canzoni in the Convito*.

ALAIN CAMPBELL WHITE . . . . 1902

The Latham Prize for an essay entitled *A Translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra, and a Discussion of its Authenticity*.

ALPHONSO DE SALVIO . . . . 1902

For an essay entitled *The Verse Endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch' erano appo gli altri dicatori usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS . . . . 1903

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

CHANDLER RATHFON POST . . . . 1906

For an essay entitled *The Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature*.

ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS . . . . 1907

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova*.

RALPH HAYWARD KENISTON . . . . 1909

For an essay entitled *The Dante Tradition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*.

ROGER THEODORE LAFFERTY . . . . 1912

For an essay entitled *The Philosophy of Dante*.

GEORGE HUSSEY GIFFORD . . . . 1913

For an essay entitled *Expressions of Gratitude in Dante*.

RICHARD AGER NEWHALL . . . . 1914

For an essay entitled *Italian Ghibellinism as reflected in Dante*.

## ANNUAL REPORT

The thirty-third annual meeting of the Dante Society was held on May 19, 1914, at the house of the President, 11 Francis Avenue, Cambridge. The reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were read and accepted, and the officers of the previous year were reëlected. Mr. William Roscoe Thayer, Mr. Jeremiah Denis Matthias Ford, and Miss Katharine Vaughan Spencer were chosen members of the Council. The Secretary reported that three essays had been submitted for the Dante prize, and that a half-prize had been awarded to Richard Ager Newhall, of the senior class in Harvard College, for a study of "Italian Ghibellinism as reflected in Dante."

After the regular business was transacted Professor Grandgent spoke briefly concerning current literature relating to Dante. The Secretary gave an account of a letter and an essay by a deceased member of the Society, Mr. Louis Dyer, on Dante's conception of Fortuna. The letter has since been published with the thirty-second Annual Report.

Another study of Fortuna, by Dr. Howard Rollin Patch, is submitted to the members of the Society with the present report. Mr. Patch's paper does not continue the particular inquiry suggested by Mr. Dyer, but is based upon an extensive investigation of the whole history

of the conception of Fortuna in mediæval literature. The author's conclusions with respect to Dante are of such interest as to make desirable their publication in this separate essay, and it is to be hoped that his complete monograph, with its fuller statement and confirmation of his opinions, may soon be printed.

The paper on "Dante and Servius," which is also published herewith, was read by Professor Rand at the annual meeting in 1915, and the Council are glad to be able to make it accessible now to all members of the Society.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

*Secretary*

CAMBRIDGE, April 11, 1916



# DANTE AND SERVIUS

BY EDWARD KENNARD RAND

How did Dante study his *buon maestro* Virgil? Directly, of course, and with a penetrating vision denied to many a humanist of the Renaissance and many a philologist of our own day. But Dante doubtless did not despise the assistance offered by commentators of the ancient poet. The commentator was a distinctly exalted person in the Middle Ages. The Latin authors entered the Carolingian period accompanied by their faithful interpreters — Horace with Porphyrius, Statius with "Lactantius Placidus," Virgil with Servius; if an author had no ancient commentary, as was true of Ovid and at first of Terence, some gallant scholar, not infrequently an Irishman, came to the rescue, and equipped his work with glosses. A writer without this retinue of respectful comment was somehow lacking in dignity. Hence, perhaps, arose in the early Middle Ages the practice of an author's commenting on his own work in case nobody appeared to perform the task for him. Hence, also, a fresh impulse was given to allegory; for if a work was to receive the honor of a commentary, it should contain matter that needed explanation. The tradition thus started prevailed through the mediæval period, and is illustrated by Dante himself in his observations on his own poems in the *Vita Nuova* and the *Convivio*. In another way he may have paid tribute to the literary customs of his age. His elaborate system of allegory, described in the *Convivio*<sup>1</sup> and the letter to Can Grande della Scala,<sup>2</sup> may have been inspired not only by the current theory on the matter, as expounded by St. Thomas Aquinas,<sup>3</sup> but by a special study of some allegorical exposition of Virgil's *Æneid*. Dante very probably knew Fulgentius, or possibly some mediæval affair of like temper, such as the commentary written on Virgil by Bernard Silvester of Tours.<sup>4</sup> Thus infused with esoteric meanings, the *Æneid* became a human

<sup>1</sup> *Conviv.* II, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Epist.* X, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Summa Theol.*, Pars I, Quaest. I, Art. ix-x.

<sup>4</sup> Only excerpts have been published. See Cousin, *Ouvrages inédits d'Abélard* 1836, pp. 639 ff.

document of somewhat alarming proportions; one could say of it most emphatically, as of Dante's poem, "*subiectum est homo.*" This *Æncis moralizata*, no less than the true *Æneid* that Dante well understood, may have served as a pattern for the *Commedia*.

The present paper is concerned not with the abstruse divinations of the allegorists, but with the humbler interpretation of Servius. It is almost a foregone conclusion that Dante should have at least consulted Servius occasionally, and students of Dante to-day have found helpful clues to the poet's meaning in the ancient commentator's remarks. Having chanced on several such passages which, so far as I know, have not been adequately noticed, I have set them forth in the hope that some more competent hand may carry the investigation further.

## I

The casual reader of Virgil's epic may not observe that the revelation made to Æneas in the world below is, like that in Dante's vision, divided between two mediators. Virgil at least adumbrates the idea, so plainly set forth in the *Commedia*, of a preliminary and partial revelation succeeded by fuller and loftier truth. Æneas and the Sibyl cross the Styx, pass through the Limbo and the Mournful Fields, which are reserved for those whose lives on earth were for various reasons incomplete, stop by the walls of Tartarus, where the Sibyl describes the punishments of the mighty sinners confined within, and then make their way to Anchises in the Elysian Fields. Thus far the Sibyl has given all the explanations. From that moment on she has nothing to say, but remains by the hero's side, a *πρόσωπον κωφόν*, while Anchises expounds the mystic philosophy which the poet, for dramatic as well as temperamental reasons, chooses as a setting for his panorama of Roman history and his exalted panegyric of the Roman state. Perhaps Dante caught from Virgil's text alone a suggestion for the twofold revelation of the *Commedia*. Perhaps he devised his scheme on the promptings of his own imagination. But also, perhaps, his imagination may have been spurred by the following note in Servius on the Sibyl's words to the bard Musæus, who meets her and the hero at the entrance to Elysium:

**Tuque optime vates** (*Æn.* VI, 669): quia (i.e. Musaeus) theologus fuit. Et sciendum hoc loco Sibyllam iam a numine derelictam; unde et interrogat, quod alias non faceret.

In matters of theology, the Sibyl has to ask questions; before long she will be dumb in the presence of a greater prophet who, like Beatrice in the *Commedia*, has power to explain the innermost mysteries of creation and human history.

## II

Why is Dante's Inferno partitioned into nine circles? Perhaps to make a pendant to a Paradise of nine circles, which owes its design to the ancient astronomy handed down to the Middle Ages first and foremost, it would appear, in Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* and Macrobius's commentary thereon. Dante loved the number nine, and starting with a ninefold Paradise might well without prompting have contrived an Inferno to match. Certainly Virgil's text gives no hint of such a picture. There is a *facilis descensus* from earth to Hades, but no succession of descents when Hades is once reached. There are undulating valleys in Elysium, and Tartarus, like a huge well, has its own depths; but Virgil's Hell is constructed, vaguely and mysteriously, on a generally uniform level. One searches in vain for anything like nine descending circles. The Styx, to be sure, winds nine times about the dolorous country; that is to imprison its inmates the more securely:

fas obstat, tristisque palus inamabilis undae  
alligat et novies Styx interfusa coercet (vv. 438 f.).

But Servius cannot let the definite numeral *novies* go by without elucidation. According to him, the poet declares "*novem esse circulos Stygis quae inferos cingit*," and in his note on another passage, the commentator describes them.

**In limine primo** (v. 427): novem circulis inferi cincti esse dicuntur, quos nunc exsequitur. Nam primum dicit animas infantum tenere, secundum eorum qui sibi per simplicitatem adesse nequiverunt, tertium eorum qui evitantes aerumnas se necarunt, quartum eorum qui amarunt, quintum virorum fortium dicit, sextum nocentes tenent qui puniuntur a iudicibus, in septimo animae purgantur, in octavo sunt animae ita purgatae ut redeunt in corpora, in nono ut iam non redeant, scilicet campus Elysus.

Now of course such a topography, which incidentally reveals in Servius an abysmal ignorance of Virgil's meaning, has no relation to the divisions of the Inferno, with a Limbo and subsequent circles of Lust,

Gluttony, Avarice and Prodigality, Anger, Heresy, Violence, Fraud and Deceit, and Treachery; Servius's plan has to include not only Hell, but Purgatory and Paradise. But the idea of nine separate compartments or circles was accessible to Dante in Servius. Servius has other passages, which I cannot discuss here, on the divisions of Hades. He makes the curious attempt (on vv. 127 and 439) to impress Ptolemaic astronomy into the service of Epicurean theology, which has dispensed with the *Tartareae sedes* altogether and located Hell on this earth; but as this idea is assigned to the subtler philosophers (*qui altius de mundi ratione quaesiverunt*), Servius perhaps thought his simpler explanation truer to the poet's intention.

One question remains: Are the circles, as in Dante, arranged on a downward grade? We should imagine that even Servius would not put Elysium at the bottom of the well; he doubtless did not intend to do so. There is reason to believe, however, that at least part of Virgil's underworld was thought by Servius to have a downward incline, as appears in his comments on the rivers of Hell.

### III

The Virgilian Hades is nine times belted by the river Styx (v. 439). But this bounding stream seems also to be called Acheron,<sup>1</sup> or Cocytus.<sup>2</sup> The situation is more distinct, though not much more, when Æneas and the Sibyl come through the portal of Orcus to the bank of the river (vv. 295 ff.):

Hinc via Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas.  
Turbidus hic caeno vastaue voragine gurgēs  
aestuat atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam.

The bounding river here, then, is Acheron, a dirty brawling stream, which belches all its sand into the Cocytus. As they stand on the banks, the Sibyl informs Æneas that he beholds the pools of Cocytus and the Stygian marsh —

Cocyti stagna alta vides Stygiamque paludem (v. 323).

<sup>1</sup> V. 106 f.: quando hic inferni ianua regis | dicitur et tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 131 f.: tenent media omnia silvae, | Cocytusque sinu labens circumvenit atro.

Then Charon appears and ferries them over — it were rash to say what river. Virgil leaves the picture in the blur of impressionism of which he is fond. The *nützliche Wandkarte* of the lower regions prepared for the schoolroom by a German savant gives us no help here. Virgil has a penchant for coloring rather than topography. He locates Phlegethon, however, more definitely; it is a river of fire surrounding the walls of Tartarus.

Servius, as ever, constructs a formal scheme for the rivers, finding one clue in the etymology, or his etymology, of their names. Acheron (v. 107), coming from ἄνευ χαρᾶς, means *sine gaudio*; Styx (v. 134), ἀπὸ τοῦ στυγεροῦ, is *maeror* or *tristitia*; Cocytus (v. 132), ἀπὸ τοῦ κωκύνειν, is *luctus*; and Phlegethon (v. 265), from φλόξ, is *ignis* — the last two explanations fairly hit the mark. On v. 295 (*Hinc via Tartarei*, etc.) Servius remarks that Æneas and his guide come "*post errorem silvarum*" (Dante's *selva oscura*), to the streams of Hades. Taking *Tartarei* as an exact topographical term, the commentator infers that Acheron rises in the depths of Hell, flows upwards, and eventually belches its sand into the Cocytus; the Styx, for no very good reason that we can see, serves as a connecting link between the two.

Acheronta vult quasi de imo nasci Tartaro, huius aestuaria Stygem creare, de Styge autem nasci Cocytum.

This order of the streams, however, Acheron, Styx, Cocytus, is due merely to the poet's fancy. Calling etymology into play, Servius finds that the real or "physiological" order — psychological we should say — is different:

Et haec est mythologia: nam physiologia hoc habet, quia qui caret gaudio sine dubio tristis est. Tristitia autem vicina luctui est, qui procreatur ex morte: unde haec esse apud inferos dicit.

The ultimate begetter at the bottom of the pit is thus Mors, whence spring in succession, Cocytus, Styx, and Acheron. This order is repeated in the note on v. 385, where Servius adds that there are various tributaries:

De his autem nascuntur alia unde est (v. 439) *et novies Styx interfusa coerces*.

Dante may well have read Servius's account of the Infernal rivers, and preferred, for matters of fact, the testimony of the commentator to that



of the poet. Mythology was not Dante's concern; his order is the real and "physiological." Acheron is his outermost and uppermost stream. Styx is reached at the fifth circle, that of the Wrathful and Sullen. With the sixth circle, we come to the City of Dis, about which we might expect Phlegethon to flow, as in Virgil; it appears instead after the sudden drop to the seventh circle. Cocytus is at the bottom of the lowest and coldest circle of all. May we venture a further step and suppose that Dante saw in Servius's phrase *luctui . . . qui procreatur ex morte* a hint of the personified Mors who accompanies Satan in the mediæval mysteries on the Harrowing of Hell? Dante's grim imagination and his sense of climax are cause enough for his setting Satan at the bottom of Hell; but as the Devil stands in the midst of the frozen pools of Cocytus, we may suspect some connection between Dante's picture and the remark of Servius that the Cocytus is derived from Mors. We must admit, of course, that though Dante started with Servius, as I think reasonable to assume, he readapted his material in the twenty-fourth Canto of the *Inferno*. Here the rivers do not spring from the depths of Hell; they accumulate from the tears of sin and suffering shed by the huge statue that symbolizes mankind. Dante has moulded bits from Servius and Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Daniel (ii, 31-33) into splendid imagery of his own.<sup>1</sup>

## IV

We turn from topographical to ethical considerations. The sin of sloth (*accidia*) seems a characteristically mediæval, or at least Christian, affair — not the state of mind, which has probably existed from the beginning of the world, but the exaltation of the vice into one of the principal categories. Aristotle's discussion of *πραότης* broaches the matter,<sup>2</sup> but Cassian seems to have been the first to draw up a formal list of the sins, among which the sin of sloth is numbered; his book *De Institutione Coenobiorum et de Octo Principalium Vitiū Remedii* was written down to 426 A.D., and describes monastic theory and practice as Cassian had learned them in the East. His scheme of the vices does not differ

<sup>1</sup> Possibly some form of Plato's account of Tartarus and its rivers had also reached Dante. See *Phædo*, 112 A: ὁ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν Τάρταρον κεκλήκασιν. εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ χάσμα συρρέουσιν τε πάντες οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἐκρέουσιν.

<sup>2</sup> *Eth. Nic.* IV, 11. See on the whole subject Dr. Moore's admirable essay in his *Studies in Dante*, Second Series, pp. 175 ff.

essentially from that of Dante in the *Purgatorio*; both have a place for *accidia* (ἀκηδία). Perhaps Servius can point us to another origin for the Christian classification which, however novel in its outcome, may have been based on older conceptions than those of monasticism. In his note on Lethe (v. 714), Servius has the following:

Docent autem philosophi, anima descendens quid per singulos circulos perdat: unde etiam mathematici fingunt, quod singulorum numinum potestatibus corpus et anima nostra conexas sunt ea ratione, quia cum descendunt animae trahunt secum torporem Saturni, Martis iracundiam, libidinem Veneris, Mercurii lucri cupiditatem, Iovis regni desiderium: quae res faciunt perturbationem animabus, ne possint uti vigore suo et viribus propriis.

According, then, to the philosophers, who here seem like Neoplatonists, the soul, after leaving the ideal world, descends through the different spheres, losing some virtues in every circle; incidentally it would interest us to know what these virtues are. Similarly, the astrologers have a fable (*fingunt* is not a complimentary word) that the soul acquires a vice from every planet; thus the poor soul, dropping a virtue and picking up a vice at every station, is adequately attuned to human conditions by the time it reaches the earth. Now among the five examples given by Servius, not only is *accidia* represented (*torpor*), but *ira*, *libido*, and *lucris cupiditas* have their equivalents in the lists of Cassian and Dante. Does not the formal classification of the sins derive in part, at least, from astronomical fancies? The bit of Neoplatonic speculation in Servius's note is also tantalizing. Eduard Norden, in his magnificent edition of the *Sixth Aeneid*,<sup>1</sup> suggests that certain of the philosophical remarks in Servius, Macrobius, and St. Augustine are taken from a set of Neoplatonic *quaestiones* on the sixth *Aeneid*; the author, Norden thinks, may have been Marius Victorinus, the eminent Neoplatonic philosopher who became a Christian and who both before and after his conversion enjoyed the friendship of St. Augustine and St. Jerome. A pupil of Norden's, F. Bitzch, has written a dissertation on the subject,<sup>2</sup> and it is ripe for still further investigation. As a preliminary, I would here express the belief, which will be more fully set forth elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> that the

<sup>1</sup> Leipzig, 1903, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *De Platoniorum quaestionibus quibusdam Vergilianis*. Berlin, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> The subject will also be treated in a dissertation by Mr. H. T. Smith, candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Harvard University.



genuine commentary of Servius is hardly more than an extract from the longer version first published by Pierre Daniel in 1600, and that this longer version is substantially the supposedly lost commentary of Donatus. If this theory is correct, the Neoplatonistic and astronomical matter in the Servian commentary is pushed back in date, with the commentary as a whole, about half a century before the time of Servius. In this case it seems a little doubtful if Marius Victorinus, who was certainly not active as a teacher before Donatus, would have supplied the latter with material for his commentary; it is possible, of course, but Donatus's purpose, expounded in the introductory letter that accompanies his work, is to gather the opinions of the ancients. The bearing of all this on Dante is not immediate, except as it shows the pagan coloring of some of the traditional philosophy, and suggests a further examination of Dante's astronomy in the light of Servius.

## V

My last example is a vexed point in literary history. In the twentieth Canto of the *Inferno*, Virgil is made to discourse on the founding of his native Mantua. The town, he declares, commemorates Manto, daughter of the seer Tiresias, who, leaving her Theban home for Italy, came down Lake Benaco and the river Mincio to a flat plain, marshy and pestilential. In this abandoned spot,

*per fuggire ogni consorzio umano* (v. 85),

she settled. On her death men built the city over her dead bones. This, Virgil protests, is the true story of the founding of Mantua (vv. 97 ff.):

"Però t'assenno, che se tu mai odi  
 Orignar la mia terra altrimenti,  
 La verità nulla menzogna frodi."

Curiously, the version which by implication Dante's Virgil denies, is that of the real Virgil, who names the founder as Ocnus (*Æn.* X, 198 ff.):

Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet Ocnus ab oris,  
 fatidicae Mantus et 'Tusci filius amnis,  
 qui muros matrisque dedit tibi, Mantua, nomen.

The Manto here mentioned is generally assumed to be an entirely different person from the Theban prophetess; she is called a river-nymph,

and thought to figure in some native Italian tradition that Virgil knew.<sup>1</sup> It is also suggested that Dante knew of the Greek Manto from Statius or from the brief statement in St. Isidore (*Origines*, XV, i, 59):

Manto Tiresiae filia post interitum Thebanorum dicitur delata in Italiam Mantuam condidisse: est autem in Venetia, quae Gallia Cisalpina dicitur: et dicta Mantua, quod manes tuetur.

But, why, the reader wonders, should Dante be so concerned with refuting his revered Virgil? Did he consider Statius or St. Isidore better authorities? It is Servius again, I believe, who helps us solve the question. On *Æn.* X, 198, he remarks:

Ocnus. Iste est Ocnus, quem in *Bucolicis* Bianorem dicit (*Ecl.* IX, 60). Hic Mantuam dicitur condidisse, quam a matris nomine appellavit: nam fuit filius Tiberis et Mantus, Tiresiae Thebani vatis, quae post patris interitum ad Italiam venit.

St. Isidore was not the first, then, to identify Virgil's Manto with the Theban. Virgil's commentator Servius has this tradition too. Servius, if I am right, is really Donatus; both Donatus and Isidore drew copiously from Suetonius. There is no evidence for tracking the present comment back to Suetonius, but whether he had it or not, it may well interpret Virgil's meaning correctly. What proof is there that his Manto was a river-nymph? The daughter of Tiresias might have become the mother of Ocnus by Father Tiber; river-gods, as the stories of Rea Silvia and Anna Perenna show, did not confine their attentions to nymphs. It is this part of the legend in which Dante does contradict his master. He may have felt so authorized on observing the uncertainty of Virgil himself; for in the ninth *Eclogue* the founder of Mantua is called Bianor. We may now add the rest of the note in Servius.

Alii Manto filiam Herculis vatem fuisse dicunt. Hunc Ocnus alii Aulestis filium, alii fratrem, qui Perusiam condidit, referunt: et, ne cum fratre contenderet, in agro Gallico Felsinam, quae nunc Bononia dicitur, condidisse: permisisse etiam exercitui suo, ut castella muniret, in quorum numero Mantua fuit. Alii a Tarchone Tyrrheni fratre conditam dicunt: Mantuam autem ideo nominatam, quod Etrusca lingua Mantum, Ditem patrem appellant, cui etiam cum ceteris urbibus et hanc consecravit.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Conington on *Æn.* X, 198, and Grandgent, *Inferno* (ed. 1909), p. 161.

Here are contrarieties enough to puzzle any reader and to justify him in making his own selection. Servius, as he tells us several times,<sup>1</sup> relates the *historia* at which Virgil often glances, but which, according to the law of poetry, he need not report exactly. Dante, with the help of Servius, can go back to *historia* and, finding it a tangle, draw his own inferences and even instruct his master. His main prompting to do so is doubtless artistic; he would adjust the old material to the needs of his own creation. Manto is the chief figure in the fourth part of the eighth circle, where the soothsayers are confined. Amphiaraus, Tiresias, Aruns, Manto, and Eurypylos are taken from the ancient authors, Michael Scott and Asdente are modern. Dante chose to develop Manto, out of regard for Virgil's Mantua, and fashion for her an impressively repulsive character. For this, Statius gave a model in his account<sup>2</sup> of the gloomy rites in honor of the Powers of Darkness performed in a dismal wood by Tiresias with the assistance of Manto, who sips a libation from a bowl of blood. It has been remarked<sup>3</sup> that the present Canto was written after *Purgatorio* XXII, since the poet there implies (v. 113) that Manto was in the Limbo, not in one of the lower circles of Hell. Manto has had a development in the poet's imagination. His chief purpose was not to contradict Virgil in the light of later authorities; he would doubtless infer from Servius that Virgil's Manto was Tiresias's daughter. But not to clutter his picture with irrelevant details, he omitted the uncertain story of Ocnus, and in a few lines, with the help of Statius, gave to the *verGINE cruda* a distinct and most unpleasant personality, appropriate for a sinner confined in the lower Hell. He then makes Virgil swear that this is the truth and the only truth.<sup>4</sup>

In these various instances, I believe, it is Servius that gives a not unimportant clue to the workings of Dante's imagination. Servius himself is in many ways a plodder and a bungler, but he has preserved after all

<sup>1</sup> For example, on *Æn.* I, 382: hoc loco per transitum tangit historiam, quam per legem artis poeticae aperte non potest ponere. There follows a quotation from Varro to show what the facts are.

<sup>2</sup> *Thebaid*, IV, 406 ff., esp. 463 ff. Another passage descriptive of Manto is X, 678 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Grandgent, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Edward Moore, *Studies in Dante*, I, 173, refers to Servius's account of Manto, without drawing the conclusions that I have presented here. His special section on Servius contains several matters that I have not discussed.

an intensely valuable assortment of information and misinformation. He offers a good point of departure for the imaginative. If it be conceded that Dante read him and to some extent borrowed from him in the passages discussed, a more systematic search in the old commentator might further serve to illuminate, in a humble way, the art of the *Divine Comedy*.



## THE GODDESS FORTUNA IN THE *DIVINE COMEDY*

BY HOWARD ROLLIN PATCH

The famous portrait of the Goddess Fortuna which the Inferno<sup>1</sup> presents in the *Divine Comedy*, has already received considerable attention from scholars and critics. It is one of the many brief and eternally adequate pictures in the great allegory. As a solution of the problem of chance, its power and originality have been sufficiently noticed. Its relation to previous discussions of the goddess, the indebtedness of Dante to his predecessors in this particular account, has been carefully and sympathetically investigated.<sup>2</sup> And yet, curiously enough, not one of the studies of this remarkable figure has attempted to consider the relation of the conception to Dante himself, to Dante not as an artist but as a genius, not as a poet but as a human being. From all that has been said before, we might come away only admiring again the great cleverness of the author in dealing so satisfactorily with a ticklish philosophic problem and in settling at the same time a matter of allegorical technique.

The object of the present paper is not to invite further interest in the poet's skill, but to relate the figure as we find it to Dante's own point of view. That the goddess as she appears in this passage is unique, has already been suggested. That here we consequently have evidence of a particular and significant idea in Dante's religious beliefs, has not received full appreciation. First, I shall review the points in which this conception seems to be peculiar and to do this I shall have to examine the idea historically. In the second place, I shall study Dante's motives for introducing his special variations, and attempt to explain them psychologically.

<sup>1</sup> VII, ll. 67 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See for references one of the latest investigations: "Origine e Natura della 'Fortuna' Dantesca," Busetto, *Giorn. Dant.* XII (1904), pp. 129 ff.; and also Mr. Dyer's letter, published in the last report of this society (1915).

In short, by discovering what he does with a theme in its essentials not very new, I shall try to throw some light on the poet's religious convictions.

The goddess Fortuna, as she appears in varying guise in literature, obviously gives the clue to an author's faith. Whether we find her to be the goddess of chance as in Euripides, or a hidden force as in Joseph Conrad, or whether we find a sister goddess of hers, a sort of "Winged Destiny," as in Sophocles, clearly depends on the author's conception of the universe as ruled by a capricious or by a rational deity. Fortuna has been the central figure in the work of philosophers, dramatists, and poets, whose views concerning her methods and habits have formed a splendid tradition of legend, folklore, and art. But in surveying this mass of material, the artistic garb which the goddess has collected from all the ages, it is commonly forgotten that the matter has less to do with literature and art than with religion. Fortuna represents one idea of the great power that rolls through all things, or at least that rolls all things.

As the figure revealing an author's beliefs in religious matters, her record has been studied thoroughly enough so far as pagan times are concerned. But it is obvious that this goddess of chance may flourish in a Christian age as well. And never, I think, has her career received an investigation which included the period after the decline of Roman religion.<sup>1</sup> By going over the important points in this later, mediæval development of Fortuna, we may examine more fairly the treatment as we find it in Dante and so compare the poet's attitude with the customary method of regarding the goddess in his day.

By so doing, it is now clear, I hope, that we shall not merely reveal Dante's literary method, but we shall also better understand his views of life in general and of the world at large. It is a common dictum in criticism that Dante is the narrow, though far-seeing, genius of the Middle Ages; that he is deep, not broad; that being orthodox, he is out of touch with human life. With the material which this paper will offer, we ought to be able to examine Dante's method in dealing with what are some of the most perplexing problems of human life, in comparison with the methods of other men who faced the same or equivalent problems.

<sup>1</sup> Arturo Graf gives valuable hints for such a study in his *Miti, Leggende, e Superstizioni*, 1892, I, p. 273. I am much indebted to this article in my classifications.



## I

The arbitrary goddess of destiny, so far as the ordinary figure with the title "Fortuna" is concerned, had her beginnings in ancient Rome. And by the time of the Empire, Fortuna was popularly accepted as the ruling goddess of human life, who acknowledged no settled order in her business — of whom it was legitimate to say :

Passibus ambiguis Fortuna volubilis errat  
 Et manet in nullo certa tenaxque loco :  
 Sed modo laeta manet ; vultus modo sumit acerbos ;  
 Et tantum constans in levitate sua est.<sup>1</sup>

In general, she was vividly conceived and firmly believed in, whatever were the slight modifications of the belief in the case of her varied followers. We need not here point out particular devotees or analyze the ideas of any of the great Latin writers. We should be entering into a precarious game, in which guesswork must play a part, for a man's faith as he describes it and his real, working beliefs are not always similar. It is enough for us to observe that Fortuna had gathered together a great band of loyal worshippers, who built eighteen or more temples and shrines in her honor, and that she gradually absorbed the functions and duties of many other gods in her strange, vegetable-like cult of Fortuna-Panthea.

The important question for us to consider is what the conditions were which favored her development at this particular time. The Empire was a period of great skepticism and uncertainty. Most of the old gods had faded before the beautiful white light of the intellectual and materialistic rebirth. Greek deities were introduced into Rome with little success, or at least with little genuine effect on the popular conviction. Augustus attempted a sort of Gothic revival of the old deities and the old rites, and Fortuna was not of these. But he must have discovered sooner or later that religion is not an ordinary article of diet to be cooked up and served. A man sticks persistently to his own beliefs in spite of himself ; and Augustus had his personal cult of the fickle goddess with the idea that Fortuna was especially powerful in his own career. She was not apparently one of the "di indigetes" or a member of the Greek pantheon, but she was the one deity whom Augustus found really necessary.

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Trist.* V, Eleg. VIII, 15-18.

What caused this strange goddess to become so prominent in Roman thought during the Golden Age? The problem is really, what caused the element of chance to become so important for the average Roman of the period? For whatever Fortuna signified previously, whether — as some have supposed — she was a sun goddess, a moon goddess, a deity of horticulture or plenty, all or none of these, yet at this time, as I have said, she had come to be the most satisfactory figure to embody the idea of chance. If we can explain the popularity of this notion, we shall discover the true secret of the birth of the goddess as we know her. And the explanation is simple. The Empire was a time when Rome was in a state of greatest confusion, when with the power of a vigorous youth it was sending its conquests over the world and making its great discoveries, when the acquaintance with foreign gods increased an interest in the externals of religion, and when the populace, excited by the possibilities of novelty, was tempted to taste the flavor of the new. It was typically a renaissance of wonder. The greatest emphasis was on the unknown and the unattained, and the savor of life was found to be chiefly in risk. In other words, man felt himself so strong that he went out into the dark, where his imagination conjured up ghosts and he was impressed by his own subjection to strange and unsympathetic forces. That is why he put such faith in chaos, the deity of chance, and that is why the familiar goddess Fortuna lost whatever steadiness of purpose she formerly might have had, whatever fixed purpose her old functions had given her, and, being employed to embody the new ideas, she took her position on the top of the turning sphere. In reality she was delighted with fickleness, because during this time the Roman at heart was delighted with change.

Once having accepted the idea of this goddess, the Roman necessarily tried to oppose his own powers to her arbitrariness. His reaction on the faith is, next to his belief in her, the most interesting phase of the problem. How did the Roman citizen of the Empire offset this whimsical fate? He had two resources: one was to bear his adversities with stoic calm and to hope for a better turn of affairs; the other was to limit the rule of the goddess by a belief in another divinity. The first of these is familiar in the words of Virgil:

Quidquid erit; superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Æn.* V, 710.

The second of these may be seen in the method of opposing the intellect to Fortuna, of setting one's reason against her unreason, as we read in Juvenal:

Monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare, semita certe  
tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae.  
Nullum nomen habes si sit prudentia, nos te,  
nos facimus, Fortuna, deam caeloque locamus.<sup>1</sup>

The Roman evidently thought that there were other qualities in the universe, — an implication, even, of another divinity, — on which he could rely or with which his strength could be of some avail, when he dared to oppose Fortuna. This is the manner of the philosophers, who again and again rebuke the popular faith. And this method includes the idea that Fortuna, who dispenses only worldly possessions, has no control over virtue. As Seneca says:

Nihil eripit fortuna, nisi quod dedit: virtutem autem non dat.<sup>2</sup>

In these ways the Roman tried to offset the power which the goddess had acquired; and the methods, carried a step further, tend to the utter denial of her existence. The deity herself, however, stands out only the more clearly for us as an important reality in the thought of the time.

That she was a reality is most significant for us, because she reveals even more than her own character. She gives us the point of view of the average mind in Imperial Rome. To discover the stamp of this intellect, we have only to remember that the celestial image, which we have been studying on the screen, was cast by mortal rays from the film in the human magic lantern. The film itself will have the same traceries and the same tints. It is a mind that puts its faith in chance; a non-rational, imaginative mind, delighted and impressed by motion and change. The head that contains it, is the head of a vigorous, lively human being, with great courage to do and with fortitude to endure; and yet of a being interested after all in chiefly material and worldly gain. The man is typical of a great class of externally successful and magnetic people, a class not uncommon to-day. But the more intellectual element in the population scorns his creed and pardons him merely because he is so "human." It ought to be easy for us to understand why

<sup>1</sup> *Satira* X, 363. See also the sneers at Fortuna in Pliny, *N. H.*, 2, 22; and Plutarch, *de Fort.* (1) *Fragment* 2, *Chæremon*.

<sup>2</sup> *De Constantia Sap.* V, 2.

Fortuna found so large a following in the troublous times of the Empire ; and to see why she alone of all the Roman deities might be able to survive the transition from a polytheistic to a monotheistic period. It means simply that human nature does not change, that the class which dominated the Golden Age is alive at all times, and that Rome had no monopoly on romanticism.

## II

The period in which Christianity triumphed and gained its hold on Europe was none the less difficult for the pagan goddess. At least that period was the great test of her reality for mankind in general. But she was retained in the popular fancy, and numerous literary passages describing her or referring to her have come down to us, testifying that she had some vitality in literature if not elsewhere. The most significant of these allusions for our purposes are those in which the Christian Church feels it necessary to discuss Fortuna as the center of a possible heresy. Thus we see at the outset that Fortuna had still enough life to raise an actual problem in the new sect.

With this problem the early Church had three ways of dealing : it dispensed with the goddess entirely ; it retained her as partly in subjection to the Christian God ; and it retained her as entirely in subjection to the Christian God, as a minister of His grace.

The first of these methods was the only one that offered itself to such theologians as Lactantius, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and Thomas Aquinas. In Aristotle's discussion of fate and free-will, Fortuna had seemed necessary as the desired figure for the haphazard element in life, a figure which might preserve human free-will. Man, it seemed, could not have choice in his action if everything was preordained by a god. But if chance played a part — a *causa per accidens* as the scholastic philosopher put the idea — mankind had still the freedom of election among the varying possibilities. But St. Thomas, commenting on Aristotle, refused this alluring suggestion :

Sed quamvis haec opinio habeat veram radicem, non tamen bene usi sunt nomine fortunae. Illud enim divinum ordinans non potest dici vel nominari fortuna ; quia secundum quod aliquid participat rationem vel ordinem, recedit a ratione fortunae.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, ed. Leonis XIII, *Physicorum Aristot.*, p. 77, § 9.

Fortuna, he points out, although she may be conceived as an "inferior cause," is thus subservient to a superior and rational cause, and so the inferior cause is not really "accidental." St. Thomas considers the figure of the goddess altogether confusing and misleading in the scheme of a rational heaven.

Boethius, who lived seven centuries and more before the great ecclesiast, had, however, suggested another solution for the problem, and this is what I have called the second method. In the course of his *Consolatio* he found it helpful to lead his reader's thought up to the complexities of truth by drawing three distinct and, indeed, inconsistent pictures of Fortuna and her work. The first of these is in close agreement with the pagan idea of the supreme and independent deity of chance. The second is the portrait of a beneficent, almost angelic Fortuna: not her who grants favor, but her who disappoints and grieves us. And he contrasts favorable and adverse Fortuna strikingly:

Etenim plus hominibus reor adversam quam prodesse fortunam. illa enim semper specie felicitatis, cum videtur blanda, mentitur: haec semper vera est, cum se instabilem mutatione demonstrat. illa fallit, haec instruit, illa mendacium specie bonorum mentes fruentium ligat, haec cognitione fragilis felicitatis absoluit. itaque illam videas ventosam fluentem suique semper ignaram, hanc sobriam succinctamque et ipsius adversitatis exercitatione prudentem. postremo felix a vero bono devios blanditiis trahit, adversa plerumque ad vera bona reduces unco retrahit.<sup>1</sup>

This figure of Fortuna Adversa is rather different from the wholly malignant creation of the first figure in Boethius! She must know the restraint of some higher god, from whom she draws her conception of the *vera bona*. This is where Boethius leaves us so far as the personification, Fortuna, is concerned. But later her work, or the abstract "fortuna," the deeds and not the goddess, are, we discover, entirely under the control of the rational God. Fate is symbolized as the rim of a turning wheel, of which God is the center; and this changeable fate in Boethius seems to be a real equivalent of the abstract "fortuna." This we may take as the third picture of Fortuna in the *Consolatio*.

Beyond this idea that Fortune's work proceeds according to God's will, Boethius does not go. We lose sight of the goddess herself entirely. And even if we feel ourselves justified in saying that implicitly Fortuna

<sup>1</sup> *Cons. Philos.*, ed. Peiper, II, pr. VIII, ll. 7 ff.



is here subject to God, we are forced to make the inference for ourselves. Even Albertus Magnus alters nothing in the condition of the problem, when he takes it over directly from Boethius and accepts the chief figures as he finds them in the *Consolatio*. So far, then, there were only two conceptions of the goddess according to the view of the Church: the pagan goddess, to whom many writers still adhered; and the goddess in partial subjection to the Christian God. There were only two hints of the third, or the more purely Christian conception, which united the other two figures satisfactorily from both points of view.

The contribution of Dante to the world's progress has been called the "Mediæval Synthesis," because he has joined the pagan and the Christian in his use of the sentiments of courtly love. We may now observe that in his study of Fortuna, Dante again reconciles pagan and Christian thought. The familiar passage in the *Inferno*,<sup>1</sup> in which Virgil describes the position of the goddess in the universal plan, retains the old idea of the irrationality of Fortuna, personifies her clearly, and makes her entirely subservient to the will of the Christian God. Like the other angels, she is "ministra e duce"; and her work is general, controlling all "li ben vani" — riches, power, glory, and the like. She has a great scheme, which she continually follows, but which is concealed from mortal eyes.

Questa provvede, giudica e persegue  
Suo regno, come il loro gli altri dei.

The sublimity of the figure is increased by a sense of her martyrdom:

Quest' è colei ch' è tanto posta in croce  
Pur da color che le dovrian dar lode,  
Dandole biasmo a torto, e mala voce.

By the time of Dante the accusations against her gathered together would have formed an ocean of literature:

Ma ella s' è 'beata e ciò non ode.

If we examine some of the other passages in Dante concerning Fortuna, we can extend her powers. She is the guide of our straying footsteps;<sup>2</sup> the bestower of fame;<sup>3</sup> the goddess of combat;<sup>4</sup> and she is evidently

<sup>1</sup> VII, ll. 67 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Inf.* XV, 46; XXX, 146; XXXII, 76; XIII, 98.

<sup>3</sup> *Inf.* XV, 70; *Par.* XVI, 84.

<sup>4</sup> *Inf.* XXX, 13; *De Mon.*, ed. Moore, *Tutt. le Op.*, II, cap. xi, 45.

related to Death.<sup>1</sup> Once, in a philosophic humor, Dante does glance back briefly to the orthodox and less poetic method of the annihilation of the goddess;<sup>2</sup> but this surely would not represent the complete statement of his views. With such varied functions as those which he ascribes to Fortuna elsewhere, she must have some significance for him.

His views may be uncovered, if we strip the poetic passage of what may be to us and—let us say for argument—was to him, allegory. Dante believed that in the universal scheme there was a great element of chance, which was entirely subordinate to a higher rational order, and which, because of the miracle of its paradox—like the paradox of fate and free-will, of Divine omnipotence and human power, of Christ's humanity and divinity—could only be represented by symbolism. The inferior but actual order in this whimsical power, for there was order, was hidden from mankind because of the actual inability of man to comprehend it. The best way to imagine this curious force emanating from the Godhead was the way in which one imagined the other forces—as a minister of grace; as an angel.

For this view of the situation Dante had, as I have wanted to make clear, many suggestions in the work of his predecessors, especially Boethius and Albertus Magnus. But we must recognize, I think, that the Christian conception is present in these scholastics only by inference, and that it was left for the poet to add the final touch to the picture.

### III

So far in this study, I have considered the main outline of the philosophic discussions of Fortuna and their relation to the treatment in Dante. I have been unable to give any idea of the literary aspect; to present any notion of the numerous discussions of Fortuna in mediæval authors, no matter from what point of view, pagan or Christian. The amazing number, range, and variety of these allusions is a point of the greatest significance in any historical study of the goddess. She is well known to such a heterogeneous group of writers as Martianus Capella, Gerbert of Aurillac, Orderic Vitalis, Walter Map, Hildebert of Lavardin, Alanus de Insulis, Abelard and Heloïse, the writers of the *Carmina Burana*, Nigellus Wireker, and many others, with the numerous early writers in the Italian and French vernacular.

<sup>1</sup> *Canzone* X, 90, ed. Moore.

<sup>2</sup> *De Mon.* II, cap. x, 70.



In the works of these and later authors, it is astonishing how much space is devoted to the description of the goddess, giving us her personal appearance, her character and her manners, and her particular deeds. The sort of work which seemed to be hers in ancient Rome, the special duties and tasks at which she was found to be busy, continue almost faithfully, as if Fortuna had officially recognized functions in which she must invariably operate. The literary passages, recounting her methods and exploits, fall into an almost regulated set of formulae, in a technical vocabulary, which is handed down from author to author. The detail furnished in all these treatments is enormously richer than that in the Classic Latin writers. The symbolic attributes, the wheel and the dwelling-place, become vital in their relation to Fortune's powers. In brief, she becomes very real, very much alive, and very important to all these mediæval authors.

In fact, it seems as if, because she had no publicly established worship, the poets, story-tellers, and historians wished to emphasize her part the more and to give it due appreciation in the world. What else can it mean when she appears literally hundreds of times in the pages of Boccaccio and Petrarch, and when she is treated as a perfectly natural figure, as a figure absolutely necessary to any account of human affairs. Besides the various casual references, Boccaccio gives many pages to several distinct and individual portraits of the goddess. He makes use of the mass of traditional material as if it were new and startling. Take only a fragment of one of his discussions, that in the *Amorosa Visione*:

Fortuna, "Coi che muta ogni mondano stato," is depicted, sometimes glad and sometimes sad. She turns her great wheel unceasingly to the left. Deaf as she is, she hears no prayer, observes no law or compact. "Let everyone who desires, be bold to mount my wheel," says she; "but when he falls, let him not become angry. I never deny any man the first step." I saw men climb with their wits; and at the top, they said, "I reign." Others fell to the bottom and seemed to say, "I am without reign."<sup>1</sup>

And so the discussion goes on, with a long dialogue concerning Fortune's tricks and a warning against them. Every idea that preceding writers had entertained about the goddess is brought to the front, here or elsewhere in Boccaccio, and endowed with fresh interest. And the same

<sup>1</sup> XXXI, 125 ff.

method is familiar in the *Roman de la Rose*, especially in the part written by Jean de Meun, in the work of John Gower and Lydgate, and in many others.

From such a conglomeration of stereotyped detail the passage in Dante is remarkably free. It seems as if the poet knew too much of it already, and felt that on that score all had been said that was necessary, but the very abundance of it gave rise to a problem which, he thought, must be dealt with. In this he is resembled by the great English poet, Chaucer, who after his first acquaintance with the goddess gave very little time to any discussion of her appearance. To these poets, then, Fortuna was a figure quite familiar and very much alive, but she was rather to be sketched briefly with the usual economy of genius. Her cult was completely established, and only the question of her dignity had to be reckoned with.

#### IV

The conception of Fortuna as an angel of grace, or the "Christian conception," is, so far as we have studied it, entirely the product of the *Divine Comedy*. Unlike the treatments in many other works, it is short, almost scanty in detail, but it is clear and sufficient. It would commend itself to the use of any later poet who wanted to borrow the central idea — as so many poets borrowed the literary machinery of their predecessors. And as a solution of the Christian problem, it was inspired and adaptable. But, strangely enough, the chief writers who followed Dante did not use it.

In Italian literature, this conception appears only in a few poems, mostly anonymous and mostly trivial. They all show direct imitation of Dante, and little original reaction on their own parts. The great Italian writers solve the problem again for themselves. Boccaccio on the one hand rejects the goddess as a "poetic fiction"; on the other, he finds her so useful to cover some idea or other that he uses the figure at every opportunity. We may suspect that he wishes outwardly to remain orthodox, but that really he is a good deal of a pagan. Petrarch several times denies any faith in the goddess so emphatically that perhaps he really deserves to be classed with those writers possessing the simpler and more unadulterated intellects, the writers who annihilated Fortuna. The pagan goddess, however, continues gayly on her way in the work of many

Italians, such as the novelists Sercambi, Da Prato, Sacchetti, Masuccio, Sannazaro, and Giovanni Fiorentino; and the poets Burchiello, Æneas Sylvius, Boiardo, Politian, Benivieni, Pulci, Ariosto, and Bembo. And she is welcomed at the doors of the Renaissance by Machiavelli and Guicciardini. The attitude of compromise, adopted first by Boethius and then maintained by Albertus Magnus, sometimes appears, notably in the work of writers like Fazio degli Uberti, Alberti, and Trissino.

The Christian conception was apparently to be Dante's alone. This state of things again suggests that religion is a purely individual matter; that it springs from personal temperament and not from the published ethics of the world at large. Yet if this is the case, why did not the Christian figure appear elsewhere, independently of Dante, among men of a similar frame of mind if not of an equal greatness?

It is interesting to discover that this is precisely what did happen and that the parallel treatment does not seem in any way indebted to Dante for its origin. We find it in France in the work of three men who lived in Dante's own period and who were therefore less likely to know of the *Divine Comedy*. Their accounts of the angelic power seem to be quite different from that in Dante, so different as to be in no way related. These men are Philippe de Beaumanoir (*flor. circ.* 1250-1296), Watriquet de Couvin (*flor.* 1319-1329), and the author of the dialogue between Fortune and Pierre de la Broche<sup>1</sup> (who was hanged in 1276). My full argument for believing that these authors derive no help from the Italian poet, I cannot present here. To do that, I should have to sketch the growth of the French conception and its approach to the Christian idea, which becomes gradually closer in the work of Simun de Freine, in *L'Escoufle*, in Chrétien de Troyes, and in the *Roman de Renart*.

In England too, the Christian conception appears in the poetry of Chaucer. After he had read Boethius and apparently after he had made his translation, he wrote the *Balade of Fortune* and later the *Troilus*, where he has an entirely original treatment of the Christian figure. Fortuna is a shepherdess of us "lewed bestes," and in her work she is really but the executrix of Divine "wierdes." Once, to be sure, Chaucer shows that he knew the passage in Dante, but his earliest use has no trace of the Italian figure.

<sup>1</sup> Monmerqué et Michel, *Theatr. Fr.*, pp. 208 ff.

It is, however, reminiscent of Boethius. All these men who make use of the Christian conception seem to have known Boethius and to have felt his influence. But as I have shown, the portrait in the *Consolatio* is not complete. Boccaccio, Petrarch, and countless others, among whom are many direct imitators of the early philosopher, had Boethius at hand, and if they had been qualified they might have finished the picture as they found it there, might have drawn the necessary inference. But only the few writers, Dante in Italy, the three French poets, Chaucer in England, and one or two others, were temperamentally suited to depict the more poetic conception. They alone unite the pagan idea of the haphazard element in life with the Christian idea of the rational scheme of the universe, in a way which fuses the two ideas, without compromise or sacrifice, into one living figure.

## V

So far we have observed that three possible conceptions of Fortuna were familiar in the Middle Ages to those who accepted the goddess at all: the pagan, the Christian compromise, and the purely Christian conception. It has seemed likely that the type of figure employed by any particular author depends upon the author's own temperament and not upon the literary fashion of his time. In Rome, the average man had no cause to reject the fickle goddess on account of religious scruples. Yet he might be philosophically moved to believe that the universe was in hands too steady and too sure for the guidance of any such will-o'-the-wisp as the gleaming Fortuna. He would therefore discard Fortuna on rational grounds. The poet might keep her, but the philosopher would disallow her existence. In the Middle Ages, a complication was introduced with the spreading of the new religion; but even the dogmatism of that faith could not save a man from unorthodoxy. The belief in Fortuna could remain, subconsciously hidden but as genuine as ever. Religion in its persistent manner would flourish in the soil of natural disposition, and mankind would be ultimately damned or saved by his own habitual frame of mind.

To-day we may not know what damning or saving means, now that we have at last relegated the personal devil to the virtuoso's collection. But we do know in a way, or at least we can define what we have in mind as the man who deserves to be saved, or the "immortal." However

else we think of him, he is at least the man of the most perfect vision. All critical dialect points in that direction. The pedant (or the over-conscientious) and the popular reviewer (or the under-conscientious) both join in the search for the genius who sees life most clearly.

The belief in Fortuna is rather intimately connected with one's view of the universe. This seems axiomatic, and this is all that the present paper has taken for its hypothesis. The man who annihilates the goddess thinks that the element of chance in the world is negligible; that the divine plan exists to-day as vitally as it ever did; and that the sympathetic god who once put it in operation is strict in applying his scheme. The man who accepts Fortuna rejects all this speculation. Both are destructive philosophers, but the second perhaps more than the first.

If we turn to the familiar critical vocabulary, we find the rationalist labelled classical or pseudo-classical, because of his strong sense of logic and order; and the non-rationalist, or the more emotional and imaginative sort, becomes a "romanticist." There is, of course, a third type: the man who prides himself on his sense of fact and who thinks he is closer to the actualities of life. He is called a "realist" or a "materialist" according to the point of view. This third temperament believes in mere chance, and is incapable of vitalizing the idea even as a "force." So the romanticist accepts the pagan view, as the Renaissance welcomed Fortuna, and delights in the turning wheel, the philosophy of flux and change, in "*immer strebend*," and in the glorious march of man into the "*ewigkeit*." The classicist—in the critical sense—has a goal in sight, and does not feel so sure about the efficiency of cosmic machinery which is turned full speed on a road of infinite uncertainty. Divine dizziness has no attraction for his moral sense. He is not much interested in a race progress which leads nowhere, guided only by the gleam of a transcendental illusion. He denies what he sees about him every day, the great rôle played by accident; or he searches for what he is warned he cannot find while he is human, the divine motivation of human experience.

But there is one type of man not included in these categories, and that is the idealist. The rational thinker and the romanticist too are often touched with idealism, and receive their meed of scorn for it, but they play the game halfway. The true idealist, who will have none of compromise and yet who comprehends everything, is the man who has



a sense of fact honest enough to accept the element of chance in human life, who has an imagination vivid enough to feel the consciousness in the universal forces, and who has rationalism enough to believe at the same time that a great scheme binds and strengthens the apparent discord in unity. To maintain all this, the idealist must bewilder his less visionary brother by saying that all are parts of one great whole, and yet that everything is disconnected and in its way complete. He would not confuse the violin with the player who gives it a voice, or with the wood-carver who gave it his soul. The music might be ultimately the music of the spheres, and yet he would not say that the violin or the player were spherical.

The perfect idealist is, then, as true to reality as the realist, as lofty as the romanticist, and as reasonable as the Classicist. He is all of them at once. He is the true seer, or hero, or poet. His quality accounts for our difficulty in pigeonholing our greatest geniuses like Homer, Dante, and Shakspeare. These men partake of his nature, although individually the balance may not be quite perfect. They may incline more to one of the three types than to another.

One may now reasonably ask: Is the treatment of Fortuna in these authors the real touchstone of their genius? Any reader would immediately see the absurdity of such an idea. Homer does not reveal the Christian conception, nor does Shakspeare for that matter. And again, who are Philippe de Beaumanoir, Watriquet de Couvin, and the other minor writers where the figure appears? It is true that the Christian conception is no measure of *size*, but I have not claimed that it was. It is only a test of *balance*. Homer and Shakspeare do not happen to be engaged in subjective expression. The only other instance where we find their general sanity, their health, their acceptance of order and accident, and their view of the skies as well as of the earth, combined with the expression of frank personal opinion, is in the work of Dante, and there we have the Christian figure. Homer is a shadowy person for us at best; but whoever wrote the *Odyssey* certainly did not disbelieve in chance. Shakspeare, on the other hand, may be inclined to romanticism, but his views are certainly *not* expressed in such passages as critics often select — "To-morrow and to-morrow and to-morrow," — where he has given himself up to his characters. Of the three, Dante alone has any real motive for giving his own views on the problem, and he does give

us the vision of the goddess rejoicing among "l' alte prime creature." In this he is joined by the other lesser writers whom we have mentioned.

The meaning of all this is that these poets of the Christian conception have seen less darkly than the writers of what many might call "the more practical" or "the more intellectual" or "the more untrammelled" sort. Apparently, like the less noteworthy authors of France, one may lack genius and yet having eyes may use them to see. The Middle Ages, having all the varied points of view among their authors, were not so dark as many suppose. Superstition is as much alive to-day as ever, for it arises from under-belief or the denial of everything except chance, as well as from over-belief or trying to measure the Divine purpose too constantly in the world's work. Much that the scientific soothsayer of to-day calls superstition may be simply that extra knowledge which those obtain who have more sources of information than just the one, reason or imagination or physical sense.

In other words, the French poets of the Christian figure were probably the safer guides for their contemporaries, in that they too penetrated the earth and came forth again to look upon the stars; Chaucer, whether or not he saw life steadily, saw it whole; and the critical term "breadth," if it is used in the light of our discussion to describe the qualities of Dante, gains in dignity.



THIRTY-FOURTH  
ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
DANTE SOCIETY  
(CAMBRIDGE, MASS.)

1915

ACCOMPANYING PAPERS

THE LYRICS OF FAZIO DEGLI UBERTI IN THEIR  
RELATION TO DANTE

*By Charles Edward Whitmore*

THREE DANTE NOTES

*By Ernest Hatch Wilkins*

BOSTON  
GINN AND COMPANY  
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1917

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(From May 19, 1914, to May 18, 1915)

Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May	
19, 1914 . . . . .	\$946.04
Members' fees till May 18, 1915 . . . . .	495.00
Sales of Fay Concordance . . . . .	12.00
Sale of Sheldon Concordance . . . . .	7.20
Interest . . . . .	<u>21.38</u>
	\$1481.62
Payments to Ginn and Company . . . . .	\$359.65
Payments to the Treasurer of Harvard College . . . . .	200.00
Refunded from sales of Fay Concordance . . . . .	12.00
Printing, postage, etc. . . . .	19.65
Balance on hand May 18, 1915 . . . . .	<u>890.32</u>
	\$1481.62

## BY-LAWS

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1. This Society shall be called the DANTE SOCIETY. Its object shall be the encouragement of the study of the Life and Works of Dante.

2. Any person desirous to become a member of this Society may do so by signifying his or her wish in writing to the Secretary, and by the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

3. An Annual Meeting for the election of officers shall be held at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of May, of which due notice shall be given to the members by the Secretary.

4. Special meetings may be held at any time appointed by vote of the members at the Annual Meeting, or by call from the President and Secretary.

5. The officers shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Librarian, who, together with three members thereto chosen, shall form the Council of the Society. All these officers shall be chosen at the Annual Meeting, and their term of service shall be for one year, or until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled for the remainder of the year by the Council.

6. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice President, or, in the absence of both, any member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council.

7. The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep a record of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, shall collect and receive all dues, and keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the Society, shall give notice of meetings, and shall perform all other duties appropriate to his office.

8. The Council shall hold meetings at such times as it may appoint, shall determine on the use to be made of the income of the Society, shall endeavor to promote the special objects of the Society in such ways as may seem most appropriate, and shall make an annual report of their

proceedings, including a full statement of accounts, at each Annual Meeting. This report shall be made in print for distribution to the members.

9. No officer of the Society shall be competent to contract debts in the name of the Society, and no expenditure shall be made without a vote of the Council.

10. A majority of the Council shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. Any person distinguished for his interest in the purposes of the Society, or who has rendered it valuable service, may be chosen an Honorary Member at any regular meeting of the Society, and shall be entitled to all its privileges without annual assessment.

12. The preceding rules may be changed at any time by unanimous vote of the Council.

## THE DANTE PRIZE

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The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars for the best essay by a student in any department of Harvard University, or by a graduate of not more than three years' standing, on a subject drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1915-1916 the following subjects were proposed:

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*
12. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
13. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
14. *A criticism of Torraca's edition of the Divina Commedia.*

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College Cambridge, Mass., on or before the *first day of May*.

Essayists are at liberty to write on any one of the subjects which have been proposed in the years during which the Dante Prize has been offered, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

On the title-page must be written an assumed name and a statement of the writer's standing, i.e. whether he is a graduate or an undergraduate (and of what college or university); if he is an undergraduate, to what class he belongs, and to what department of the college or university. Under cover with the essay must be sent a sealed letter containing the true name and address of the writer, and superscribed with his assumed name.

The essays must be written upon letter paper, of good quality, of the quarto size, with a margin of not less than one inch at the top, at the bottom, and on each side, so that they may be bound up without injury to the writing. The sheets on which the essay is written must be securely stitched together.

The judges of the essays are a committee of the Dante Society.

In case the judges decide that no essay submitted to them deserves the full prize, they are at liberty to award one or two prizes of fifty dollars, or to award no prize.

The Dante Society has the privilege of retaining and depositing in the Dante Collection of the Harvard College Library any or all essays offered in competition for the Dante Prize, whether successful or not.

Since its establishment the Dante Prize (in full or in part) has been awarded to the following persons :

HEINRICH CONRAD BIERWIRTH . . . . 1887

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas*.

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888

For an essay entitled *The Interpretation and Reconciliation of the Different Accounts of his Experiences after the Death of Beatrice, given by Dante in the Vita Nuova and the Convito*.

CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM . . . . 1890

For an essay entitled *A Translation into English of Dante's Letters, with Explanatory and Historical Comments*.



THE DANTE PRIZE

xv

KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo*.

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895

For an essay entitled *Dante's Influence upon Spanish Literature during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*.

ANNETTE FISKE . . . . 1897

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to Old French and Provençal Lyric Poetry*.

ARTHUR NEWTON PEASLEE . . . . 1900

For an essay entitled *A Metrical Rhyming Translation of the Three Canzoni of the Convito*.

HENRY LATIMER SEAVER . . . . 1901

For an essay entitled *A Translation of the Canzoni in the Convito*.

ALAIN CAMPBELL WHITE . . . . 1902

The Latham Prize for an essay entitled *A Translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra, and a Discussion of its Authenticity*.

ALPHONSO DE SALVIO . . . . 1902

For an essay entitled *The Verse Endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch' erano appo gli altri dicatori usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS . . . . 1903

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

CHANDLER RATHFON POST . . . . 1906

For an essay entitled *The Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature*.

ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS . . . . 1907

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova*.

RALPH HAYWARD KENISTON . . . . 1909

For an essay entitled *The Dante Tradition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*.

ROGER THEODORE LAFFERTY . . . . 1912

For an essay entitled *The Philosophy of Dante*.

GEORGE HUSSEY GIFFORD . . . . 1913

For an essay entitled *Expressions of Gratitude in Dante*.

RICHARD AGER NEWHALL . . . . 1914

For an essay entitled *Italian Ghibellinism as reflected in Dante*.

AMOS PHILIP MCMAHON . . . . 1915

For an essay entitled *On Dante's De Monarchia. A Study of Imperialism in Mediæval and in Modern Times*.

## ANNUAL REPORT

The thirty-fourth annual meeting of the Society was held on May 18, 1915, at the house of Miss Katharine Vaughan Spencer, Craigie Street, Cambridge. In the absence of President Sheldon, the Vice President, Professor Charles Hall Grandgent, occupied the chair. The usual reports were received and the regular routine business transacted.

A communication was received from Professor Sheldon saying that he should be unable to serve the Society longer as President, and Professor Grandgent was elected in his place. Mr. William Roscoe Thayer was chosen Vice President, and the place thus made vacant on the Council was filled by the election of Professor Chandler Rathfon Post. The remaining officers were reëlected.

Announcement was made of the award of the Dante Prize to Mr. Amos Philip McMahon, for a study of the *De Monarchia* in its relation to certain ideals of imperialism in modern times.

At the conclusion of the business meeting Professor Grandgent spoke briefly of current publications relating to Dante and read selections from Mr. Henry Johnson's translation of the *Divine Comedy*. Professor Rand read a paper on "Dante and Servius," which has since been printed to accompany the Thirty-Third Report.

The Council takes pleasure in publishing with the present report a paper by Dr. Charles Edward Whitmore on "The Lyrics of Fazio degli Uberti in their Relation to Dante" and "Three Dante Notes" by Professor Ernest Hatch Wilkins.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

*Secretary*

CAMBRIDGE, March 10, 1917

# THE LYRICS OF FAZIO DEGLI UBERTI IN THEIR RELATION TO DANTE

BY CHARLES EDWARD WHITMORE

Fazio degli Uberti, both by virtue of his historical position and in his own right as a lyric poet, is an important figure in Italian literature of the Trecento. For a proper understanding of his worth on both counts, an exact knowledge of his relation to Dante is of prime importance. That he was intimately acquainted with Dante's work, and in close sympathy with his general attitude, is a statement requiring no elaborate proof; but it is worth while to ascertain just what he chose to take over from Dante, and just what use he made of it. He marks a new stage in the development of Italian lyric, deriving certain motives and phrases from Dante, but utilizing them for ends of his own. Moreover, he had before him not only Dante's lyrics, but the great fabric of the *Commedia*; and the tracing of the influence of the latter, as it passes into the field of lyric, will be not the least interesting part of our discussion. Fazio's *Dittamondo* has long served as the chief document of his knowledge of the *Commedia*, and has already been studied in that connection;<sup>1</sup> but the reflex of the *Commedia* on his lyrics, and their relation to the *Canzoniere* of his supreme predecessor, have thus far awaited the detailed examination which I here propose to give them.

The present study is based on a concordance to the lyrics of Fazio, completed by me, early in 1915, from Renier's critical edition. I have in practically all cases accepted his text, as well as his canon and arrangement of Fazio's authentic poems. Dr. Ezio Levi's ingenious attempt<sup>2</sup> to deprive Fazio of the "canzone di Roma" (no. xii) has not convinced me. This is not the place for a refutation of his arguments, which, in any

<sup>1</sup> See Achille Pellizzari, *Il Dittamondo e la Divina Commedia*, Pisa, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> See *L'Autore della "Canzone di Roma,"* in *Poesia di Popolo e Poesia di Corte nel Trecento*, Livorno, 1915.

case, those who desire can easily review for themselves; but I may remark that the internal evidence of the poem, which Dr. Levi is inclined to ignore, seems to me decisive in favor of Fazio's authorship. Citations from Dante are drawn from the Oxford text, with the exclusion of certain obviously unauthentic pieces. They are: the seventeenth canzone, *Morte, poich' io non truovo a cui mi doglia*, really by Jacopo Cecchi; the eighteenth, *O patria degna di trionfal fama*, surely not by Dante, whoever may have been the true author; and the palpably apocryphal *Salmi* and *Credo*. Questions of authenticity in the scattered sonnets and ballate do not much concern us, since few parallels to them are to be found in Fazio, who, indeed, is not conspicuously a sonneteer, and, so far as we know, wrote no ballate.

Fazio's poems may be roughly divided into three groups. First, and on the whole most excellent, are the love poems, canzoni ii to viii inclusive; second, and not much inferior, the political poems, canzoni xi, xii, and xiv, and the frottola, to which may be added the historical canzoni, xv and xvi; and third, a miscellaneous group, of a didactic or moralizing cast, canzoni i, ix, x, and xiii, with the sonnets on the seven deadly sins. Certain minor poems will receive only incidental mention. It will be helpful, I think, to take up these groups in order, treating first their relations to Dante's lyrics, and then their connection with the *Commedia*. A discussion of parallel passages is at best hard to keep in coherent shape, and a certain amount of crossing between groups seems unavoidable; but I shall endeavor to make the bearings of the different parts of the paper as intelligible as I can.

## I

The general relation of Fazio's love poems to those of Dante is easily pointed out. Fazio has nothing to do with the scholastic aspects of the *dolce stil nuovo*, or with what we may call its technical vocabulary. He wholly neglects, for instance, the apparatus of personified *spiriti*, and the importance attached to such words as *umiltà* and *salute*. Indeed, it is significant that the sole passage in Fazio which verges on the "scientific" sense of *spirito* immediately applies it to the birds in spring:

Che vivi spiritelli

Paion d' amor, creati alla verdura (*Canz.* v, 22).

Fazio, in short, is no philosopher, but a keen observer of the visible world. As a natural consequence, he is most strongly influenced by the poems in which Dante shows himself least philosophical, and closest to actual experience. We should therefore expect two of Dante's canzoni, the "winter song," *Io son venuto al punto della rota* (xv), and the "song of the harsh speech," *Così nel mio parlar voglio esser aspro* (xii), to be among Fazio's favorites; and that is precisely the case. The first of these, in fact, is followed by Fazio with a closeness paralleled in no other instance; so that our survey may fitly take this closely matched pair as its point of departure.

The canzone of Fazio's in question is his fifth, *Io guardo fra l'erbette per li prati*, which reproduces the central idea of the "winter song" — the contrast of the lover's state with the phenomena of a season, in this case spring instead of winter. The metrical form of Fazio's canzone is the same, except for the insertion of a seven-syllable line after the second and fifth lines of the original stanza; the division of each stanza between external description and emotion of the writer is also maintained, the latter occupying, in both poems, the last four lines of every stanza. As regards substance, however, Fazio is by no means a mere copyist; he selects and rejects according to the needs of a design of his own. Broadly speaking, the relation of individual stanzas is as follows. The first of Fazio's corresponds to the fourth of Dante's; the second, to the first part of Dante's third; the third, to the second part of Dante's third; the fourth, to the first part of Dante's fifth; the fifth has no parallel in Dante. Fazio, that is, rejects the astronomical and meteorological details with which Dante begins; he transposes the imagery of winter to that of spring, sometimes with a counterpart of Dante's phrasing, sometimes in his own terms; and he adds the final picture of youths and maidens dancing amid the forest. The mode of vision of the two poets is likewise radically distinct. Dante sees the great natural forces and their result — the storm wind, the frozen soil, the "great assault of winter." Fazio's attention is directed almost wholly to the concrete details of springtime — the budding flowers, the nesting birds, the flowing streams, the whole color and movement of the new season. Dante sees each step sharply, sets it down, and then turns to the next in order; Fazio's glance passes rapidly over his whole scene, never rising far above its visible components, but keeping his items well in hand, so that each stanza is



definitely composed, with no hint of the *pastiche*. It is perhaps not a vain conjecture that Dante's own words in his *commiato*:

or che sarà di me nell' altro  
Dolce tempo novello,

may have given Fazio his first impulse to composition; but he is quite able to proceed on his own account. If his poem lacks the tremendous concentration and weightiness of Dante's, it has a fresh picturesqueness that is all its own; if its general outward aspect frankly recalls that of its model, its final effect is none the less definite and original.

The following passages will serve to show the transposed phrases referred to above. Lines 2-4 of Fazio,

E veggio isvariar di più colori  
Gigli, viole e fiori,  
Per la virtù del sol, che fuor gli tira,

correspond to lines 40-42 of Dante:

Passato hanno lor termine le fronde  
Che trasse fuor la virtù d' Ariete  
Per adornare il mondo, e morta è l' erba;

lines 16-21 of Fazio,

Veggio li uccelli a due a due volare  
E l' un l' altro seguir tra gli arboscelli,  
Con far nidi novelli,  
Trattando con vaghezza lor natura,  
E sento ogni boschetto risonare  
Dai dolci canti lor,

to lines 27-32 of Dante:

Fuggito è ogni augel, che 'l caldo segue,  
Dal paese d' Europa, che non perde  
Le sette stelle gelide unquemaï;  
E gli altri han posto alle lor voci triegue  
Per non sonarle infino al tempo verde,  
Se ciò non fosse per cagion di guai;

lines 39-41 of Fazio,

E così par costretto  
Ogni animal che 'n su la terra è scorto  
In questo primo tempo a seguir gioia,

to lines 33-35 of Dante :

E tutti gli animali, che son gai  
Di lor natura, son d'amor disciolti,  
Perocchè il freddo lor spirito ammorta ;

and lines 46-47 of Fazio,

Surgono chiare e fresche le fontane,  
L'acqua spargendo giù per la campagna,

to lines 53-54 of Dante :

Versan le vene le fumifere acque  
Per li vapor che la terra ha nel ventre.

It will be noted that Fazio passes over the scientific touches, with an eye solely to the natural object, which he has evidently observed at first hand, and which he presents as he has seen it.

The canzone of the "harsh speech," though not the model for any single canzone or extended passage, has left its mark in several places. Dante tells us how he longs to make spoil of his lady's tresses (63-65) :

Che ne' biondi capelli,  
Ch' Amor per consumarmi increspa e dora,  
Metterei mano e sazieremi allora ;

so Fazio, in milder terms, expresses a similar wish (*Canz.* iii, 14) :

Sicch' io potessi quella treccia bionda  
Disfarla a onda a onda,  
E far de' suoi begli occhi a' miei due specchi,  
Che lucon sì che non trovan parecchi,

the last two lines recalling a passage of Dante somewhat farther on (74-76) :

E i suoi begli occhi, ond' escon le faville  
Che m' infiammano il cor ch' io porto anciso,  
Guarderei presso e fiso.

"S' io avessi le bionde treccie prese," says Dante,

Con esse passerei vespro e le squille ;

and for Fazio in the contemplation of his lady (*Canz.* iv, 72),

Niente m' è a passar vespro e le squille —

practically a direct quotation. In *Canz.* vi, 5,

amore in vista tanto adorna  
Dell' intelletto mio prese la cima,

says Fazio ;

Così della mia mente tien la cima

is the parallel phrase in Dante (17). Fazio's metaphorical use of *pietra* in line 32 of the same canzone may also be regarded as a reminiscence of the *rime pietrose*. We may also note a parallel in Fazio's ninth sonnet.

Per me credea che 'l suo forte arco Amore  
Avesse steso, e chiusa la faretra,

he begins ; but the hope is vain, for

Colla saetta d' or, che non si arretra,  
M' aperse il petto, e fessì mio signore.

Here we are reminded of lines 6-8 in Dante :

perch' ella s' arretra,  
Non esce di faretra  
Saetta.

A number of scattered reminiscences are drawn from Dante's eleventh canzone, *Amor, dacchè convien pur ch' io mi doglia*, likewise one of those belonging to his later work. The following passage from Fazio's fourth canzone (99 ff.),

E ciò sarebbe all' alma mia gran pianto  
Se scolorasse alquanto ;  
Come colei che dopo morte spera  
Ch' i' l' andrò a veder dov' ella è vera,

recalls two passages in Dante's : the first, lines 14-15 :

Che se intendesse ciò ch' io dentro ascolto,  
Pieta faria men bello il suo bel volto ;

the second, the last two lines of 31-35 :

La nemica figura che rimane  
Vittoriosa e fera,  
E signoreggia la virtù che vuole,  
Vaga di sè medesma andar mi fane  
Colà dov' ella è vera.

The first three of these, in turn, have perhaps a feeble echo in Fazio viii, 33 :

E più la sua vittoria  
Di sopra alla mia vita sento crescere.

Another fairly close parallel is Dante, lines 46-47 :

Qual io diveгна sì feruto, Amore,  
Sal tu contar, non io,

and Fazio ii, 42-44 :

Quel ch' io di lei credeva,  
E con quanti sospiri e pensier fui,  
Dicalo Amor, ch' io nol so dire altrui.

Finally, the metaphor in Dante, line 37 :

Ben conosch' io che va la neve al sole,

reappears in Fazio v, 28 :

Ch' io mi distruggo come al sol la neve,

though it is indeed not so recondite as to need the stimulus of Dante's line to suggest it.

The passages thus far discussed show that Fazio was chiefly drawn to three canzoni of Dante which represent him in his more realistic mood. As we have already noted, that mood was more akin to Fazio's own than is the exalted and mystical strain of Dante's earlier work ; and we accordingly find that Fazio makes few direct drafts on the *Vita Nuova*, the general tone of which is not in accord with his own mode of thought. As close a relation as we can find seems to lie between these lines of Fazio vii, 77 ff. :

Gli occhi e la bocca e ogni biltà tua  
Non fece Iddio perchè venisser meno,  
Ma per mostrare a pieno  
A noi l' esempio della gloria sua,

and lines 49-50 of the first canzone of the *Vita Nuova* :

Ella è quanto di ben può far natura ;  
Per esempio di lei beltà si prova.

It will be noted that Fazio's phrasing is less lofty, and more concrete. An occasional phrase from the *Vita Nuova* seems in other cases to have remained in Fazio's memory. Thus the *donne e donzelle* to whom Dante

declares the praise of Beatrice find a place in Fazio, but as figures in a setting, not as *confidantes*. Again, the *color di perla quasi informa* attributed by Dante to his lady (*Vita Nuova*, canz. i, 47), reappears in Fazio's description of his,

Con un color angelica di perla (*Canz.* iii, 62).

Feebler echoes — the unsympathetic might call them parodies — are perhaps heard in two other cases.

Farei parlando innamorar la gente,

says Dante at the beginning of the same canzone; so Fazio, at the beginning of his fourth:

Che non che i nostri cuor, ma que' de' draghi  
Farei udendò appaghi,  
E per le selve innamorar gli uccelli.

The *pioggia di manna* of the second canzone of the *Vita Nuova* may have been in Fazio's mind in these lines (vii, 57):

E par neve che fiocchi  
Dal tuo bel viso l' amorosa manna  
Colla qual cibi li spiriti miei.

Such is the rather scanty evidence (except for one case to be noted later) of Fazio's contact with the *Vita Nuova*; and, as a natural corollary, we find in him no sure reminiscences of *E' m' incresce di me sì duramente* (xiii) and *La dispietata mente che pur mira* (xvi), which are commonly held to belong to the *Vita Nuova* period.

A considerable passage in Fazio's third canzone (74 ff.) shows direct relations with the second canzone of the *Convivio*, the topic in both being the praise of the poet's lady. Fazio's lines run:

guardi la mente tua  
Ben fisamente allor ch' ella s' indua  
Con donna che leggiadra e bella sia.  
E come muore e par che fugga via  
Dinnanzi al sole ogni altra chiarezza,  
Così costei ogni adornezza isface.  
Vedi se ella piace,  
Ch' amore è tanto quant' è sua bellezza,  
Ed è somma bontà che in lei si trova.

So Dante, lines 39-40 :

E qual donna gentil questa non crede,  
Vada con lei e miri gli atti sui ;

and again, lines 49-50 :

Gentil è in donna ciò che in lei si trova,  
E bello è tanto, quanto lei somiglia.

Moreover, lines 55 and 56 in Dante :

Cose appariscon nello suo aspetto  
Che mostran de' piacer del Paradiso,

may have been in Fazio's mind when he wrote lines 46-48 :

Che sol per le belle opre  
Che fanno in cielo il sole e l' altre stelle,  
Dentro di lor si crede il Paradiso,

though the turn of thought is not the same.

In addition to the fairly extensive similarities which we have thus far considered, it is worth while to note certain lines of Dante which seem to have remained in Fazio's memory, and to have determined the cadence or choice of words in a verse of his own. The noting of such cases is bound to be somewhat subjective ; but the following will show the sort of relation involved. Dante xiv, 11 :

E questo è quello ond' io prendo cordoglio,

seems to recur in bisected shape, thus :

Poi non vorrei che *prendesse cordoglio* (iv, 94)

and

*E questo è quello ond' io più forte dubito* (viii, 14),

a similarity which I cannot think accidental. So *Convivio* iii, 131,

E solo in lealtà far si diletta,

recalls the cadence of Fazio iii, 85 :

E solo in suo ben far prende speranza.

To multiply similar citations would be to risk falling into arbitrary juxtapositions ; but the point is worth making as a further indication of the extent to which Fazio had digested the phraseology of Dante's lyrics, and made it an intimate part of his own means of expression.

The relations between the love poems of our two poets may thus be summarized as follows : Fazio draws chiefly from Dante's later and less

scholastic work, with a consequent disregard of the *Vita Nuova* and its related poems. In but one case does he use any single canzone of Dante's as the basis for one of his own, and in that his work is a continuation rather than a copy. In taking over a suggestion from Dante he seldom reproduces it literally, but tends either to combine two passages in one of his own, or to reflect a single passage in two distinct places; he likewise often modifies the application of what he transfers. He also tends to diminish the intensity of what he takes over; to adapt the terminology of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, he is elegiac where Dante is tragic; but he never, I think, lapses into sentimentality.

That Fazio's political poems should be widely affected by Dante's lyrics is scarcely to be expected, the character of the latter not being susceptible of a transfer to poems dealing with the political conditions of Fazio's own day. Yet so close a student as Fazio could not fail to carry over an occasional phrase; and his twelfth canzone, which is in a sense transitional between his poems of love and those of a political cast, has several reminiscences of Dante's love poems. The whole tone of the opening, for some thirty lines, is decidedly Dantesque, and several direct parallels occur. The very first line,

recalls                      Quella virtù che 'l terzo ciel infonde,

Ch' infonde sempre in lei la sua virtute

of *Convivio* ii, 28, and the *gran pianeta* of *Canz.* xix, 96, which

con li bei raggi infonde

Vita e virtù.

Fazio has been the servant of her

Che ne' suoi occhi porta la mia pace;

so Dante, in *Canz.* ix, 60,

Nè che negli occhi porta la mia pace.

Later, at the beginning of stanza 7, occurs another reminiscence of this same ninth canzone, consecutive on the one just given.

Onor ti sarà grande, se m' aiuti,

E a me ricco dono,

are Dante's words; Fazio's,

Onor ti sarà grande, e a me stato,

Se per tuo operar son consolata.



Just why these three consecutive lines stayed in Fazio's memory may be hard to explain; but the fact seems undeniable.<sup>1</sup>

Of all Dante's moralizing canzoni, the twentieth, *Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute*, has left the strongest impress on Fazio's work. Its double character — partly a vision, partly an expression of Dante's personal attitude — has resulted in a double influence. In the vigorous *commiato* of Fazio xiv :

E se pure t' avviene  
Che veggi quel che la tua rima tocca,  
Apri la bocca, e dillo tutto intero,

we are reminded of Dante's

Pianganlo gli occhi e dolgasi la bocca  
Degli uomini a cui tocca.

But Fazio's love poems, too, show some reflex of the passage (lines 81 ff.) which alludes to Dante's absence from his lady :

E se non che degli occhi miei 'l bel segno  
Per lontananza m'è tolto dal viso,  
Che m'have in fuoco miso,  
Lieve mi conterei ciò che m'è grave;  
Ma questo fuoco m'have  
Già consumato sì l'ossa e la polpa.

The idea of absence is to be found in Fazio, *Canz.* v, 72 and xii, 5; with the fourth line of the Dante passage compare Fazio iv, 4 :

Per dolci bramerei i colpi amari,

with the sixth, Fazio vii, 13 :

Se non ch' i' consumava ogni ossa e nerbo.

Another part of Fazio iv seems to reflect Dante's line 53,

Mirando sè nella chiara fontana,

Fazio's words being

Per *mirar* lei sotto li vaghi cigli,  
Come Atteon per ritrovar Diana  
*Nella chiara fontana* (47-49).

The same canzone furnishes, in a general way, the model for Fazio's fifteenth, *O sommo bene, o glorioso Iddio*, which is likewise a vision,

<sup>1</sup> Fazio has the phrase *onore e dono* in *Canz.* xi, 13.

though of a less effective sort. Just as Love, in Dante's canzone, on seeing the first lady pitied her, and

Di lei e del dolor fece dimanda,

so Fazio questions the mournful figure who appears to him :

Non men che la pietà era il disiro  
Di spiar del suo stato e sì del pianto ;  
Ond' io mi trassi alquanto  
Più verso lei e di ciò la richiesi.

Otherwise the conduct of the two poems is not very similar ; but one fairly striking likeness of phrase occurs,

Vedove e pupilli ed innocenti  
Del mio sangue miglior van per lo pane  
Per altrui terre strane (86-88),

which obviously recalls Dante's

Larghezza e Temperanza e l' altre nate  
Del nostro sangue mendicando vanno (63-64),

with a shift of application characteristic, as we have seen, of Fazio's manner.

The remaining parallels to be found in the political group are scattering, and of minor significance. Line 100 of Dante x :

Se ben si guarda là dov' io addito,

appears, condensed, in line 29 of the frottola,

Se guardi ov' io addito.

In *Canz.* xix, 77,

Ancorchè ciel con cielo in punto sia,

says Dante ; so Fazio begins his address to Ludwig of Bavaria (xi, 1),

Tanto son volti i ciel di parte in parte,

and later declares that Ludwig shall see himself

giunto  
Imperador co' cieli a sì buon punto.

These are obviously slight ; and the sixteenth canzone shows no affiliations with Dante's lyrics whatever. We may safely say that these political

poems show only such resemblances as were inevitable in view of Fazio's intimate knowledge of his predecessor.

For analogous reasons, and to an even greater degree, Fazio's moralizing poems show few points of contact with Dante's *canzoniere*. Dante, in his poems of that type, is the subtle scholastic reasoner, who, "with harsh and subtle rime," presses home the analysis of his topic. Fazio had neither the inclination nor the ability to be a "syllogizer of invidious verities"; his learning is chiefly in the way of historical or mythical citation and example, a procedure wholly foreign to the lyrical manner of the *dolce stil nuovo*. The full significance of this difference will appear later; for the present, we may simply list the scattering parallels which the third group of Fazio's poems affords.

Three of them, and these the closest, are drawn from Dante's tenth canzone, lines 121-122 of which,

Volge il donare in vender tanto caro  
Quanto sa sol chi tal compera paga,

are condensed by Fazio in *Canz.* x, 32,

Quanto più costa, più car tener fassi,

applied to carnal love. Dante's picture of the miser (110)

Che sempre fugge l' esca,

has perhaps lent a phrase to the close of the sonnet on Lussuria (*Son.* vi, 13):

O quanto è da lodar l' uomo e la femina  
Che fugge l' esca che per me si semina.

Finally, the opening of Fazio's thirteenth canzone,

L' utile intendo più che la rettorica,

recalls Dante's line 53,

Ma perocchè 'l mio dire util vi sia,

though the tone of Fazio's list of the qualifications of a good ruler is as remote from Dante's way of thought as can be imagined.

But one further case in this group need be mentioned — the reference to the *Vita Nuova* alluded to above. Fazio's first canzone, by far

the best of those in our third group, recounts his sufferings in his exiled and hapless life. It deals with a more sordid side of exile than any which Dante had to bear, and consequently differs in tone from anything of his; but its invocation of death is strikingly similar to that uttered by Dante in the fourth canzone of the *Vita Nuova*:

Anima mia, che non ten vai?

says Dante:

Che li tormenti che tu porterai  
 Nel secol che t'è già tanto noioso  
 Mi fan pensoso di paura forte;  
 Ond'io chiamo la morte  
 Come soave e dolce mio riposo.

So Fazio, full of discouragement and fear, turns imploringly to the same refuge:

I' chiamo, prego, lusingo la morte,  
 Come divota, dolce, cara amica,  
 Che non mi sia nimica,  
 Ma venga a me come a sua propria cosa;

and her refusal leads him to the thought of self-destruction. The bitterness of his lot has brought him to a depth of despair to which Dante was never reduced, but gives his poem a sincerity which sets it apart from those of its age.

In these second and third groups, then, we find fewer points of contact with Dante's lyrics, a condition explained by radical differences in mode of thought. It is clear that Fazio did not draw on Dante's moralizing poems as if they made, to his mind, a distinct group; for references to them occur in his love poems, just as Dante's love poems lend some touches to Fazio's non-amorous verse. We may note that, had he been a mere imitator, he would scarcely have failed to copy the unusual metrical forms of Dante's moralizing canzoni, whereas in fact he does nothing of the kind. In the main he adheres to the general canons of stanza structure laid down by the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*, the most conspicuous of his deviations being a fondness for a *pes* of four lines instead of one of three (ABbC instead of ABC, for instance), this four-line type occurring, with or without cross-rime, in fourteen out of the sixteen canzoni.

I have tried, in this discussion, to emphasize the certain cases of relationship between the lyrics of our two poets, and to set forth their exact nature; I have therefore passed over many minor coincidences of phrase, which may often be accidental, and which, if significant at all, must be treated on a broader basis than the work of two poets only. The passages here given show, I think, that Fazio deliberately chose such features as were in accord with his own poetic disposition, and that he wove them into a fabric of his own devising, by no means using them as substitutes for activity on his own part. If he is unmistakably influenced by Dante's lyrics, it is as a true follower, not as an imitator; and if that is the case here, it is equally so with his relation to the *Commedia*, to the examination of which we now turn.

## II

We have already remarked that Fazio's knowledge of the *Commedia* must have been extensive and profound; but when we seek the reflex of that knowledge in his lyrics, we find it to be of a definite and rather limited sort. Fazio does not draw on the *Commedia* for beautiful passages and figures; practically none of Dante's similes are transferred, and the lines that are echoed seem to have been chosen for their content, rather than for their intrinsic beauty. It therefore follows that the most obvious borrowings are those containing some mythological or historical allusion. By far the greater number of the proper names in Fazio's lyrics occur also in the *Commedia*; but in most cases Fazio uses his own words in what he says of them. In the cases where he does not, he tends to follow Dante closely, as if he regarded him as an authority to be cited with exactness. It is thus fair to say that in such matters he uses Dante as a source of information; and further, that to the influence of the *Commedia* is in part due that infiltration of learned allusions which so sharply distinguishes the typical Trecento lyric from that of the *dolce stil nuovo*.

As a result of this state of affairs, the relation of Fazio's lyrics to the *Commedia* is practically the reverse of that subsisting between them and Dante's *canzoniere*. That is, the love poems show it least, the political and moralizing poems most—a perfectly natural result, as we have already suggested. In what we may regard as the earlier of the love

poems, echoes of the *Commedia* are faint and infrequent. It is true that the opening of the second canzone :

Nel tempo che s' infiora e cuopre d' erba  
 La terra, sicchè mostra tutta verde,  
 Vidi una donna andar per una landa,  
 . . . . .  
 Per farsi una ghirlanda  
 Ponevasi a sedere in su la sponda  
 Dove batteva l' onda  
 D' un fiumicello, e co' biondi capelli  
 Legava fior qua' le parean più belli —

reminds us of Dante's dream of Leah in *Purg.* xxvii, 97 :

Giovane e bella in sogno mi pareo  
 Donna vedere andar per una landa  
 Cogliendo fiori, e cantando dicea :  
 Sappia, qualunque il mio nome domanda,  
 Ch' io mi son Lia, e vo movendo intorno  
 Le belle mani a farmi una ghirlanda.

At most, however, Dante's words are a mere point of departure, for the remainder of the canzone is in Fazio's most personal manner ; and when we note that he makes no use of the description of the Earthly Paradise, which he might so easily have adopted, it would appear that the resemblance between the two passages is somewhat casual, though it is fair to assume that the lines were running in Fazio's head when he began his own poem. Another similarity seems to me entirely fortuitous ; for in view of the context of *Inf.* xxiv, 48 :

sedendo in piuma  
 In fama non si vien, nè sotto coltre —

it seems to me unlikely that *Canz.* vii, 32 :

Ch' i' ti vedessi mai sotto la coltre —

is a conscious reminiscence.

In two canzoni, however, the fourth and the sixth, learned allusions begin to creep in, and a consequent relation to the *Commedia* is established. Lines 9-13 of the former,

E' non sonâr con più diletto quegli  
 D' Anfione co' quai movia le pietre,  
 Nè di Mercurio a chiuder gli occhi ad Argo . . .  
 Nè contro Marsia d' Apollo le cetre,

remind us of *Inf.* xxxii, 10,

Ma quelle donne aiutino il mio verso  
 Ch' aiutaro Amfion a chiuder Tebe,

and of the invocation to Apollo, *Par.* i, 20,

Sì come quando Marsia traesti  
 Della vagina delle membre sue.

Moreover, for the reference to Argus, with a suggestion of the opening lines of the canzone,

S' i' savessi formar quanto son begli  
 Gli occhi di questa donna onesti e vaghi,

we may compare *Purg.* xxxii, 64,

S' io potessi ritrar come assonaro  
 Gli occhi spietati, udendo di Siringa.

Here again, when Fazio has once poured out his erudition, he returns to his own natural vein, and ceases to echo.

Equally striking, for its exactness of citation, is a passage in *Canz.* vi, (20 ff.):

E così sono un altro Meleagro,  
 E questa tien lo stizzo che fataro  
 Le Tre, quando il trovaro,  
 Ch' al suo piacer convien ch' io mi consumi,

which draws on *Purg.* xxv, 22 :

" Se t' ammentassi come Meleagro  
 Si consumò al consumar d' un stizzo,  
 Non fora," disse, " questo a te sì agro."

Fazio, too, rimes *Meleagro* with *agro* ; and this throws some light on his probable motive for introducing the allusion. The opening of the poem is based on the change of love's sweetness to bitterness, so that *agro* is a perfectly natural word in the development of the thought. Its introduction, however, puts Fazio in mind of Dante's words, some of which



he proceeds to utilize. I hold, therefore, that this particular allusion is not a chance bit of filling, but came to Fazio's mind as a direct consequence of his knowledge of the *Commedia*. How far the observation may be true of other like cases is perhaps debatable; personally, I think it applies to several of them, being another illustration of the fact that Fazio is not a copyist, but a follower.

Yet another example of this is the extent to which Fazio refrains from bodily transferring Dantesque similes, in proof of which three cases may be cited. The first is *Canz.* iv, 18 ff.:

Come per primavera innanzi il giorno  
Ride Diana nell' aria serena  
D' una luce sì piena  
Che par che ne risplenda tutto il cielo,

which has a far-off likeness to *Par.* xxiii, 25:

Quale ne' plenilunii sereni  
Triviale ride tra le ninfe eterne  
Che dipingono il ciel per tutti i seni;

but the image is a perfectly natural one, appropriate to poetry in all ages. The other two occur in the fifth canzone; one an allusion to the lance of Peleus (59):

finchè 'l dolce sguardo  
Non la risanerà d' un altro dardo,

a stock image in Provençal and early Italian lyric, standing in no need of suggestion by *Inf.* xxxi, 4:

Così odo io che soleva la lancia  
D' Achille e del suo padre esser cagione  
Prima di trista e poi di buona mancia.

The other is in lines 66 ff.:

Giuocando all' ombra delle gran foreste,  
Tanto leggiadre e preste  
Qual solean ninfe stare appresso i laghi,

which bears a somewhat closer relation to *Purg.* xxix, 4:

E come ninfe che si givan sole  
Per le selvatiche ombre, disiando  
Qual di veder, qual di fuggir, lo sole.

I have deliberately cited these cases — the most closely related that I could find — to show that where it is a question of poetic statement, as distinguished from learned allusion, Fazio is amply able to take his own course. It seems hardly necessary to list the passages in which Fazio and Dante allude to the same character, but in different terms; it is enough to say that in most of them Fazio very probably drew from the *Commedia*, as a convenient book of reference, but that he drew, after all, with a fair degree of moderation, when we consider the encyclopedic scope of his source.

A somewhat similar moderation is to be found in the political poems, in most of which Fazio is still in control of his powers. In the twelfth canzone, the allusions to Roman history are not couched in terms borrowed from Dante, the closest parallel which I have noted being line 69,

Finchè Tarquin fu da Bruto cacciato,

which recalls *Inf.* iv, 127 :

Vidi quel Bruto che cacciò Tarquino.

When Rome, seeking aid from her senate, finds on the threshold

Superbia, invidia, ed avarizia ria (124),

the quotation of *Inf.* vi, 74 :

Superbia, invidia, ed avarizia sono  
Le tre faville,

is manifest. So lines 51-52,

Sotto lo sterpo mio, ch' ora si face  
Di greve piombo, e di fuor ci par d' oro,

remind us of the copes of the hypocrites (*Inf.* xxiii, 64), dazzlingly gilded without, but all lead within.

The fourteenth canzone, the bitter invective against Charles of Luxemburg, shows signs of closer dependence, two of the initial curses finding marked parallels. The opening line,

Di quel possi tu ber che bevve Crasso,

suggests *Purg.* xx, 116,

Ultimamente ci si grida: Crasso,  
Dicci, che il sai, di che sapore è l' oro?

The fifth,

Come a Mordret, il sol ti passi il casso,

is even closer to *Inf.* xxxii, 61, which is, indeed, almost needed as a gloss:

Non quelli a cui fu rotto il petto e l'ombra

Con esso un colpo per la man d' Artù.

The same may be said of two historical allusions: lines 49-50,

chi sconfisse

Brenno, Annibal e Pirro mise in caccia,

to be compared with *Par.* vi, 43, which tells of the Roman eagle,

portato dagli egregi

Romani incontro a Brenno, incontro a Pirro;

and line 85,

Fe' che le porte furo a Gian serrate,

corresponding to *Par.* vi, 80,

Con costui pose il mondo in tanta pace

Che fu serrato a Jano il suo delubro,

which also reminds us of *Canz.* xii, 49:

I qual col senno loro

Domaro il mondo e riformarlo in pace.

In view of the profusion of names in Justinian's speech in this canto of the *Paradiso*, we may indeed feel that Fazio has been moderate in his selection.

In the present part of our study it will prove more convenient to group canzoni xv and xvi with the moralizing poems; for in them, as the strain of original inspiration becomes weaker, the borrowings from the *Commedia* become more explicit and less modified. Thus, in the fifteenth, we have a simile of Dante's for once frankly and openly adopted — that of the frogs scattered by the serpent (*Inf.* ix, 76):

Come le rane innanzi alla nimica

Biscia per l'acqua si dileguan tutte,

which becomes in Fazio (90-91)

E questi, assai più crudi che serpenti,

Li scaccian, come bische fan le rane.

It would seem that this particular figure struck a sympathetic chord in his fondness for a certain grotesqueness in the animal world, shown, for instance, in the picture of the enamored basilisks in the fifth canzone. At any rate, he uses it again in the description of Accidia (*Son.* vii, 7),

Gracido e muso come una ranocchia,

related to two passages in the *Inferno*:

E come all' orlo dell' acqua d' un fosso

Stanno i ranocchi pur col muso fuori (xxii, 25),

and

E' come a gracidar si sta la rana

Col muso fuor dell' acqua (xxxii, 31).

Another passage of the same canzone shows a similar relationship.

Dico che nel mio prato

Di nuove piante son nati germogli

Ch' hanno aduggiato i gigli e la buon erba (60-62),

says the spirit of Florence, recalling the words of Hugh Capet (*Purg.* xx, 43),

Io fui radice della mala pianta

Che la terra cristiana tutta aduggia.

The first of these lines is made the basis of one of those "doublets" characteristic of Fazio.

Io fui radice della nobil pianta,

says Fiesole (*Canz.* xvi, 14); but the opening line of the sonnet on Pride runs:

Io son la mala pianta di superba.

Again, *Canz.* xv, 127:

E me latrando andar sì come belva,

suggests Dante's Hecuba (*Inf.* xxx, 20), who

Forsennata latrò sì come cane.

For a similar close likeness in the sixteenth canzone, we may cite lines 9-10:

Ma, per non trarre in tutto fuor la spola

Della mia tela,

comparing them with *Par.* iii, 95,

qual fu la tela

Onde non trasse infino a co' la spola.

As for the purely moralizing canzoni, their relations to the *Commedia* are rather of general tone than of particular parallels. The savage invective against carnal love (x) derives part of its vigorous vocabulary from that source; the list of hapless lovers in lines 57 ff. recalls that of *Inf.* v, 48; though the names are not throughout identical, there are *più di mille* in each case. There is also one explicit parallel, lines 16 ff.,

Così la lingua della strozza  
Tratta di netta e mozza  
Gli fosse stata,

suggested by *Inf.* xxviii, 101,

Con la lingua tagliata nella strozza.

The first canzone, which we have already seen to be independent of Dante's lyrics, is equally so of the *Commedia*, except perhaps for the imprecations of lines 40 ff.,

Però bestemmio prima la natura,  
E poi fortuna, con chi n' ha podere  
Di farmi sì dolere,

somewhat suggestive of *Inf.* iii, 103:

Bestemmiavan Iddio e lor parenti,  
L' umana specie, il luogo, il tempo e il seme  
Di lor semenza e di lor nascimenti.

When the so-called *disperata* became an established type, this order of topics was actually followed, no doubt rather consciously, as we see in Antonio da Ferrara's celebrated example; but Fazio's emotion was too strong and too sincere to be thus stereotyped.

One more likeness may be added to those which have already been incidentally cited from the sonnets on the deadly sins — the attitude of Sloth in *Son.* vii:

Per gran tristizia abbraccio le ginocchia,  
E 'l mento su per esse sì trastulla,

which inevitably recalls that of Belacqua in *Purg.* iv, 107:

Sedeva ed abbracciava le ginocchia,  
Tenendo il viso giù tra esse basso.

With this the list of really significant points of contact seems to close — of those, that is, which are neither so general as to be uncertain nor

so slight as to be without significance. I can find no indication that any special portion of the *Commedia* absorbed Fazio's attention ; at all events, the passages thus far considered are well distributed. Thirteen of them are drawn from the *Inferno*, seven from the *Purgatorio*, five from the *Paradiso*—a numerical relation which has, I think, nothing to surprise us.

In the order of Fazio's work, however, the influence of the *Commedia* tends to grow as Fazio's own powers diminish ; as he ceases to be a lyric poet in his own right, and becomes more and more absorbed in an antiquarian and moralizing turn of thought. His sixteenth canzone, which has no point of contact with Dante's lyrics, but several, as we have just seen, with the *Commedia*, clearly shows the accomplishment of the change in attitude. We must not forget, however, that here, as before, Fazio is no mere copyist ; if he makes a fairly close quotation, it is, I think, because he is actually quoting, because Dante has become an authority to be cited. When we think of the abundant similes which Fazio might have copied and did not, of the endless historical allusions which he refrained from utilizing, it is clear that he was far from abdicating his essential originality as a lyric poet, even in face of the *Commedia*.

### III

In addition to the resemblances in substance and phrasing which we have thus far discussed, a few words may be devoted in conclusion to some general aspects of Fazio's vocabulary and style, which will help to complete our sense of the position he occupies, and to indicate a few more lines of Dante's influence on him. In handling these data I shall not attempt a rigidly exact enumeration, but shall be satisfied with statements sufficiently near exactness to give a fair idea of the matter in hand.

The vocabulary of Fazio's lyrics, omitting the inevitable prepositions and connectives, but without any close allowance for doublets (such as, for instance, *disfare* and *sfare*), amounts to some 1600 words, a very respectable total in proportion to the extent of his lyric work, and distinguished by a large percentage of words used but once, and a marked freedom from favorite epithets and stereotyped phrases. Of this total, all but some 240 are to be found in the *Commedia*, the "standardizing" influence of which is thus illustrated ; but the use which Fazio makes of them is mainly personal.

Of this remainder, many of course occur also in Dante's other works. Twenty-five are used by him in lyric; of these, *cera* in the sense of "countenance" occurs only in the doubtful sonnet xxix, *valoroso* in the probably unauthentic sonnet l. I list the remaining twenty-three for such interest as they may have; those preceded by an asterisk occur also in Dante's prose, the others only in his lyrics.

*adornezza	donzella	pino	*spiritello
cordoglio	faretra	*prudente	stocco
costumare	fatare	riscaldare	struggere
crespo	ghirlandetta	scampare	*tremore
crucioso	nutricare	servente	*virtuoso
*dardo	*piagare	sfare	

They are well distributed among Dante's lyrics, but do not seem to point to any special principle of choice.

Of greater interest is the list of forty words which Dante uses only in prose: for it illustrates the working of one of the forces which tended to widen the range of poetic vocabulary in the Trecento. It is as follows:

amabile	edificare	partecipare	recitare
apostolo	equità	pecunia	rettorica
arroganza	formoso	pertinace	scientifico
bassezza	generazione	piacevole	scure
calamita	genitore	potente	sfolgorato
calunnia	grammatico	pratico	senato
congiunto	incolpare	proverbio	sollecitudine
console	medicare	pupillo	sponere
costanza	moltitudine	purità	stirpe
domanda	oltramare	pusillanime	virile

Of these, *apostolo*, *congiunto*, *generazione*, *moltitudine*, and *recitare* occur in both *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio*, a total of five; *costanza*, *genitore*, *oltramare*, *piacevole*, and *sfolgorato* occur only in the *Vita Nuova*, another total of five; the remaining thirty occur only in the *Convivio*, a fact which would suggest that at least some of them seemed to Dante more appropriate to prose than to poetry.

If we now examine them to see why Fazio should have adopted them, we note at once that many of them would provide triple or *sdruciole* rimes, for which he has a marked fondness. It is to be noted that all



the words with two definite syllables after the accent (including the forms *calunnia*, *medica*, *participio*, and *sponere*) except *apostolo*, occur as such rimes; chiefly in *Canz.* viii, ix, and xiii, written in them throughout, but also incidentally in *Canz.* x (*moltitudine*, *sollecitudine*). Rime of this type, as is well known, is practically nonexistent in the earlier Italian lyric; and it is conceivable that the few cases in the *Commedia*<sup>1</sup> gave Fazio his cue, which he then develops to an extreme degree.

It is also noteworthy that almost none of the words in this list occur in the love poems, the only exceptions being *formoso* (*Canz.* iii, 61), *calamita* (*Canz.* iv, 33), and *incolpare* (*ibid.* 91), none of them of a prosaic cast. We may therefore conclude that this element of Fazio's vocabulary was introduced for the following reasons: (1) to provide *sdruciole* rimes, often with rather grotesque effect;<sup>2</sup> (2) as historical terms, notably in *Canz.* xii (*console*, *scure*, *senato*); and (3) more or less as a matter of chance. The only case in which it seems likely that Fazio has been influenced by an actual prose expression in Dante is the phrase *vedove e pupilli*, which he uses twice, and which strongly recalls *Conv.* iv, 27, 118: "Ahi malastrui e malnati, che disertate vedove e pupilli." We may thus conclude that Fazio's later poems do show a gradual infusion of words which would earlier have been regarded as at all events more suited to prose, and that this infusion is due in part to the desire for more vigorous and unconventional expression, partly to a decline in taste, leading to the grotesque or the uninspired.

Lastly, two types of phrasing ascribable to the influence of the *Commedia* may be noted. One is the repetition of words at the beginning of successive lines, the two most striking cases of which are *Canz.* xii, 82 ff.:

Cesar che mia corona in testa tiene,  
Cesar di buona spene,  
Cesar del mondo franco domatore,

and *Canz.* xv, 107 ff.:

Con disprezzar la guerra e la discordia,  
Con disprezzare i maledetti vizii,  
Con disprezzare uffizii.

<sup>1</sup> *Inf.* xv, 1; xxiii, 32; xxiv, 62; xxviii, 80. *Par.* xxvi, 125.

<sup>2</sup> To the same cause are due such forms as *toscara*, *zampora*, etc.

Models for this sort of repetition are easily found in Dante.<sup>1</sup> The other is the use of phrases like *a solo a solo*, *a fronte a fronte*, of which Fazio has several: for the examples in the *Commedia*, see the Blanc-Carbone *Vocabolario Dantesco* (fifth ed., 1896), pp. 2-5. Since the devices were accessible to Fazio in Dante, it is reasonable to think that he took them from him.

We may now draw together the threads of our discussion, and set forth Fazio's relation to Dante as our scrutiny has revealed it. It is, as I have repeatedly insisted, the relation of a follower to a greater but kindred spirit, not that of a copyist to a model. We must consider our various parallels in the proportion they bear to Fazio's entire work; and we shall then realize how comparatively small a part of it they are. There are countless details in Dante which a mere imitator would have seized on, but which Fazio ignores — turns of phrase, historical allusions, figures of speech. To read him attentively is to be astonished at the extent to which he was able to resist the spell of his mighty predecessor, and to develop a type of lyric which is essentially his own, in conception and in phrasing; less intense, but full of picturesque imagery, and of a feeling that is delicate without ceasing to be natural and human.

To call Fazio and Dante kindred spirits is not, I think, an absurdity. Their cycles of development show a striking similarity: each begins with poems of love, passes on into fields of political and moral speculation, and ends with a long poem of a learned character. The difference, of course, lies here: Fazio has neither the intensity nor the intellectual grasp of Dante, and his orbit has a smaller radius; hence his later work gradually declines from his best level, and expires in erudition unexalted by poetry. We must attribute some part of this decline to his evil fortune; some, also, to his own less weighty mind, though few of his contemporaries could support the comparison with Dante with any better showing. Inevitably, Fazio's later work shows less distinction, less taste; and as theology of the scholastic type was ceasing to occupy men's minds — even had he been of a theological disposition — it was equally inevitable that his *Dittamondo* should assume an antiquarian cast, seldom illumined by such poetical power as he still retained. That the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Oliver M. Johnston, "Repetition of Words and Phrases at the Beginning of Consecutive Tercets in Dante's *Divine Comedy*," in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, Vol. XXIX (1914), pp. 537-549.

*Dittamondo* was written with any aim of rivalling the *Commedia*, as Pellizzari seems to imply, is to me highly improbable. It was the natural outgrowth of Fazio's temperament and the conditions of the age; unfortunately, Fazio had scarcely the ability requisite for a long poem, and was hampered by his unwieldy material. I suspect that he regarded the work rather as an occupation for his declining years than as a monument of his poetic skill.

This view of Fazio's character seems to me to be borne out by what we have noted as to his mode of adopting hints from Dante. In his earlier work he takes only what is consistent with his own poetic attitude, already fully established; later, as his inspiration begins to flag, he leans on the *Commedia* as a source of information; but in neither stage does he draw on Dante to replace his own intellectual activity. Even in the less-inspired work of his decline, he is still able to strike out an occasional arresting phrase; and when we review his relation to Dante as a whole, it must be with no small respect for one who, in proximity to one of the greatest poets of all time, contrived to maintain his own attitude and his own manner of expression.



## THREE DANTE NOTES

BY ERNEST HATCH WILKINS

### I. *INFERNO* I, 4 AND VIII, 122

In Guido delle Colonne's canzone beginning "Amor, ke lungamente m' à' menato" occur the lines:

ahi quanto è dura cosa al cor dolente  
star quetamente e non far dimostranza!<sup>1</sup>

Dante knew and liked this poem: he refers to it twice, with approbation, in the *De vulgari eloquentia*.<sup>2</sup> It is then highly probable that Guido's phrase "ahi quanto è dura cosa" was consciously or unconsciously in Dante's mind when he wrote the fourth line of the *Inferno*:

Ahi quanto a dir qual era è cosa dura.<sup>3</sup>

Scholars have long differed as to whether the first word of this line should be *ahi* or *e*.<sup>4</sup> The probability that Dante's line is reminiscent of Guido's "ahi quanto è dura cosa" strengthens the opinion that Dante wrote "Ahi quanto" and not "E quanto."

<sup>1</sup> Lines 42-43. I quote from the edition by Monaci, in his *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli*, pp. 218-221. For this part of the poem (ll. 20-65) Monaci follows the Giuntina text, which was probably based upon the Palatine MS 418, which now lacks the leaf containing this stanza. Monaci gives also the variants of the Vatican MS 3793, the only MS which preserves this part of the poem. This MS in this case lacks its usual authority, for the poem, no. 305 in the order of the MS, was added by a hand later than that of the original scribe. The reading for line 42 is: "oiquante dura pena al core dolente."

<sup>2</sup> I, xii and II, v.

<sup>3</sup> I quote from Professor Grandgent's edition.

<sup>4</sup> The latest and most extensive discussion is that of Del Lungo and D'Ovidio, published as an appendix to Del Lungo's *Lectura Dantis* for the first canto of the *Inferno*, Florence, Sansoni (1913). The case can hardly be settled until the interrelations of the MSS are established. Del Lungo does not refer to all of the earlier discussions; some of those he does not mention contain good arguments in favor of the *ahi*.

The second stanza of the same canzone closes with the line :

saggio guerrieri vince guerra e prova.<sup>1</sup>

This line, emphatic in its position, was very likely in Dante's mind, consciously or unconsciously, when he assigned to his *famoso saggio* the words (*Inf.* viii, 122) :

Non sbigottir, ch'io vincerò la prova.

## II. PURGATORIO XXVI, 71 ff.

Guido Guinizelli paid filial compliment to Guittone of Arezzo in a sonnet in "difficult" rhyme which opens with the octave :

Charo padre meo, de vostra laude  
non bizogna c'alcun omo s'enbarchi ;  
ch'en vostra mente intrar visio non aude  
che for de sé vostro saver non l'archi.  
a ciascun reo sì la porta claude  
che ssembra più 'n via che Venesia Marchi ;  
entr' a Ghaudenti ben vostr' alma ghaude  
c'al me' parer li ghaldii àn sovr'alarchi.<sup>2</sup>

Guittone replied *per le rime* in a sonnet beginning :

Figlio mio dilettozo, in faccia laude  
non con discrezion sembrami marchi.<sup>3</sup>

In this sonnet the rhymes are homonymous: *marchi* is used, in four different senses, for the four even lines of the octave.<sup>4</sup>

Dante paid filial compliment to Guinizelli in the 26th canto of the *Purgatorio*. The spirit of Guinizelli, as yet unidentified, speaks from the flame, briefly asking the unknown traveler if he be still mortal. Dante tells of the grace that permits his journey in the flesh, and asks in return "Chi siete voi?" The spirits marvel; then Guinizelli answers :

Ma poi che furon di stupore scarche  
(Lo qual negli alti cor tosto s'attuta),  
' Beato te, che delle nostre marche,  
Ricominciò colei che pria m'inchiese,  
' Per morir meglio esperienza imbarche . . .' (ll. 71-75).

<sup>1</sup> Line 26. The Vatican MS reads "saggio guerrero uincie guerra epruoua."

<sup>2</sup> Monaci, p. 297.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Monaci's glossary, s. v. marchi.

At the end of his speech Guinizelli names himself. Then comes the clause containing Dante's characterization of Guinizelli :

Quand' i' odo nomar sè stesso il padre  
Mio, e degli altri miei miglior, che mai  
Rime d' amore usar dolci e leggiadre (ll. 97-99).

Dante so expresses his emotion that Guinizelli says to him :

' Dimmi che è cagion per che dimostri  
Nel dire e nel guardare avermi caro ? ' (ll. 110-111).

Later, Guinizelli utters a severe criticism of Guittone. There are men, he says, whose literary likings are fixed without regard to art or reason ; such gave an undue preference to Giraut de Bornelh ; and other such paid undue honor to Guittone :

' Così fer molti antichi di Guittone,  
Di grido in grido pur lui dando pregio,  
Fin che l' ha vinto il ver con più persone ' (ll. 125-127).

The opening rhyme-words in Guinizelli's speech, *marche* and the rare *imbarche*, are virtually identical with the rhyme-words *enbarchi* and *Marchi* in Guinizelli's sonnet. This passage, like that sonnet, is an expression of filial compliment from a younger to an older poet ; Guinizelli, complimenter in the sonnet, is complimented here. The agreement in rhyme-words under such circumstances makes it evident that Dante had the sonnet in mind when he wrote this passage ; the borrowing of Guinizelli's own rhymes is indeed virtually a reference to the sonnet, and constitutes a compliment in itself. Probably Dante had in mind Guittone's sonnet as well.

This being the case, we may be confident that the opening words of Guinizelli's sonnet, " Charo padre meo," were in Dante's mind when he wrote :

il padre  
Mio, e degli altri miei miglior,

and perhaps when he wrote :

Nel dire e nel guardare avermi caro.

It becomes evident, moreover, that the hostile reference to Guittone here is introduced as a correction of the opinion of Guittone expressed



by Guinizelli in the sonnet. Scorn of Guittone from a Guinizelli gifted with other-world insight is more effective than it could possibly be from other lips!<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Dante felt a certain satisfaction in confirming the deprecatory reproof contained in the first two lines of Guittone's sonnet to Guinizelli.

Dante's interesting treatment of Guinizelli in this case is similar to his procedure in the 20th canto of the *Inferno*, where an account of the founding of Mantua which Dante thought preferable to the account in the *Æneid* is, as Professor Grandgent says, "courteously put into the mouth of Virgil himself."<sup>2</sup>

### III. SUPPOSED PORTRAITS OF DANTE IN MICHELANGELO'S "LAST JUDGMENT"

In Michelangelo's fresco of the Last Judgment a man is represented as kneeling and leaning forward just behind St. Peter. The face, dark and faint, appears just to the left of St. Peter's right thigh; part of the body is visible between St. Peter's legs; and the left leg of the kneeling figure appears to the right of St. Peter's left leg. The face is in profile, the eye looking slightly upward toward the Christ.

Three English biographers of Michelangelo mention this figure, and report or express the opinion that the head is a portrait of Dante. Harford says:

In advance of the right-hand group is the Baptist, on the left St. Peter and St. Paul, and between their advancing limbs an animated head peeps out, which is said to be that of Dante.<sup>3</sup>

Black says:

Before quitting this part of the picture, it may be proper to refer to the suggestion that the kneeling figure behind St. Peter has been intended to represent Dante. The soiled condition of the fresco is too great to enable a

<sup>1</sup> For Dante's other references to Guittone, see *De vulgari eloquentia* I, xiii and II, vi, and *Purg.* xxiv, 56.

<sup>2</sup> Argument to *Inf.* xx. See also Professor Rand's discussion of the Manto problem in his *Dante and Servius*, in the Thirty-Third Annual Report of this Society, pp. 8-11.

<sup>3</sup> J. S. Harford, *The Life of Michael Angelo Buonarroti*, London, 1858, Vol. II, p. 49.



A DETAIL OF MICHELANGELO'S "LAST JUDGMENT"



distinct examination of the features, of which all that can be said is that they have an intelligent, and, so to speak, portrait-like character, but there is no antecedent improbability in the suggestion. The poet had already been placed in a post of honour in Raphael's Parnassus; the enduring reverence in which he was held by Michael Angelo is well known, and the painter may have gladly indulged his hero-worship by placing the form of Italy's greatest poet in a far higher region than that already allotted to him. The humility of the attitude, and the earnest attempt to gain an imperfect glance at the Divine Brightness sufficiently vindicate the painter from any charge of over-boldness, and Michael Angelo might rejoice that he had within his power a means of testifying his devotion; for this monument at least he had no need to ask, and he refused permission by a worthless master.<sup>1</sup>

Holroyd says:

Dante is there thirsting for deepest mysteries, his face positively thrust between St. Peter and St. Paul.<sup>2</sup>

The engraver Chapon, in his essay on the fresco, asserts that this figure represents St. Mark:

Près de saint Pierre, mais au second rang, saint Paul, l'apôtre et le docteur des nations. Saint Luc, son évangéliste, le suit, tandis que saint Marc se prosterne humblement aux pieds du prince des apôtres.<sup>3</sup>

Thode lists the many identifications proposed by Chapon, and expresses a general disapproval of his method and results.<sup>4</sup> Thode himself regards the group in which the figure in question appears as a "Choir of the Apostles," and in his description refers to this figure as "eine jugendliche knieende Gestalt hinter Petrus." He does not, however, suggest a name for it.<sup>5</sup>

The head is not mentioned in any other study of Michelangelo accessible to me. It is not referred to by Professor Holbrook in his admirable volume on the portraits of Dante;<sup>6</sup> nor, so far as I can ascertain, by any other writer on Dante iconography.

<sup>1</sup> C. C. Black, *Michael Angelo Buonarroti*, London, 1875, pp. 92-93.

<sup>2</sup> C. Holroyd, *Michael Angelo Buonarroti*, London, 1903, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> L.-L. Chapon, *le Jugement dernier de Michel-Ange*, Paris, 1892, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> H. Thode, *Michelangelo*, Vol. II, Berlin, 1908, pp. 49-50.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>6</sup> R. T. Holbrook, *Portraits of Dante from Giotto to Raffael*, London, 1911.

It seems to me possible, but hardly probable, that the head is a portrait of Dante.

Two Florentine frescoes offered precedent for the representation of Dante in such a scene as this: Giotto's "Paradise" in the Bargello — still visible in the lifetime of Michelangelo<sup>1</sup> — and Orcagna's "Last Judgment" in Santa Maria Novella. That Michelangelo was familiar with these two works there can be no reasonable doubt. Very probably he returned to them with special interest during his stay in Florence in the summer of 1534: he had already received the commission for the painting of his own "Last Judgment."<sup>2</sup> Within the Vatican itself, moreover, Raphael, in the "Disputa," had introduced Dante in holy company.

Michelangelo did indeed hold Dante in "enduring reverence." That reverence is attested not only in the two famous sonnets, but in Michelangelo's offer — to which the last words quoted from Black refer — to make a suitable monument for the poet, in case the Florentines should be allowed to bring back his exiled bones: "Io Michelagnolo schultore il medesimo a vostra Santità supplico, offerendomi al divin poeta fare la sepultura sua chondecente."<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the "Last Judgment" itself was influenced by the *Divine Comedy* — certainly in the figures of Charon and Minos, probably in the prominence of Adam and St. Peter and in the gesture and expression of St. Peter, very possibly in other respects.<sup>4</sup>

There is then abundant reason to expect a representation of Dante in the "Last Judgment."

The head of the figure kneeling behind St. Peter corresponds in its general character to the traditional Dante as represented by painters and sculptors from Orcagna to Raphael: there is the same leanness, the same proportion of the features, the same prominent nose, firm lips, and

<sup>1</sup> See Holbrook, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Steinmann, *Die sixtinische Kapelle*, Munich, 1905, Vol. II, pp. 525-527; Thode, Vol. II, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Steinmann, Vol. II, p. 561. The petition was signed in 1519.

<sup>4</sup> See W. Kallab, "Die Deutung von Michelangelos Jüngstem Gerichte," in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Franz Wickhoff gewidmet*, Vienna, 1903, p. 138; Steinmann, Vol. II, pp. 569 ff.; K. Borinski, *Die Rätsel Michelangelos*, Munich, 1908, pp. 291 ff.; Thode, Vol. II, pp. 40-46; A. Farinelli, "Il Giudizio di Michelangelo e l'ispirazione dantesca," in *Scritti varii . . . in onore di Rodolfo Renier*, Turin, 1912, p. 511. Kallab, Steinmann, and Borinski certainly exaggerate the extent of Dante's influence; Thode and Farinelli, I think, err in the other direction.

strong chin. The fact that the head is in profile, too, brings it into accordance with the pictorial practice: the Dante portraits by Orcagna, Filippino Lippi,<sup>1</sup> Signorelli, and Raphael are in profile.

On the other hand, the face has a more youthful character — in the accompanying plate, at least — than one would look for in a post-Raphaelite portrait of Dante, and the treatment of the hair seems peculiar. But the plate is none too clear in either of these respects; other reproductions give a much more Dantesque impression. A study at close range of the painted head itself should settle the matter.

Chapon's assertion that the figure represents St. Mark has no other possible basis than the quite insufficient fact of the figure's proximity, in a humble position, to St. Peter. Thode's theory that the figure represents an apostle requires as premise that all the figures of the group represent apostles. But Thode himself remarks the presence of four women in the group, and it is further to be noted that the position and action of the figure in question differentiate it sharply from the more prominent forms about it.

Two other figures in the fresco have been thought to represent Dante.

Steinmann<sup>2</sup> held that Dante is represented in the figure emerging sleepily from the ground just at the left edge of the fresco. This theory, accepted by Spahn,<sup>3</sup> is rejected by Borinski<sup>4</sup> and Thode,<sup>5</sup> and fairly ridiculed by Farinelli.<sup>6</sup> Steinmann's statement that the figure wears the same Florentine costume and headgear that appear in recognized Dante portraits is quite wrong; the figure wears graveclothes, of the same sort as those worn by several of the neighboring figures.<sup>7</sup>

Borinski<sup>8</sup> held that the scene within Hell-mouth represents Virgil's colloquy with Malacoda, as described in *Inferno* XXI, and that the

<sup>1</sup> See F. J. Mather, Jr., "Dante Portraits," in *The Romanic Review*, Vol. III (1912), pp. 117-118.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. II, pp. 583-584, 684.

<sup>3</sup> M. Spahn, *Michelangelo und die sixtinische Kapelle*, Berlin, 1907, p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 296, 323.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. II, pp. 42, 64.

<sup>6</sup> P. 557.

<sup>7</sup> This is sufficiently clear in Steinmann's own plate of the "Last Judgment," No. LXIV-LXV in the second of the two portfolios published with his work; it is clearer still in Della Casa's engraving of the lower left corner of the fresco, reproduced by Steinmann as plate LXIX in the same portfolio.

<sup>8</sup> P. 323.



kneeling leg barely visible just at the lower left corner of the opening represents Dante in hiding! This theory, too, receives from Farinelli<sup>1</sup> the ridicule it deserves.

I take this opportunity to call attention to a drawing of Dante, in Christ Church Library, attributed by Berenson to the School of Antonio Pollaiuolo. The drawing has not been mentioned, I believe, in any study of the portraits of Dante. It is reproduced as plate XXII in the first volume of Berenson's *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*.<sup>2</sup> It is described thus in his *catalogue raisonné*: "Full-length figure of Dante. Pen and bistre. H. 26 cm., w. 9 cm.";<sup>3</sup> and thus in the text:

In Christ Church Library at Oxford there is a drawing for a Dante showing an open book. It is a charming but feeble copy of a lost Antonio, and the affinity with Castagno's Portraits of Worthies is distinctly felt.<sup>4</sup>

The drawing in the Print Room at Berlin representing the head of a man — probably Dante — with bay leaves in his cap, which is attributed by Krauss<sup>5</sup> to Signorelli, is attributed by Berenson<sup>6</sup> to Piero di Cosimo.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 557-558.

<sup>2</sup> London, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. II, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. I, p. 31. A footnote to the word "Antonio" reads: "The claw-like hands prove this conclusively, although of course the character of the drawing is, in other respects as well, unmistakable."

<sup>5</sup> Ingo Krauss, *Das Portrait Dantes*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 51-52.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. I, pp. 127-128; Vol. II, p. 130.



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## BY-LAWS

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1. This Society shall be called the DANTE SOCIETY. Its object shall be the encouragement of the study of the Life and Works of Dante.

2. Any person desirous to become a member of this Society may do so by signifying his or her wish in writing to the Secretary, and by the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

3. An Annual Meeting for the election of officers shall be held at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of May, of which due notice shall be given to the members by the Secretary.

4. Special meetings may be held at any time appointed by vote of the members at the Annual Meeting, or by call from the President and Secretary.

5. The officers shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Librarian, who, together with three members thereto chosen, shall form the Council of the Society. All these officers shall be chosen at the Annual Meeting, and their term of service shall be for one year, or until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled for the remainder of the year by the Council.

6. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice President, or, in the absence of both, any member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council.

7. The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep a record of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, shall collect and receive all dues, and keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the Society, shall give notice of meetings, and shall perform all other duties appropriate to his office.

8. The Council shall hold meetings at such times as it may appoint, shall determine on the use to be made of the income of the Society, shall endeavor to promote the special objects of the Society in such ways as may seem most appropriate, and shall make an annual report of their

proceedings, including a full statement of accounts, at each Annual Meeting. This report shall be made in print for distribution to the members.

9. No officer of the Society shall be competent to contract debts in the name of the Society, and no expenditure shall be made without a vote of the Council.

10. A majority of the Council shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. Any person distinguished for his interest in the purposes of the Society, or who has rendered it valuable service, may be chosen an Honorary Member at any regular meeting of the Society, and shall be entitled to all its privileges without annual assessment.

12. The preceding rules may be changed at any time by unanimous vote of the Council.

## THE DANTE PRIZE

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The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars for the best essay by a student in any department of Harvard University, or by a graduate of not more than three years' standing, on a subject drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1915-1916 the following subjects were proposed :

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*
12. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
13. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
14. *A criticism of Torraca's edition of the Divina Commedia.*

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College Cambridge, Mass., on or before the *first day of May*.

Essayists are at liberty to write on any one of the subjects which have been proposed in the years during which the Dante Prize has been offered, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

On the title-page must be written an assumed name and a statement of the writer's standing, i.e. whether he is a graduate or an undergraduate (and of what college or university); if he is an undergraduate, to what class he belongs, and to what department of the college or university. Under cover with the essay must be sent a sealed letter containing the true name and address of the writer, and superscribed with his assumed name.

The essays must be written upon letter paper, of good quality, of the quarto size, with a margin of not less than one inch at the top, at the bottom, and on each side, so that they may be bound up without injury to the writing. The sheets on which the essay is written must be securely stitched together.

The judges of the essays are a committee of the Dante Society.

In case the judges decide that no essay submitted to them deserves the full prize, they are at liberty to award one or two prizes of fifty dollars, or to award no prize.

The Dante Society has the privilege of retaining and depositing in the Dante Collection of the Harvard College Library any or all essays offered in competition for the Dante Prize, whether successful or not.

Since its establishment the Dante Prize (in full or in part) has been awarded to the following persons :

HEINRICH CONRAD BIERWIRTH . . . . 1887

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas*.

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888

For an essay entitled *The Interpretation and Reconciliation of the Different Accounts of his Experiences after the Death of Beatrice, given by Dante in the Vita Nuova and the Convito*.

CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM . . . . 1890

For an essay entitled *A Translation into English of Dante's Letters, with Explanatory and Historical Comments*.



KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo*.

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895

For an essay entitled *Dante's Influence upon Spanish Literature during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*.

ANNETTE FISKE . . . . 1897

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to Old French and Provençal Lyric Poetry*.

ARTHUR NEWTON PEASLEE . . . . 1900

For an essay entitled *A Metrical Rhyming Translation of the Three Canzoni of the Convito*.

HENRY LATIMER SEAVER . . . . 1901

For an essay entitled *A Translation of the Canzoni in the Convito*.

ALAIN CAMPBELL WHITE . . . . 1902

The Latham Prize for an essay entitled *A Translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra, and a Discussion of its Authenticity*.

ALPHONSO DE SALVIO . . . . 1902

For an essay entitled *The Verse Endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch' erano appo gli altri dicitore usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS . . . . 1903

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

CHANDLER RATHFON POST . . . . 1906

For an essay entitled *The Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature*.

ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS . . . . 1907

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova*.

RALPH HAYWARD KENISTON . . . . 1909

For an essay entitled *The Dante Tradition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*.

ROGER THEODORE LAFFERTY . . . . 1912

For an essay entitled *The Philosophy of Dante*.

GEORGE HUSSEY GIFFORD . . . . 1913

For an essay entitled *Expressions of Gratitude in Dante*.

RICHARD AGER NEWHALL . . . . 1914

For an essay entitled *Italian Ghibellinism as reflected in Dante*.

AMOS PHILIP MCMAHON . . . . 1915

For an essay entitled *On Dante's De Monarchia. A Study of Imperialism in Mediæval and in Modern Times*.

## ANNUAL REPORT

The thirty-fifth annual meeting of the Dante Society was held, by invitation of Mrs. John L. Gardner, at Fenway Court, Boston, on May 16, 1916, at three o'clock in the afternoon. The President, Professor C. H. Grandgent, was in the chair. The usual reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were presented and accepted. The officers and members of the Council for the previous year were all reëlected. Mr. G. B. Weston, for the committee of judges on the Dante prize, reported that two essays had been submitted, but that neither of them had been deemed worthy of the award.

After the regular business was transacted Mrs. Héloïse D. Rose spoke briefly about the formation of a new Dante League, with headquarters in New York City, and asked for the advice and support of members of the Society.

In continuance of a custom of several years' standing, which it is hoped may become regularly established, the meeting ended with the presentation of a paper. President Grandgent read an essay on "The Significance of the Number Nine in Dante's Poetry."

It is now several years since a bibliography has been published of the additions to the Dante collection maintained by the Society in the Harvard College Library.

The list prepared by the Librarian to accompany the present report covers the accessions from 1908 to 1916, and seems clearly to show that there is no diminishing interest in the study of the poet.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

*Secretary*

CAMBRIDGE, June 15, 1917

# ADDITIONS TO THE DANTE COLLECTION IN HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

MAY 1, 1908—MAY 1, 1916

COMPILED BY WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE

*Librarian*

The following list, like that first published, covering the accessions of 1904-1908, does not attempt to include contributions to periodical literature and to society publications except as these have been received in the form of reprints, and only very sparingly does it cite articles on Dantesque subjects contained in books outside the specific Dante Collection.

Books bought from the appropriations made from time to time by the Dante Society and placed at the disposal of the Harvard Library are marked with an asterisk [\*]. A dagger [†] is used to indicate a considerable number of pamphlets, mostly presentation copies from their authors, which were given to the Library in 1909 by Mr. Harry Nelson Gay of Rome, who has for many years interested himself to increase the Library's collections in modern Italian history. A number of interesting and valuable books have been received from Professor Norton's Library, and the income of the Norton fund has occasionally been drawn upon to supplement the money given by the Dante Society. The Society and the Harvard Library are also indebted to a number of Dante scholars for the welcome gift of their writings.

## WORKS OF DANTE

Tutte le opere di Dante; nuovamente rivedute nel testo e diligentemente emendate dal dottore *Edoardo Moore*, ed ora stampate per la gentile cortesia dei distinti direttori della stamperia della Università di Oxford. [London], nella stamperia Ashendeniana, 1909. f°. pp. xiv, 392.

"Le incisioni in legno, disegnate dal signor Charles Gere, furono eseguite dal signor Hooper; e le lettere maiuscole sono opera del signor Graily Hewitt." — *Page* viii.

Bought with the income of the Norton fund.

## DIVINA COMMEDIA

Commedia. Inf. i. 1-9; ii. 139-142; iii. 1-20. 4°.

Photograph of 2 leaves from MS. 109 of De Batines. Cf. De Batines, *Bibliografia dantesca*, ii, 62.

From the library of Professor C. E. Norton.

\*La divina commedia. Edizione corretta, illustrata, ed accresciuta. 3 vol. Venezia, 1760. Port., plate, and diagr.

Forms vol. i-iii of his "Opere." With annotations by Pompeo Venturi and G. A. Volpi.

La divina commedia. 3 vol. Penig, 1804. 4°.

Professor Norton's copy. The broad margins are covered with his notes and with his translation of the Divina Commedia written out in full in pencil in his fine hand.

\*La divina commedia. 3 vol. Milano, tipi di Luigi Mussi, 1809. f°.

One of eight copies on blue paper. This copy belonged to the Marchese Trivulzio.

La divina commedia. 2 vol. Londra, presso C. Corrall, a spese di G. Pickering, 1823, '22. 48°. Port. (Miniature classics.)

From the Bowie library; gift of Mrs. E. D. Brandege.

Lo Inferno della Commedia; col commento di *Guiniforto delli Bargigi* tratto da due manoscritti inediti del secolo decimo quinto. Marsilia, etc., 1838. pp. (12), 766.

From the library of Professor C. E. Norton.

Le prime quattro edizioni della Divina Commedia letteralmente ristampate, per cura di *G. G. Warren, Lord Vernon*. Londra, T. e G. Boone, 1858. f°. pp. xxvi, 748. Facsimiles.

Introduction by A. Panizzi.

Reprint of the editions: Foligno, 1472; Jesi, 1472; Mantua, 1472 and Naples, 1474. The four texts are printed in the four quarters of each page.

From the library of Professor C. E. Norton.

La divina commedia col commento di *Pietro Fraticelli*. Nuova ed., con giunte e correzioni. 1 vol. in 3. Firenze, 1860. Port. and plates.

From the library of Professor C. E. Norton.

La divina commedia. Ricorretta sopra quattro dei più autorevoli testi a penna da *Carlo Witte*. Berlino, 1862. 4°. pp. lxxxviii, 725 +. Plate.

Interleaved and illustrated with photographs and drawings inserted by Miss Maria Bowen. Letter of Miss Bowen and manuscript index of the illustrations are inserted in an envelope.

Gift of Miss Maria Bowen.

\*La divina commedia; col commento di *Raffaele Andreoli*. Ed. stereotipa. Firenze, 1879. pp. xix, 351.

From the library of Professor C. E. Norton.

\*La divina commedia; voltata in prosa col testo a fronte da *Mario Foresi*. 4<sup>a</sup> ed. 3 vol. Firenze, [1905]. Portrs. and diagrs.

\*La divina commedia; nuovamente commentata da *Francesco Torraca*. 2 vol. (paged contin.). Roma, etc., 1905-1906. pp. viii, 966.

\*Dante spiegato nella voce del suo lettore: [Inferno]. Consigli ad un alunno liceale. [By *Francesco Martuscelli*.] Napoli, 1906. pp. (6), 397.

\*La divina commedia; commentata ed illustrata da *Giuseppe Lisio*. Milano, [1906]. pp. 740. Illustr.

\*La divina commedia; con note tratte dai migliori commenti per cura di *Eugenio Camerini*. Ed. stereotipa. Milano, [1907]. pp. 430.

\*La divina commedia, riveduta nel testo e commentata da *G. A. Scartazzini*. 5<sup>a</sup> edizione curata da G. Vandelli, col Rimario perfezionato di L. Polacco. Milano, 1907. pp. xxxii, 1047, 124.

\*La divina commedia, nell'arte del cinquecento (Michelangelo, Raffaello, Zuccari, Vasari, ecc.); a cura di *Corrado Ricci*. [Milano], 1908. f°. Portrs., 70 plates, and other illustr.

\*Dante's Divine Comedy. Pt. 1, The Inferno. With introduction and notes, arranged for high schools, colleges, and literary societies. Chicago, 1908. pp. lxi, 176. (The Lakeside classics.)

La divina commedia; edited and annotated by *C. H. Grandgent*. 3 vol. Boston, 1909-1913. (Heath's modern language series.)

Gift of the editor.

\*Divina commedia; facsimile della edizione principe di Foligno 1472. A cura della Commissione Esecutiva della Esposizione Internazionale



delle Industrie e del Lavoro di Torino del 1911. Torino, Regia Scuola Tip. e di Arti affini, 1911.

"200 copie, n. 12."

- \*La divina commedia, con postille e cenni introduttivi del prof. *Raffaello Fornaciari*. Edizione minuscola. Milano, U. Hoepli, [1911]. Nar. 24°. pp. xxiv, 577.

On thin paper.

La comedia del divino Dante Alighieri da Firenze, con la esposizione di *Giuseppe Lando Passerini* da Cortona. In Firenze, appresso Leo S. Olschki, 1912. f°. pp. xi, 524.

"Edizione monumentale." No. 4 of 306 copies printed, of which six are on vellum.

From the colophon: Quod opus—auspice Victorio Emmanuele III—formis expressit Iuntinis in inclyta Florentiae civitate Laurentius Franceschini impensis & mandato Leonis S. Olschki, bybliopolae Florent. anno post Christum natum undecimo supra millesimum noviesque centesimum; post vero Italiae Regnum cunctis declaratum suffragiis, probatum, constitutum, anno quinquagesimo.

The illustrations are reproduced from the edition, Venice, B. Benali e Matthio da Parma, 1491 (full-page woodcut and large initial at beginning of each cantica, vignette at the beginning of each canto). Bound in stamped leather, with clasps and bosses, a portrait of Dante on front cover, the publisher's device in bronze on back cover.

The text is partly surrounded by the commentary. A preface by Gabriele d'Annunzio takes the place of a life of Dante which d'Annunzio had promised for this edition.

Bought from the income of the Norton fund.

- \*Sei canti della Divina Commedia (Inferno I–VI) riprodotti diplomaticamente secondo il codice Landiano della Comunale di Piacenza. [Edited by Francesco Picco.] Piacenza, 1912. l. 8°. pp. 52.

"Edizione non venale di 200 esemplari."

"Nozze Fermi-Berni, 6 novembre 1912."

- \*La divina commedia. Con note e con tre tavole schematiche a cura di *Guido Vitali*. Inferno. Livorno, 1915. pp. viii, 147. (Biblioteca degli studenti, 308–309.)

- \*Gnomologia dantesca, ovvero Detti memorabili raccolti dalla Divina Commedia e illustrati ad uso di citazione. [By Luigi de Biase.] Napoli, 1898. 16°. pp. xxiii, 333 +.

*Translations*

**Dutch**

- \*De komedie. In dichtmaat overgebracht door *J. C. Hacke van Mijnden*. 3 vol. Haarlem, 1867-73. f°. Portrs. and 104 plates.

"Niet in den handel."

The illustrations are by Gustave Doré. The third volume, published posthumously, is edited by G. van Tienhoven. The Italian text and Dutch translation are printed in parallel columns.

**English**

Purgatory and Paradise. Trans. by *H. F. Cary*, and illustrated with the designs of Gustave Doré. New ed. with critical and explanatory notes. New York, *etc.*, Cassell & Co., [187 —]. 4°. pp. xii, 337. 60 plates.

Gift of President C. W. Eliot.

- \*The divine comedy; translated by the *Rev. Henry Francis Cary*. Revised, with an introduction, by Marie-Louise Egerton Castle. With chronological view of the age of Dante, additional notes, and index. London, 1910. pp. xxii, 515.

- \*The divine comedy. *Cary's* translation, revised, with an introduction by Marie-Louise Egerton Castle. London, 1914. pp. xxii, 515. (Bohn's popular library.)

- \*Dante for the people; selected passages from the Divine Comedy in English verse by *Gauntlett Chaplin*. London, 1913. pp. 324.

- \*The Paradise of Dante Alighieri. Translation by *F. I. Fraser*. Bath, 1908. 16°. pp. 4, 190.

- \*The Inferno; literally translated into English verse in the measure of the original, by *Sir S. W. Griffith*. Sydney, 1908. pp. (8), 233.

- \*The Divina Commedia, literally translated into English verse in the hendecasyllabic measure of the original Italian, by the Right Honourable *Sir Samuel Walker Griffith*. 3 vol. (paged continuously). London, [1911]. pp. vi, 525.

A triple rhyme translation of the Divine Comedy. By *Sidney Gunn*. Inferno, canto i. Sewanee, Tenn., [1912]. pp. 8.

"Reprinted from *The Sewanee Review*, Oct. 1912."

Gift of the translator.

\*The Divina Commedia; translated line for line in the terza rima of the original, with notes, by *Frederick K. H. Haselfoot*. 2d edition, revised, corrected, and further annotated. London, 1899. pp. xxxv, 673.

\*La comedia di Dante Alighieri; the divine comedy, translated by *Henry Johnson*. New Haven, Yale university press, 1915. pp. xxv, 443.

\*The divine comedy. Translated by *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*; [ed. by Charles Welsh]. 4 vol. New York [c1909].

Also issued as v. 7-10 of *The works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*. Ed. de luxe. (1909.)

\*La divina commedia. Englished by and privately printed for *E. C. L[owe]*. Ely, 1902. pp. (6), 501.

\*The Purgatorio of Dante Alighieri: rendered into English verse by *A. L. Money*. London, 1910. pp. viii, 199.

Seventeen cantos of the Inferno. [Translated by *Thomas W. Parsons*.] Boston, 1865. pp. xi, 104.

From the library of Professor C. E. Norton. With two manuscript letters from the translator to Professor Norton.

The Divina Commedia and Canzoniere. Translated by *E. H. Plumptre*. With notes, studies, and estimates. 5 vol. Boston, 1899.

*Contents*: — i. Hell. — ii. Purgatory. — iii. Paradise. — iv. Canzoniere. — v. Studies and estimates.

From the library of Professor C. E. Norton.

\*Cantos from the Divina Commedia; translated into English verse by *C. Potter*. London, 1896. pp. 128.

An English Dante; a translation in the original rhythm and rhymes, by *John Pyne*. New York, 1914. pp. (4), 39.

Italian and English on opposite pages. 750 copies only.

*Contents*: — Inferno, cantos i, iii, 1-9; iv, 1-6. — Francesca, a fragment [canto v, 72-142].

Gift of Robert S. Minturn.

\*The Inferno of Dante, translated [by *Charles Rogers*]. London, 1782. 4°. pp. (4), 135.

\*The Paradise. An experiment in literal verse translation by *Charles Lancelot Shadwell*. With an introduction by John William Mackail. London, 1915. pp. xxxix, 509.

The Italian and English on opposite pages.

- \*A vision of hell: the Inferno of Dante translated into English tierce rhyme; with an introductory essay on Dante and his translators. By *Charles Tomlinson*. London, 1877. pp. viii, 179.
- \*The divine comedy; translated by *C. E. Wheeler*. 3 vol. London, 1911.
- \*Dante's Inferno; translated by *Edward Wilberforce*. London, 1909. sm. 8°. pp. x, 207.
- \*Dante's Purgatorio; translated by *Edward Wilberforce*. London, 1909. sm. 8°. pp. viii, 210.
- \*Dante's Paradiso; translated by *Edward Wilberforce*. London, 1909. sm. 8°. pp. vii, 212.
- Dante, translated into English verse by *I. C. Wright*. 3d ed. Illustrated with engravings on steel, after designs by Flaxman. London, 1855. pp. xxiv, 460.

Received with the Bowie library; gift of Mrs. E. D. Brandegee.

### French

- La divine comédie. Traduite en français par le chevalier *Artaud de Montor*. 3<sup>e</sup> éd. Paris, 1859. pp. xxxii, 533.  
From the library of E. H. Strobel.
- \*La divine comédie. L'enfer. Traduction nouvelle et notes de *L. Espinasse-Mongenot*; préface de Charles Maurras. Paris, 1912. pp. xlv, (4), 451.  
Italian and French on opposite pages.
- \*La divine comédie. L'enfer. Traduction nouvelle accompagnée du texte italien, avec une introduction et des notes par *Ernest de Laminne*. Paris, 1913. pp. xlii, 428.
- \*La poésie du ciel, le Paradis; traduction inédite, symbolisme, art chrétien, histoire, par *M. de La Rousselière*. Paris, [1902]. pp. viii, 812. Plate.  
L'enfer, mis en vieux langage françois et en vers. Accompagné du texte italien et contenant des notes et un glossaire. Par *E. Littré*. Paris, 1879. 16°. pp. xliii, 474.
- \*La divine comédie. Traduction en vers français accompagnée du texte italien, d'une introduction historique, et de notices explicatives en tête de chaque chant par *Amédée de Margerie*. 2<sup>e</sup> éd. 2 vol. Paris, 1913.

\*La divine comédie, traduite et commentée par *A. Méliot*. Paris, 1908. pp. (6), 612 +. Portrs.

La divine comédie. Traduite en vers, tercet par tercet, avec le texte en regard, par *Louis Ratisbonne*. L'enfer. 4<sup>e</sup> éd., revue et améliorée. Paris, 1870. pp. xvi, 484. (Bibliothèque contemporaine.)

\*Dante. Traduction, résumés et commentaires par *Albert Valentin*. Paris, 1913. pp. xxxvi, 334. (Pages choisies des grands écrivains.)

Selections from the Divina Commedia, Vita Nuova and minor works.

### German

Dante's Hölle, der Göttlichen Komödie erster theil. Uebersetzt von *Alfred Bassermann*. München, [1892?]. pp. xvi, 324.

Gift of the publisher, R. Oldenbourg.

Dantes Fegeberg, der Göttlichen Komödie zweiter theil. Uebersetzt von *Alfred Bassermann*. München, etc., 1909. pp. x, 354.

Gift of the publisher, R. Oldenbourg.

\*Dante Alighieris Göttliche Comödie. Übertragen von *Philaethes* [John, King of Saxony]. I. Die Hölle. München, Hans von Weber, 1914. l. 8°. pp. (4), 189, (1).

*Colophon*:—Als fünfter Hyperiondruck wurde Dantes Göttliche Comödie übertragen von Philaethes im auftrage von Hans von Weber in München mit der durch abstimmung unter den vorausbestellern gewählten kursiv von Christoph van Dyck gedruckt von Joh. Enschedé en Zonen in Haarlem.

500 copies. No. 296.

Dante's Göttliche Komödie; in deutschen stanzen frei bearbeitet von *Paul Pochhammer*. Leipzig, 1910. pp. xv, 400.

Gift of the translator.

Dantes Göttliche Komödie in deutschen stanzen frei bearbeitet von *Paul Pochhammer*. 3<sup>e</sup> aufl. Leipzig u. Berlin, 1913. pp. xcvi, 462. Port. and 2 folding plates.

Gift of the translator and of the publisher, B. G. Teubner.

Dante Allighieri's Göttliche Komödie. Uebersetzt von *Karl Witte*. Berlin, 1865. l. 8°. pp. 40, 727 +. Port.

From the library of Professor C. E. Norton.

Dante Allighieri's Göttliche Komödie. Uebersetzt von *Karl Witte*.  
Berlin, 1865. 24°. pp. 40, 727 +. Port.

From the library of Professor C. E. Norton.

\*Dantes werke, neu übertragen und erläutert von *Richard Zoozmann*.  
11<sup>es</sup> bis 15<sup>es</sup> tausend. 4 vol. in 1. Leipzig, [1907]. Portrs. and  
other illustr.

*Contents*: — i. Dantes leben. — ii. Das neue leben und gedichte aus dem  
Kanzoniere. — iii. Die göttliche komödie. — iv. Dante in Deutschland.

\*Opere poetiche. Con nuova traduzione tedesca di contro per *Riccardo  
Zoozmann*. 4 vol. Friburgo in Brisgovia, [1908].

*Contents*: — i. Inferno. — ii. Purgatorio. — iii. Paradiso. — iv. La vita nuova.  
Rime liriche.

### Portuguese

\*A divina comedia fielmente vertida do texto pelo barão da *Villa da Barra*.  
(Obra posthuma.) Rio de Janeiro, etc., 1907. 18°. pp. xvi, 507 +.

### Russian

Bozhestvennoï komedii. Chast' 2. Chistilishche. Perevod s ital'ïanskago  
M. A. Gorbova. Moskva, 1898. 1. 8°. pp. xiv, 765. Port. of Gor-  
bov and plates.

From the bequest of Jeremiah Curtin.

### Sicilian

\*La commedia; prima traduzione in dialetto siciliano di *Tommaso Can-  
nizzaro*. Messina, 1904. pp. xxx, 455 +.

### Spanish

La divina comedia; traducción en verso ajustada al original, con  
nuevos comentarios [by *Bartolomé Mitre*]. 2<sup>a</sup> ed. definitiva. Buenos  
Aires, 1897. pp. xx, 776. Portrs.

"Tirada de 200 ejemplares."

From the library of Luis Montt of Santiago de Chile.

\*La divina comedia; traducción libre por *J. Sánchez Morales*. Valencia,  
1885. 16°. pp. 446 +.

## MINOR WORKS

Delle Opere di Dante Alighieri. 2 vol. Venezia, G. B. Pasquali, 1741. 16°.

*Contents* : — i. Il convito, e le Pistole, con le annotazioni del dottore Anton Maria Biscioni. — ii. La vita nuova, con le annotazioni del dottore Anton Maria Biscioni, il Trattato dell' eloquenza, latino ed italiano ; e le Rime.

Le opere minori di Dante Alighieri. Novamente annotate da G. L. Passerini. I. La vita nova. Firenze, 1900. 32°. Front.

Gift of Professor Kenneth McKenzie.

\*Le opere minori di Dante Alighieri ad uso delle scuole ; con annotazioni di *Francesco Flamini*. Vol. i. La vita nuova. Il convivio (excerpta). Livorno, 1910.

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- The Parere was written by two members of the Accademia Granellesca (Marco Forcellini and Natale dalle Lastre), the Risposta by C. Gozzi, also a member of the same society. Cf. Introduzione.
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The original codex contains 77 leaves. Leaves [45]<sup>vo</sup>-77<sup>ro</sup>, written by Boccaccio himself, and here reproduced, contain, besides other matter, the following Dante items,—

1. Letters by Dante: Cardinalibus ytalicis D. d. Flor.—Exulanti pistoriensi florentinus exul immeritus.—In litteris uestris et reuerentia debita [etc.]
2. Dante's Eclogues and G. del Virgilio's poetic remains.
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| <i>Prolusione</i> *Lungo, I. del. | xvii. <sup>1</sup> Mantovani, D.        |
| i. *Mazzoni, G.                   | xix. <sup>1</sup> Bertoldi, A.          |
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| vi. Lungo, I. del.                | xxv. Capetti, V.                        |
| vii. Bacci, O.                    | xxvi. <sup>1</sup> Chiappelli, A.       |
| ix. <sup>1</sup> Venturi, G. A.   | xxvii. <sup>1</sup> Torraca, F.         |
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| xiv. <sup>1</sup> Scherillo, M.   | xxxiii. <sup>1</sup> Romani, F.         |
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| iii. <sup>1</sup> Ferrari, S.     | <sup>2</sup> Corradino, C.       |
| iv. <sup>1</sup> Picciòla, G.     | xxii. Galletti, A.               |
| v. Rocca, L.                      | xxiii. Trabalza, C.              |
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| xiii. Zenatti, A.                 | xxix. Pietrobono, L.             |
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| xv. <sup>1</sup> Bonaventura, A.  | xxxi. <sup>2</sup> Mantovani, D. |
| xvi. <sup>1</sup> Zenatti, A.     | xxxii. <sup>2</sup> Tocco, F.    |
| xviii. Tarozzi, G.                | xxxiii. Manni, G.                |

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THIRTY-SIXTH  
ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
DANTE SOCIETY  
(CAMBRIDGE, MASS.)

1917

ACCOMPANYING PAPER

HISTORY OF THE LETTERS OF DANTE FROM THE FOURTEENTH  
CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY

*By Paget Toynbee*

BOSTON  
GINN AND COMPANY  
(FOR THE DANTE SOCIETY)

1919

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## STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

(From May 16, 1916, to May 15, 1917)

Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May		
16, 1916 . . . . .	\$904.58	
Members' fees till May 15, 1917 . . . . .	325.00	
Copyrights, etc. . . . .	35.03	
Interest . . . . .	<u>15.23</u>	
		\$1279.84
Paid Ginn and Company . . . . .	\$169.48	
Paid to the Treasurer of Harvard College:		
For Dante Collection . . . . .	100.00	
Refunded from sales of Fay Concordance . . . . .	18.00	
Printing, postage, etc. . . . .	12.48	
Balance on hand May 15, 1917 . . . . .	<u>979.88</u>	
		\$1279.84

## BY-LAWS

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1. This Society shall be called the DANTE SOCIETY. Its object shall be the encouragement of the study of the Life and Works of Dante.

2. Any person desirous to become a member of this Society may do so by signifying his or her wish in writing to the Secretary, and by the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

3. An Annual Meeting for the election of officers shall be held at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of May, of which due notice shall be given to the members by the Secretary.

4. Special meetings may be held at any time appointed by vote of the members at the Annual Meeting, or by call from the President and Secretary.

5. The officers shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Librarian, who, together with three members thereto chosen, shall form the Council of the Society. All these officers shall be chosen at the Annual Meeting, and their term of service shall be for one year, or until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled for the remainder of the year by the Council.

6. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice President, or, in the absence of both, any member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council.

7. The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep a record of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, shall collect and receive all dues, and keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the Society, shall give notice of meetings, and shall perform all other duties appropriate to his office.

8. The Council shall hold meetings at such times as it may appoint, shall determine on the use to be made of the income of the Society, shall endeavor to promote the special objects of the Society in such ways as may seem most appropriate, and shall make an annual report of their

proceedings, including a full statement of accounts, at each Annual Meeting. This report shall be made in print for distribution to the members.

9. No officer of the Society shall be competent to contract debts in the name of the Society, and no expenditure shall be made without a vote of the Council.

10. A majority of the Council shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. Any person distinguished for his interest in the purposes of the Society, or who has rendered it valuable service, may be chosen an Honorary Member at any regular meeting of the Society, and shall be entitled to all its privileges without annual assessment.

12. The preceding rules may be changed at any time by unanimous vote of the Council.

## THE DANTE PRIZE

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The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars for the best essay by a student in any department of Harvard University, or by a graduate of not more than three years' standing, on a subject drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1916-1917 the following subjects were proposed :

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convivio.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*
12. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
13. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
14. *A criticism of Torraca's edition of the Divina Commedia.*

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College Cambridge, Mass., on or before the *first day of May*.



Essayists are at liberty to write on any one of the subjects which have been proposed in the years during which the Dante Prize has been offered, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

On the title-page must be written an assumed name and a statement of the writer's standing, i.e. whether he is a graduate or an undergraduate (and of what college or university); if he is an undergraduate, to what class he belongs, and to what department of the college or university. Under cover with the essay must be sent a sealed letter containing the true name and address of the writer, and superscribed with his assumed name.

The essays must be written upon letter paper, of good quality, of the quarto size, with a margin of not less than one inch at the top, at the bottom, and on each side, so that they may be bound up without injury to the writing. The sheets on which the essay is written must be securely stitched together.

The judges of the essays are a committee of the Dante Society.

In case the judges decide that no essay submitted to them deserves the full prize, they are at liberty to award one or two prizes of fifty dollars, or to award no prize.

The Dante Society has the privilege of retaining and depositing in the Dante Collection of the Harvard College Library any or all essays offered in competition for the Dante Prize, whether successful or not.

Since its establishment the Dante Prize (in full or in part) has been awarded to the following persons :

HEINRICH CONRAD BIERWIRTH . . . . 1887

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas.*

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888

For an essay entitled *The Interpretation and Reconciliation of the Different Accounts of his Experiences after the Death of Beatrice, given by Dante in the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*

CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM . . . . 1890

For an essay entitled *A Translation into English of Dante's Letters, with Explanatory and Historical Comments.*

KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo*.

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895

For an essay entitled *Dante's Influence upon Spanish Literature during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*.

ANNETTE FISKE . . . . 1897

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to Old French and Provençal Lyric Poetry*.

ARTHUR NEWTON PEASLEE . . . . 1900

For an essay entitled *A Metrical Rhyming Translation of the Three Canzoni of the Convito*.

HENRY LATIMER SEAVER . . . . 1901

For an essay entitled *A Translation of the Canzoni in the Convito*.

ALAIN CAMPBELL WHITE . . . . 1902

The Latham Prize for an essay entitled *A Translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra, and a Discussion of its Authenticity*.

ALPHONSO DE SALVIO . . . . 1902

For an essay entitled *The Verse Endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch' erano appo gli altri dicatori usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS . . . . 1903

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

CHANDLER RATHFON POST . . . . 1906

For an essay entitled *The Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature*.

ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS . . . . 1907

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova*.

RALPH HAYWARD KENISTON . . . . 1909

For an essay entitled *The Dante Tradition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*.

ROGER THEODORE LAFFERTY . . . . 1912

For an essay entitled *The Philosophy of Dante*.

GEORGE HUSSEY GIFFORD . . . . 1913

For an essay entitled *Expressions of Gratitude in Dante*.

RICHARD AGER NEWHALL . . . . 1914

For an essay entitled *Italian Ghibellinism as reflected in Dante*.

AMOS PHILIP MCMAHON . . . . 1915

For an essay entitled *On Dante's De Monarchia. A Study of Imperialism in Mediæval and in Modern Times*.

## ANNUAL REPORT

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the Dante Society was held at the house of the Secretary, Professor F. N. Robinson, Longfellow Park, Cambridge, on the evening of May 15, 1917. The usual reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were presented and accepted.

The Secretary reported that one essay had been offered in competition for the Dante Prize, but had not been found worthy of any award.

On recommendation of a committee appointed by the President, the following officers were elected: President, Professor C. H. Grandgent; Vice President, Professor F. N. Robinson; Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. G. B. Weston; Librarian, Mr. W. C. Lane; Council, Miss Katharine V. Spencer, Professor J. D. M. Ford, Professor C. R. Post.

The President, in conclusion, read a paper on the character of Matelda and the possible identification of her with "Primavera."

The council take pleasure in publishing with the present report an essay by an honorary member of the Society, Dr. Paget Toynbee, on the "History of the Letters of Dante from the Fourteenth Century to the Present Day."

Publication of the present report has been much delayed by war conditions. It is hoped to issue the thirty-seventh report in the course of the present year.

GEORGE BENSON WESTON

*Secretary*

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., March 7, 1919

# HISTORY OF THE LETTERS OF DANTE FROM THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY

PAGET TOYNBEE

That Dante was the author of numerous letters, some of which were in the nature of political manifestoes, while others were more or less concerned with his own personal interests, we know from various sources.

In the first place we have Dante's own testimony in the *Vita Nuova*, where he refers (§ 31) to a letter which he says he addressed to the principal personages of the city of Florence after the death of Beatrice, which took place on the evening of June 8, 1290.<sup>1</sup> He quotes the beginning of this letter ("Quomodo sedet sola civitas!"),<sup>2</sup> but excuses himself for not transcribing more than the opening words on the ground that the letter was in Latin, and it was not his intention to include in the *Vita Nuova* anything that was not written in the vulgar tongue.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest independent testimony is that furnished by two of Dante's contemporaries, namely the astrologer-poet Francesco degli Stabili, better known as Cecco d' Ascoli, who was burned as a free-thinker at Florence six years after Dante's death; and the chronicler Giovanni Villani, who was Dante's neighbor in Florence, and, as his nephew Filippo records,

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Nuova*, § 30, ll. 1-6; see my *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 61-64.

<sup>2</sup> This letter, of which no other trace has been preserved, is not to be confounded, as it has been by some, with another letter of Dante, that addressed to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii), which begins with the same quotation from *Lamentations* (i, 1).

<sup>3</sup> "Poichè la gentilissima donna fu partita da questo secolo, rimase tutta la cittade quasi vedova, dispogliata di ogni dignitate, ond' io, ancora lagrimando in questa desolata cittade, scrissi a' principi della terra alquanto della sua condizione, pigliando quello cominciamento di Geremia profeta: *Quomodo sedet sola civitas!* . . . E se alcuno volesse me riprendere di ciò, che non scrivo qui le parole che seguitano a quelle allegate, scusomene, perocchè lo intendimento mio non fu da principio di scrivere altro che per volgare: onde, conciossiacosachè le parole, che seguitano a quelle che sono allegate, sieno tutte latine, sarebbe fuori del mio intendimento se io le scrivessi" (§ 31, ll. 1-21).

was a personal friend of the poet ("Patruus meus Johannes Villani hystoricus . . . Danti fuit amicus et sotius").<sup>4</sup> Cecco d'Ascoli in the third book of his encyclopædic poem *L' Acerba* treats of the origin of nobility, which he says had already been treated of by the Florentine poet in his polished verse:

Fu già trattato con le dolci rime  
E definito il nobile valore  
Dal Fiorentino con l' acute lime;

the reference, of course, being to the *canzone* "Le dolci rime d'amor, ch'io solia" prefixed to the fourth book of the *Convivio*. Cecco controverts Dante's theory, and maintains that nobility is due to the influence of one of the heavens, namely that of Mercury, upon the individual possessed of ancient blood; "but hereupon," he interjects, "Dante wrote to me to express a doubt, saying: 'Two sons are born at a birth, and the elder turns out more noble than the other, or vice versa, as I have known before now. I am returning to Ravenna and shall not depart thence again. Tell me, you of Ascoli, what have you to say to this?' And I wrote back to Dante . . .

Ma qui me scrisse dubitando Dante:  
Son doi figlioli nati in uno parto,  
E più gentil si mostra quel davante,  
Et ciò converso, come già vedi.  
Torno a Ravenna, e de li non mi parto.  
Dime, Esculano, quel che tu credi.  
Rescrissi a Dante: Intendi tu che leggi . . ."

and he then proceeds to develop his argument.

This correspondence with Cecco d'Ascoli must have taken place during the last three or four years of Dante's life, while he was the guest of Guido Novello da Poienta at Ravenna, that is, probably, not earlier than 1317.

Villani's testimony is contained in the ninth book of his *Cronica*, a chapter of which, under the year 1321, the year of Dante's death, is devoted to a brief biographical account of his distinguished fellow-citizen (ix, 136: "Chi fu il poeta Dante Alighieri di Firenze"). In this account,

<sup>4</sup> See § 22 of Filippo Villani's *Comento al primo canto dell' Inferno* (ed. G. Cugnoni, p. 79).



in which he gives an enumeration of Dante's most important writings, after mentioning the *Vita Nuova* and the *canzoni*, Villani says :

This Dante, when he was in exile, wrote among others, three noble letters, one of which he sent to the government of Florence, complaining of his undeserved exile; the second he sent to the Emperor Henry when he was besieging Brescia,<sup>5</sup> reproaching him for his delay, after the manner of the prophets of old; and the third he sent to the Italian Cardinals at the time of the vacancy of the Holy See after the death of Pope Clement, urging them to agree together in electing an Italian Pope. These letters were written in Latin, in a lofty style, fortified with admirable precepts and authorities, and were greatly commended by men of wisdom and discernment.<sup>6</sup>

Of the three letters specifically mentioned by Villani, two have been preserved; namely, that to the Emperor Henry (*Epist.* vii) and that to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii). The third, that to the Florentine government, which is perhaps identical with one of those mentioned by a subsequent authority, Leonardo Bruni,<sup>7</sup> has not come down to us.

Valuable evidence, direct and indirect, is supplied in the next generation by Boccaccio, who, in his *Vita di Dante*, written probably between 1357 and 1362,<sup>8</sup> says that the poet "wrote many prose epistles in Latin, of which a number are still in existence";<sup>9</sup> and who certainly had first-hand knowledge of at least six of the letters now extant. These are the letter to the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii) and that to a friend in Florence (*Epist.* ix), of which use is made in chapters five and twelve of the *Vita di Dante*;<sup>10</sup> the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x), which is largely utilized in the first and fifth *Lezioni* of the *Comento sopra la Commedia*; the letter to Moroello Malaspina (*Epist.* iii), portions of which are incorporated in the letter *Ignoto Militi* (that beginning "Mavortis miles

<sup>5</sup> Actually Cremona.

<sup>6</sup> "Quando fu in esilio . . . in tra l'altre fece tre nobili pistole; l'una mandò al reggimento di Firenze dogliendosi del suo esilio senza colpa; l'altra mandò allo 'mperadore Arrigo quand' era all' assedio di Brescia, riprendendolo della sua stanza, quasi profetizzando; la terza a' cardinali italiani, quand' era la vacanza dopo la morte di papa Clemente, acciocchè s'accordassono a eleggere papa italiano; tutte in latino con alto dettato, e con eccellenti sentenzie e autoritadi, le quali furono molto commendate da' savi intenditori."

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup> See Oskar Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, p. 154.

<sup>9</sup> "Fece ancora questo valoroso poeta molte epistole prosaiche in latino, delle quali ancora appariscono assai" (§ 16, ed. Macrì-Leone, p. 74).

<sup>10</sup> §§ 5, 12, ed. Macrì-Leone, pp. 29, 59.

extrenue");<sup>11</sup> and the letters to the Pistoian exile, commonly identified with Cino da Pistoja (*Epist.* iv), and to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii), which, together with the letter to the Florentine friend already mentioned, have been preserved in a MS., the only known MS. containing them, written by Boccaccio's own hand.<sup>12</sup>

The letter to Can Grande, it may be observed, was known in one form or another to several of the fourteenth-century commentators on the *Commedia* besides Boccaccio, namely to Guido da Pisa (c. 1324), Jacopo della Lana (c. 1326), the author of the *Ottimo Comento* (c. 1334), Pietro di Dante (1340-1341), Francesco da Buti (1385-1395), and Filippo Villani (1391);<sup>13</sup> but of these, Filippo Villani, who in his inaugural lecture delivered in 1391, as occupant of the Dante chair at Florence, refers to the letter as "quoddam introductorium [nostri poetæ] super cantu primo Paradisi ad dominum Canem de la Scala destinatum,"<sup>14</sup> is the only one who mentions that it was addressed to Can Grande.

Of special importance is the testimony of the next witness, Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo (otherwise known as Leonardo Aretino), the author of the most valuable, from the critical point of view, of the early lives of Dante. Bruni was not only the most distinguished humanist of his day, but as secretary to several Popes<sup>15</sup> and Chancellor of the Florentine Republic, and as historian of the Republic, he was experienced in the handling of State papers and in the appraisal of documentary evidence, important qualifications possessed in an equal degree by no other of the early biographers of Dante. He sets out to write as a

<sup>11</sup> The text of Boccaccio's letter is printed in full, with the parallel passages from Dante's letter, by G. Vandelli, in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N. S., VII, 64-67.

<sup>12</sup> This is the Laurentian MS. (XXIX, 8), which has been shown by Henri Hauvette to be written, so far as the portions relating to Dante are concerned, in Boccaccio's autograph (see Hauvette's *Notes sur des Manuscrits Autographes de Boccace à la Bibliothèque Laurentienne*, pp. 22 ff.).

<sup>13</sup> See Moore, *Studies in Dante*, iii, pp. 345 ff.; and Boffito, *L'Epistola di Dante Alighieri a Cangrande della Scala*, pp. 1-2, and *Appendice*.

<sup>14</sup> See §§ 3 and 9 of his *Comento* (ed. Cugnoni, pp. 28, 33).

<sup>15</sup> As secretary to Pope John XXIII, Bruni was in attendance at the Council of Constance, where, as Dr. Moore points out (*Dante and his Early Biographers*, p. 65), he would have met Giovanni da Serravalle, the translator and commentator of the *Divina Commedia*, who is responsible for the interesting but unhappily not otherwise authenticated statement, that Dante came to England and was a student at Oxford — a matter to which Bruni makes no reference.

serious historian, with the express purpose of supplying the practical deficiencies of Boccaccio's biography, which he holds to be overburdened with details of lovers' sighs and tears, and such like trivialities, to the neglect of the weightier matters of life, as though, he says, man were born into this world for no other purpose than to figure in a tale of the *Decameron*.<sup>16</sup> Bruni's statements, therefore, as to matters of fact, of which he claims to have had personal cognizance, are entitled to the respect due to a writer of established reputation and authority. Among such statements in his *Vita di Dante*, which was written in 1436, by way of diversion, after the completion of his translation of the *Poetics* of Aristotle, and while he was still engaged upon the last books of his history of Florence, are several of the highest interest relating to the letters of Dante.

Bruni mentions that he had himself seen several letters written by Dante's own hand, and he describes the handwriting — the only description that has come down to us — as being "fine and slender and very accurate": "Di sua mano egregiamente disegnavà. Fu ancora scrittore perfetto, ed era la lettera sua magra, e lunga, e molto corretta, secondo io ho veduto in alcune epistole di sua propria mano scritte" — a statement which recurs in another work of his, the *Dialogus ad Petrum Histrum*, where, speaking of Dante, he says: "legi nuper quasdam ejus litteras quas ille videbatur peraccurate scripsisse: erant enim propria manu atque ejus sigillo obsignatae." "Scrisse molte epistole in prosa," he says in his list of the poet's works in the *Vita*, and in the course of the work he specifically mentions or refers to at least half a dozen, giving in the case of one of them a long quotation in Dante's own words,<sup>17</sup> and in the case of another the opening sentence.

<sup>16</sup> "Mi parve che il nostro Boccaccio, dolcissimo e suavissimo uomo, così scrivesse la vita, e i costumi di tanto sublime poeta, come se a scrivere avesse il Filocolo, o il Filostrato, o la Fiammetta; perocchè tutta d'amore, e di sospiri, e di cocenti lagrime è piena; come se l'uomo nascesse in questo mondo solamente per ritrovarsi in quelle dieci giornate amorose, nelle quali da donne innamorate, e da giovani leggiadri raccontate furono le cento Novelle; e tanto s'infiama in queste parti d'amore, che le gravi e sustanzievoli parti della vita di Dante lascia in dietro, e trapassa con silenzio, ricordando le cose leggiere, e tacendo le gravi. Io dunque mi posi in cuore per mio spasso scriver di nuovo la vita di Dante, con maggior notizia delle cose stimabili: nè questo faccio per derogare al Boccaccio; ma perchè lo scriver mio sia quasi un supplimento allo scriver di lui."

<sup>17</sup> Bruni gives the quotation in Italian, with the remark "queste sono le parole sue"; but the original, like the rest of Dante's letters with which we are acquainted, was doubtless written in Latin.

The first letter mentioned by Bruni is in connection with the battle of Campaldino, the decisive victory of the Florentine Guelphs over the Ghibellines of Arezzo on June 11, 1289, at which Dante, he says, was present as a combatant, as he himself relates in a letter in which he gives an account of the battle, accompanied by a plan of the operations.<sup>18</sup> The next has reference to Dante's election to the Priorate, "from which," he states, "sprang Dante's exile from Florence and all the adverse fortunes of his life, as he himself writes in one of his letters, the words of which are as follows:

All my woes and all my misfortunes had their origin and commencement with my unlucky election to the Priorate; of which Priorate, although I was not worthy in respect of worldly wisdom, yet in respect of loyalty and of years I was not unworthy of it; inasmuch as ten years had passed since the battle of Campaldino, where the Ghibelline party was almost entirely broken and brought to an end; on which occasion I was present, no novice in arms, and was in great fear, and afterwards greatly elated, by reason of the varying fortunes of that battle.

These are his words."<sup>19</sup>

In another letter recorded by Bruni Dante defends himself from a charge of favoritism during his Priorate in recalling the exiled Bianchi from Sarzana, while the Neri remained in banishment at Castello della Pieve. To this charge, says Bruni, Dante replied that when the exiles

<sup>18</sup> "Questa battaglia racconta Dante in una sua epistola, e dice esservi stato a combattere, e disegna la forma della battaglia."

<sup>19</sup> "Da questo priorato nacque la cacciata sua, e tutte le cose avverse, che egli ebbe nella vita, secondo lui medesimo scrive in una sua epistola, della quale le parole son queste: 'Tutti li mali, e tutti l'inconvenienti miei dalli infausti comizi del mio priorato ebbero cagione e principio; del quale priorato benchè per prudenza io non fussi degno, nientedimeno per fede, e per età, non ne era indegno, perocchè dieci anni erano già passati dopo la battaglia di Campaldino, nella quale la parte Ghibellina fu quasi al tutto morta e disfatta, dove mi trovai non fanciullo nell' armi, e dove ebbi temenza molta, e nella fine grandissima allegrezza, per li vari casi di quella battaglia.' Queste sono le parole sue."

Bruni mentions this letter also in his account of the battle of Campaldino in his *Historiae Florentinae*: "Dantes Alagherii poeta in epistola quadam scribit se in hoc praelio juvenem fuisse in armis, et ab initio quidem pugnae, hostem longe superiorem fuisse, adeo ut a Florentinis multum admodum timeretur. Ad extremum autem victoriam partam esse, tantamque inimicorum stragem in eo praelio factam, ut pene eorum nomen ad internecionem deleberetur" (Lib. IV, p. 63, ed. Argentorati, MDCX).

were recalled from Sarzana he was no longer in office, and consequently could not be held responsible; and that moreover this recall was due to the illness and death of Guido Cavalcanti, who was attacked by malaria at Sarzana, and succumbed not long after.<sup>20</sup> Bruni then tells us that after his own exile Dante, in order to obtain his recall, wrote many letters to individual members of the Florentine government, as well as to the people of Florence ("scrisse più volte non solamente a' particolari cittadini del reggimento, ma ancora al popolo"), among the rest one of some length, beginning "Popule mee, quid feci tibi?"—a sentence, which in a till recently unrecorded version of Bruni's *Vita*, to which I have called attention in a previous *Report*,<sup>21</sup> is amplified by the completion of the quotation from *Micah* vi. 3, into "Popule mee quid feci tibi? aut in quo molestatus [for *molestus*] fui responde mihi." When, however, continues Bruni, the Emperor Henry VII crossed the Alps, Dante changed his tone, and began to write in abusive terms to the Florentines, calling them "scellerati e cattivi," and threatening them with the vengeance of the Emperor, against whose might all resistance would be vain. But when the Emperor, whose advance against Florence had been urged by Dante (an obvious allusion to Dante's letter to the Emperor), actually made his appearance under its walls, Dante in a

<sup>20</sup> "Essendo adunque la città in armi e in travagli, i priori per consiglio di Dante provvidero di fortificarsi della moltitudine del popolo; e quando furono fortificati, ne mandarono a confini gli uomini principali delle due sette, i quali furono questi, messer Corso Donati, messer Geri Spini, messer Giacchinotto de' Pazzi, messer Rosso della Tosa, e altri con loro. Tutti questi erano per la parte nera, e furono mandati a' confini al Castello della Pieve in quel di Perugia. Dalla parte de' Bianchi furon mandati a' confini a Serezana messer Gentile, e messer Torrigiano de' Cerchi, Guido Cavalcanti, Baschiera della Tosa, Baldinaccio Adimari, Naldo di messer Lottino Gherardini, e altri. Questo diede gravezza assai a Dante, e contuttochè lui si scusi, come uomo senza parte, nientedimanco fu riputato, che pendesse in parte bianca . . . ; e accrebbe l'invidia, perchè quella parte di cittadini, che fu confinata a Serezana, subito ritornò a Firenze, e l'altra, ch'era confinata a Castello della Pieve si rimase di fuori. A questo risponde Dante, che, quando quella da Serezana furono rivotati, esso era fuori dell'ufficio del priorato, e che a lui non si debba imputare: più dice, che la ritornata loro fu per l'infermità, e morte di Guido Cavalcanti, il quale ammalò a Serezana per l'aere cattiva, e poco appresso morì." Dante's term of office expired on August 15, 1300; Guido Cavalcanti was buried at Florence on August 29; so that his death must have taken place within a few days of his return from exile.

<sup>21</sup> See "An Unrecorded Seventeenth Century Version of the *Vita di Dante* of Leonardo Brunì," in *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report* (1912).



further letter expressed his intention on patriotic grounds of not personally assisting at the siege of his native city.<sup>22</sup> Finally Brunì refers to a letter (which may or may not be identical with the letter "Popule mee," already mentioned) in which Dante gives an inventory of his personal possessions in lands and household goods.<sup>23</sup>

Of the letters specified or referred to by Brunì in his *Vita* two only are now extant, namely the abusive letter to the Florentines (*Epist.* vi), and that to the Emperor Henry (*Epist.* vii). The letter "Popule mee" may perhaps be identified with the first of those mentioned by Villani<sup>24</sup> — that written by Dante to complain of his undeserved exile from Florence. For the remainder Brunì is our sole authority.

Giannozzo Manetti, who wrote a life of Dante not many years after Brunì, of whose *Vita* he largely availed himself, has no new information to give about the letters in general. In speaking of Dante's writings he merely remarks: "In Latino sermone multas epistolas scripsit." He does specify one particular letter, however, elsewhere; and incidentally in connection with it he uses a significant phrase which makes it appear that he must himself have been acquainted with the letters in question, namely, that written by Dante to the Florentines at the time of the

<sup>22</sup> Dante makes no such personal reference in the letters to Henry VII and to the Florentines which have come down to us; Brunì must therefore be referring to another letter, addressed either to the Emperor or to the Florentines.

<sup>23</sup> "Cercando con buone opere, e con buoni portamenti riacquistare la grazia di poter tornare in Firenze per ispontanea rivoazione di chi reggeva la terra . . . scrisse più volte non solamente a' particolari cittadini del reggimento, ma ancora al popolo; e intra l' altre un' epistola assai lunga, che incomincia, *Popule mee quid feci tibi?* Essendo in questa speranza di ritornare per via di perdono, sopravvenne l' elezione d' Arrigo di Luzinborgo Imperadore; per la cui elezione prima, e poi la passata sua, essendo tutta Italia sollevata in speranza di grandissime novità, Dante non potè tenere il proposito suo dell' aspettare grazia, ma levatosi coll' animo altiero cominciò a dir male di quelli che reggevano la terra, appellandoli scellerati e cattivi, e minacciando loro la debita vendetta per la potenza dell' Imperadore, contro la quale, diceva esser manifesto che essi non avrebbon potuto avere scampo alcuno. Pure il tenne tanto la riverenza della patria, venendo l' Imperadore contro a Firenze, e ponendosi a campo presso alla porta, non vi volle essere, secondo lui scrive, contuttochè confortatore fusse stato di sua venuta. . . .

"Case in Firenze ebbe assai decenti . . . possessioni in Camerata, e nella Piacentina, e in Piano di Ripoli: suppellettile abundante, e preziosa, secondo lui scrive."

<sup>24</sup> See above, p. 3. It will be noted that Brunì makes no reference to the letter to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii) mentioned by Villani.

advent of Henry VII into Italy (*Epist.* vi). Bruni, as we have seen, states that in this letter Dante wrote abusively to the Florentines, calling them knaves and scoundrels. Manetti, who when he follows Bruni usually follows him so closely as almost to echo his words, in this instance adds a detail which he could not have derived from Bruni's *Vita*. When the Emperor, he says, sat down before Florence to besiege it, the Florentine exiles flocked to his camp from all sides, and Dante full of hope and no longer able to contain himself, indicted an insulting letter "to the Florentines within the city, as he himself calls them" — "Proinde Dantes quoque se ulterius continere non potuit, quin spe plenus epistolam quandam *ad Florentinos, ut ipse vocat, intrinsecos* contumeliosam sane scriberet, in qua eos acerbissime insectatur." This letter, as has already been mentioned, happens to be one of those which have come down to us. Manetti's reference to the title of it, which runs: "Dantes Alagherii Florentinus et exul immeritus scelestissimis *Florentinis intrinsecis*," is unmistakable, and conveys the impression that he had a personal knowledge of at least this one of Dante's letters\*, though, unlike Bruni, he does not inform us of the fact. That this was actually the case has recently been demonstrated by Zenatti in his *Dante e Firenze*,<sup>25</sup>

\* *Supplementary Note*. Since this paper was written I have by chance discovered the source of Manetti's information with regard to this letter of Dante, of which I had previously supposed, with Zenatti (*Dante e Firenze*, pp. 418-419), that he must have had first-hand knowledge, owing to his unmistakable reference to the title. Manetti's authority was not the letter itself, but the following passage in Bruni's *Historiae Florentinae*, as is obvious from the similarity of the language: "Herricus . . . superatis Alpibus, in citeriorem Galliam descendisse nunciabatur, et quidquid ubique fuerat exulum Florentinorum, ad illum concurrisset, adeo spe firmâ victoriae, ut jam inde bona inimicorum inter se partirentur. Extat Dantis poetae epistola amarissimis referta contumeliis, quam ipse hac inani fiducia exultans, contra Florentinos, ut ipse vocat, intrinsecos scripsit. Et quos ante id tempus honorificentissimis compellere solebat verbis, tunc hujus spe supra modum elatus, acerbissime insectari non dubitat" (Lib. IV, p. 88, ed. Argentorati, MDCX). Manetti's acquisition of the MS. containing the letter must have been subsequent to the compilation of his *Vita Dantis*, otherwise he would surely have utilized it for the purposes of his work.

<sup>25</sup> *Dante e Firenze: Prose Antiche con note illustrative ed appendici*, di Oddone Zenatti, pp. 370-375 note, 414-419.



where he shows that Manetti was at one time in possession of a MS. which contained no less than nine letters written by, or attributed to, Dante, this MS. being the now famous Vatican MS. (*Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat.* 1729), of which we shall have more to say later.<sup>26</sup>

The next piece of evidence is supplied, not by a biographer of Dante, but by a fifteenth-century historian, namely Flavio Biondo of Forlì, who in his *Historiarum ab inclinato Romano Imperio Decades*, which was completed in or about the year 1440, states that he had seen at Forlì letters written by Pellegrino Calvi, secretary of Scarpetta degli Ordelaifi, the Ghibelline leader in Forlì, which had been dictated by Dante, and in which Dante's name frequently occurs — "Peregrini Calvi foroliviensis, Scarpettae epistolarum magistri, extantes literae, crebram Dantis mentionem habentes, a quo dictabantur";<sup>27</sup> and in another passage he makes special mention of a letter written by Dante in his own name and in that of the exiled Bianchi to Can Grande della Scala at the time of the advent of the Emperor Henry VII into Italy, in which Dante gave an account of the insolent reply returned by the Florentines to the ambassadors of the Emperor, — a letter of which, as Biondo tells us, a copy was taken by Pellegrino Calvi — "Dantes Aldegerius, Forolivii tunc agens, in epistola ad Canem Grandem Scaligerum veronensem, partis Albae extorrum et suo nomine data, quam Peregrinus Calvus scriptam reliquit, talia dicit de responsione a Florentinis urbem tenentibus tunc facta."<sup>28</sup>

Of these letters, which must be assigned to the period of Dante's presumed residence at Forlì in 1303 and 1310, no trace has been preserved. Carlo Troya, who drew attention to these statements of Flavio Biondo with regard to Dante in his *Veltro Allegorico di Dante* (Florence, 1826)<sup>29</sup> and *Veltro Allegorico de' Ghibellini* (Naples, 1856),<sup>30</sup> records in the latter work that, as the result of exhaustive enquiries as to the fate of the documents mentioned by Biondo, he learned that the Ordelaifi papers had been entrusted to the charge of a nun of the Ordelaifi family for safe custody during a period of civil commotion, and that she, in an

<sup>26</sup> See below, p. 25.

<sup>27</sup> See *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, No. 8 (1892), p. 22.

<sup>28</sup> See *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, No. 8 (1892), p. 26.

<sup>29</sup> Pp. 60, 125.

<sup>30</sup> Pp. 205-206.

evil hour, apparently through fear of being compromised if they were found in her possession, had consigned the whole to the flames.<sup>81</sup>

With the next biographer of Dante, Giovanni Mario Filelfo, the last of the early biographers who has any addition to make to the information supplied by his predecessors, the number of Dante's letters increases in a most remarkable manner. Filelfo, who was the son of the famous humanist Francesco Filelfo, himself a student and expounder of Dante, wrote his life of Dante, which is in Latin, in or about the year 1467, as appears from a letter accompanying a copy of the work written from Verona in December of that year by Pietro Alighieri, Dante's great-grandson, to Pietro de' Medici and Tommaso Soderini in Florence, in which it is referred to as having been recently completed — "munusculum hoc nuper mihi de vita proavi mei Dantis ab eloquentissimo oratore, et laurea insignito Mario Philelfo editum, Magnificentiis Vestris mittere decrevi."

In this work, which it may be observed in passing has a peculiar interest for students of Dante, in that here for the first time we meet with the theory that Dante's Beatrice was a mythical not a real personage, — about as real as Pandora, is the author's way of putting it, — Filelfo makes very free use of the *Vita* of Leonardo Bruni. He does not, however, confine himself to merely repeating what Bruni says, but embellishes his statements with characteristic additions of his own. Thus, in his account of Dante's letter about the battle of Campaldino he makes Dante claim not only to have been present, but to have taken a leading part in the engagement: "Hanc quidem et pugnam et victoriam recitat ipse Dantes sua quadam epistola, declaratque se iisce interfuisse *ac prae-fuisse* rebus, exprimitque omnem ejus proelii ordinem." Again, where Bruni simply mentions that Dante, in order to obtain his recall from exile, wrote to individual members of the government as well as to the people of Florence, Filelfo states that he wrote letters to several particular citizens whom he believed to be more upright than the rest, and also sundry very lengthy letters to the Florentine people: "Patriae gratiam assidue cupiens, plures epistolas nedum ad nonnullos misit cives, quos *intelligeret virtuti dedicatiores*, sed ad populum longiusculas admodum dedit litteras." Bruni's succinct description of Dante's handwriting, which

<sup>81</sup>*Veltro Allegorico de' Ghibellini*, p. 207.

has been quoted above, is amplified by Filelfo into a detailed statement as to Dante's delight in the exercise of the pen, and, so far as his ignorance of Greek would allow, the perfect accuracy of his spelling :

Delectabatur Dantes scribendi forma, et vetustate litterarum, scribebatque litteras modernas, tamen politissimas, sed longiores subtilioresque, ut se illa manu scriptas fatetur habuisse Leonardus Aretinus, qui fuit earum diligens inquisitor, sed orthographiam tenebat ad unguem, quantum poterat, sine litterarum graecarum cognitione, conficere.

The "many letters" with which Bruni credits Dante, in Filelfo's account become "letters innumerable," among which he proceeds to specify three in particular, now heard of for the first time, which he asserts were addressed by Dante respectively to the King of Hungary, to Pope Boniface VIII, and to his own son at Bologna, of each of which letters he professes to quote the opening sentences ; and besides these, he adds, Dante wrote other letters also, too numerous to specify, which are in the hands of many persons at the present time :

Edidit et epistolas innumerabiles ; aliam cujus est hoc principium ad invictissimum Hunnorum Regem : "Magna de te fama in omnes dissipata, rex dignissime, coegit me indignum exponere manum calamo, et ad tuam humanitatem accedere." Aliam, cujus est initium rursus ad Bonifacium Pontificem Maximum : "Beatitudinis tuae sanctitas nihil potest cogitare pollutum, quae vices in terris gerens Christi, totius est misericordiae sedes, verae pietatis exemplum, summae religionis apex." Aliam, qua filium alloquitur, qui Bononiae aberat, cujus hoc est principium : "Scientia, mi fili, coronat homines, et eos contentos reddit, quam cupiunt sapientes, negligunt insipientes, honorant boni, vituperant mali." Edidit alias, quas habent multi, mihi quidem est enumerare difficile.

If this very precise and circumstantial account of letters of Dante, of which no previous writer had made mention, could have been accepted as authentic, as it was by Filelfo's editor, Domenico Moreni, and by Pelli, Balbo, and others, it would have made a most interesting and valuable addition to our scanty information on the subject. Unfortunately, however, Filelfo is a writer whose unsupported assertions it is impossible to regard without grave suspicion, even when he claims, as he does with respect to his life of Dante, that he has recorded only what he knew of his own personal knowledge, or had seen with his own eyes — "ea dumtaxat refero, quae certo scio, quaeque ipse vidi, cetera non ausim

affirmare." Apart from palpable misstatements of fact, instances of which have been pointed out by Bartoli and others,<sup>32</sup> there are at least two demonstrable falsifications in this same work. When he comes to deal with the *De Monarchia* and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, in his account of Dante's writings, Filelfo, as in the case of the three letters above mentioned, makes a parade of quoting the beginnings of each of these treatises :

Romano quidem stilo edidit opus, cui Monarchiae dedit nomen, cujus hoc est principium : " Magnitudo ejus, qui sedens in throno cunctis dominatur, in caelo stans omnia videt, nusquam exclusus, nullibi est inclusus, ita dividit gratia munera, ut mutos aliquando faciat loqui." Edidit et opus de Vulgari Eloquentia hoc principio : " Ut Romana lingua in totum est orbem nobilitata terrarum, ita nostri cupiunt nobilitare suam ; proptereaue difficilius est hodie recte nostra quam perite latina quidquam dicere."

A glance at the actual beginnings of the *De Monarchia* and *De Vulgari Eloquentia* will suffice to show that these alleged quotations by Filelfo do not bear the smallest resemblance to what Dante really wrote, and are in fact unblushing fabrications on Filelfo's part, — fabrications, it may be explained, in which it was comparatively safe for him to indulge, in view of the circumstance that the treatises in question existed only in MS. at that time,<sup>33</sup> and that the MSS. were few and not easily accessible. Such being the case, we have no alternative but to conclude, as most recent critics have done, that the letters quoted as Dante's by Filelfo are equally apocryphal. It is not without significance in this connection that Filelfo's best known work, of which no less than eight editions were printed in the fifteenth century, was an *Epistolarium, seu de arte conficiendi epistolas opus* ;<sup>34</sup> so that no doubt in his "confection" of these alleged letters of Dante he was but exercising himself in an art of which he was the professed exponent.

<sup>32</sup> See Bartoli, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Vol. V, pp. 105-106; and Moore, *Dante and his Early Biographers*, pp. 95 ff.

<sup>33</sup> The *De Monarchia* was not printed till 1559, and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (of which an Italian translation by Trissino was published in 1529) not till 1577.

<sup>34</sup> This work contains among other things a complete analysis of "the eighty possible categories under which epistles can fall." An example of each of these categories is given, and to each of them is subjoined a list of appropriate "sinonima" or stock phrases, such as "sinonima gratulatoria," "sinonima postulativa," "sinonima vituperatoria," "sinonima invectiva," and so on. The "exemplum" under the last heading is "Es una omnium voce sentina scelerum cloaca foetidissima" !

With Filelfo we take leave of the early biographers of Dante, subsequent notices, such as those of Landino and Vellutello,<sup>85</sup> containing nothing, so far as Dante's letters are concerned, but a repetition in a more or less meagre form of what had already appeared in the lives of Boccaccio or of Bruni.<sup>86</sup>

It was not till the middle of the sixteenth century that the first actual text of a letter of Dante was given to the world. This was in 1547, in which year was published in Florence a slim quarto of eighty pages, now exceedingly rare, entitled *Prose Antiche di Dante, Petrarca et Boccaccio, et di Molti Altri Nobili et Virtuosi Ingegneri, nuovamente raccolte*. The first piece in this volume, of which the editor, as well as printer, was the eccentric Anton Francesco Doni, is "Pistola di Dante Alighieri Poeta Fiorentino all' Imperator' Arrigo di Luzimborgo," and is in fact an Italian translation, in a very corrupt and mutilated text, of Dante's letter to the Emperor Henry VII, the Latin original of which, as we have seen, was known to Villani, Boccaccio, and Bruni. The last piece but one in the volume is a letter in Italian "Al Magnifico Messer Guido da Polenta, Signor da Ravenna," dated from Venice, March 30, 1314, and signed "L'umil servo vostro Dante Alighieri Fiorentino."

No indication is given by Doni as to the source from which these two letters were derived. As regards the genuineness of the Italian translation of the letter to Henry VII there can be no manner of doubt, inasmuch as numerous MSS. of it are in existence, and it more or less closely corresponds with the Latin text as we now have it. The letter to Guido da Polenta, however, stands on a very different footing. Not only has no MS. of this letter ever been heard of, but it bears on the face of it indubitable proofs of its falsity. The letter, which purports to be an account of Dante's experiences as envoy of Guido da Polenta to the

<sup>85</sup> Prefixed to their commentaries on the *Commedia*, first published respectively at Florence in 1481, and at Venice in 1544.

<sup>86</sup> It is interesting, however, to note that Vellutello was acquainted with Filelfo's life of Dante, of which he did not disdain to avail himself, though he severely criticizes the author on the score of his numerous irrelevancies, and of his disbelief in the reality of Beatrice: "Scrisse la vita di Dante dopo l' Aretino. Mario Filelfo in lingua latina, . . . introducendovi molte cose più tosto impertinenti che accomodate alla materia, e negando Beatrice essere stata donna vera, . . . come ancora molti sciocchi hanno detto di Laura celebrata dal Petrarca."



Venetian Republic to offer congratulations on the recent election of a new Doge, runs as follows :<sup>37</sup>

To the Magnificent Messer Guido da Polenta, Lord of Ravenna.

Anything in the world should I sooner have expected to see, rather than what I have actually in person seen and experienced of the character of this exalted government. To quote the words of Virgil: "Minuit præsens famam." I had imagined to myself that I should here find those noble and magnanimous Catos, those severe censors of depraved morals, in short everything which this people, in their most pompous and pretentious fashion, would have unhappy and afflicted Italy believe that they themselves specially represent. Do they not style themselves "rerum dominos gentemque togatam"? Oh truly unhappy and misguided populace, so insolently oppressed, so vilely governed, and so cruelly maltreated by these upstarts, these destroyers of ancient law, these perpetrators of injustice and corruption!

But what am I to say to you of the dense and bestial ignorance of these grave and reverend signiors? On coming into the presence of so ripe and venerable a council, in order not to derogate from your dignity and my own authority, I purposed to perform my office as your ambassador in that tongue, which along with the imperial power of fair Ausonia is daily declining, and is ever destined to decline; hoping perchance to find it throned in its majesty in this distant corner, hereafter to be spread abroad with the power of this state throughout the length and breadth of Europe, at the least. But alas! I could not have appeared more of a stranger and foreigner had I but just arrived from remotest Thule in the west. Nay, I should have been more likely to find an interpreter of my unknown tongue, if I had come to them from the fabled Antipodes, than to be listened to here with the eloquence of Rome upon my lips. For no sooner had I pronounced a few words of the exordium, which I had prepared in your name in felicitation of the recent election of this most serene Doge, namely: "Lux orta est justo, et rectis corde laetitia,"<sup>38</sup> than it was intimated to me that I must either provide myself with an interpreter, or speak in another language. Accordingly, whether more in amazement or indignation I know not, I began to make a short speech in the tongue which has been mine from the cradle; this, however, proved to be hardly more familiar or native to them than the Latin had been.

Hence it has come about, that instead of being the bearer to them of joy and gladness, I have been the sower, in the most fertile field of their ignorance, of the abundant seeds of wonder and confusion. And it is no matter for

<sup>37</sup> The original is printed among the letters of, or attributed to, Dante by Witte (*Epistola Apocrypha*), Torri (*Epist.* xi), Fraticelli (*Epist.* viii), and Giuliani (*Epist.* iv).

<sup>38</sup> From the Vulgate, *Psalm* xcvi, 11.

wonder if the Italian tongue is unintelligible to them, seeing that they are descended from Dalmatians and Greeks, and have brought no other contribution to this noble land than the vilest and most shameless practices, together with the abomination of every sort of unbridled licentiousness.

I have thought it incumbent on me, therefore, to send you this brief account of the mission which I have accomplished on your behalf; begging you at the same time, though you may always command my services, not to use me further on such like employments, from which you can look for no credit at any time, nor I for consolation.

I shall remain here for a few days in order to satisfy the natural appetite of my bodily eyes for the wonders and attractions of this place; after which I shall transport myself to that most welcome haven of my rest, under the gracious protection of your royal courtesy.

From Venice, this 30th day of March, 1314

Your humble servant, Dante Alighieri of Florence.

Apart from the manifest absurdity of the charge against the Venetians that they could understand neither Latin (which was in fact at that time in Venice, as elsewhere in Italy, the official language of the State) nor Italian, the following blunders chronological and otherwise have been pointed out amongst others as fatal to the pretensions of this letter to be considered authentic.<sup>89</sup> To begin with, all the available evidence goes to prove that Dante did not take refuge with Guido da Polenta at Ravenna till 1317 or 1318, that is to say, not till three or four years after the alleged date (1314) of this embassy to Venice. Secondly, in the year 1314 Guido da Polenta was not Lord of Ravenna, as he is styled in the letter, but Podestà of Cesena. Thirdly, the so-called "recent election" of the Doge (Gian Soranzo) had taken place more than a year and a half before, namely, on July 13, 1312. Finally, we have the damning fact that Dante, who claims in the *Commedia* that he knew the *Aeneid* "tutta quanta," is made to attribute to Virgil a quotation from Claudian, an author with whom there is no evidence that he had any acquaintance. To all of which may be added the further objections that the letter is written in Italian, instead of in Latin as we should naturally expect, and that it has a most decided "cinquecento" ring about it, the style being as unlike Dante's known epistolary style as it well could be.

<sup>89</sup> See Bartoli, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Vol. V, pp. 237 ff.; and Scartazzini, *Dante in Germania*, Vol. II, pp. 303 ff.



Doni included Dante's letter to the Emperor Henry, with other pieces from the *Prose Antiche*, in a subsequent work, his *Zucca*, which he published at Venice in 1552; but he did not reprint the letter to Guido, of which it has not unnaturally been assumed that he himself was the fabricator. This letter nevertheless was accepted as genuine by Biscioni, who reproduced it, together with that to the Emperor, in his *Prose di Dante Alighieri e di Messer Giovanni Boccacci*, published at Florence in 1723; and it has also found supporters in Tasso (in his *Dialogo del Forno*, published in 1581) and Fontanini,<sup>40</sup> as well as in Torri,<sup>41</sup> Fraticelli,<sup>42</sup> and Scheffer-Boichorst,<sup>43</sup> among others of more recent date.

A few years after the publication of Doni's *Prose* we hear from several quarters of the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x), which, as has already been mentioned, was utilized by several of the early commentators on the *Commedia*, though, with the exception of Filippo Villani, they make no reference to it by name.<sup>44</sup> Giovan Batista Gelli, best known as the author of *I Capricci del Bottai* (Englished not long after his death as *The Fearful Fancies of the Florentine Couper*), who delivered a series of public lectures on Dante before the Florentine Academy at various times between 1541 and 1563, in a discussion in his eighth course, in 1562, as to the title *Commedia* bestowed by Dante on his poem, recapitulates what he had said on the subject in a previous lecture, and then proceeds as follows:

All that I told you on the former occasion as the expression of my own personal opinion, I to-day repeat to you as a matter of my own knowledge. For a year or two ago there came into my hands, through the good offices of the deceased Tommaso Santini, a fellow citizen of ours, a letter in Latin, which our Poet sent to the Lord Can Grande della Scala, Vicar General of the principality of Verona and of Vicenza, together with a presentation copy of the third cantica of his poem, namely the *Paradiso*. In which letter he treats of certain matters, with a view to the better understanding of his purpose in the poem, and among

<sup>40</sup> In his *Eloquenza Italiana*.

<sup>41</sup> See his *Epistole di Dante Alighieri edite e inedite*, pp. xvii-xviii, 71.

<sup>42</sup> See his *Opere minori di Dante*, Vol. III, pp. 476 ff. After examining the arguments on both sides, Fraticelli says: "Io non affermerò che la lettera appartenga indubbiamente al nostro Alighieri; ma posti in bilancia gli argomenti che dall'una e dall'altra parte si adducono, parmi che preponderino quelli che stanno per l'affermativa."

<sup>43</sup> In his *Aus Dantes Verbannung*; see Scartazzini, *Dante in Germania*, Vol. II, pp. 304 ff.

<sup>44</sup> See above, p. 4.

others of the reason why he gave to it this title of *Commedia*. He points out that Comedy differs from Tragedy in its subject matter, inasmuch as Tragedy in its beginning is admirable and quiet, but in its ending foul and horrible (these being our author's own expressions), whereas Comedy begins with an element of adversity, but in the end turns out happily — a circumstance, he adds, which has given rise to the employment by some letter-writers of the salutation, "tragicum principium, et comicum finem," as a substitute for the conventional greeting. Again, he shows that Comedy differs from Tragedy in the style of its diction, the language of Tragedy being lofty and inflated, while that of Comedy is unstudied and homely; whence he concludes [and Gelli here quotes the original text of Dante's letter]: "Et per hoc patet quod Comoedia dicitur praesens opus. Nam si ad materiam aspiciamus, a principio horribilis et foetida est, quia Infernus; in fine prospera, desiderabilis et grata, quia Paradisus. Ad modum loquendi, remissus est modus et humilis, quia locutio vulgaris, in qua et mulierculae communicant; et sic patet, quia Comoedia dicitur." <sup>45</sup>

Gelli quotes the letter a second time in another lecture, of which only a fragment has been preserved, in connection with Dante's scathing apostrophe to Florence at the beginning of the twenty-sixth canto of the *Inferno*. "Not only," he says, "did Dante rebuke Florence in this place, and in numerous other passages in his works, but he twice in the letter he sent to Can Grande, Lord of Verona, with a copy of his poem, describes himself in these terms: 'Dantes Alagherius, Florentinus patria, sed non moribus.' " <sup>46</sup>

The Can Grande letter was known also to sundry other writers on Dante in the sixteenth century, contemporaries of Gelli (1498-1563), among others to Lodovico Castelvetro (1505-1571) of Modena, Vincenzo Borghini (1515-1580) of Florence, and Jacopo Mazzoni (1548-1598) of Cesena.<sup>47</sup> Castelvetro in his *Sposizione di Canti ventinove dell' Inferno di Dante* (first published in 1886) identifies the "Veltro" of *Inferno* i. 101 with Can Grande, to whom, he says, according to Boccaccio in his life of Dante, the poet dedicated the *Commedia*; "but," he continues, "I have

<sup>45</sup> *Epist.* x, ll. 218-225; see *Lettture edite e inedite di Giovan Batista Gelli sopra la Commedia di Dante*, raccolte per cura di Carlo Negroni, Vol. II, p. 295.

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 515.

<sup>47</sup> The letter was also quoted by Antonio degli Albizzi (1547-1626) in his (as yet unpublished) *Risposta al Discorso del Castravilla* (see Barbi, *Della Fortuna di Dante nel Cinquecento*, p. 102); and (later) by Benedetto Buonmattei (1581-1647) in *Quaderno Secondo per le lezioni su Dante* (see Boffito, *L' Epistola di D. A. a Cangrande della Scala*, p. 3, n. 3).

in my possession a MS. of a letter of Dante's, written in Latin, which begins 'Dantes Aligerius natione florentinus, non moribus, magno Cani etc.'; from which letter it clearly appears that Dante dedicated to Can Grande, not the whole poem, but the *Paradiso* only."<sup>48</sup> It should be noted that Castelvetro here misrepresents Boccaccio, who does not assert positively that Dante dedicated the *Commedia* as a whole to Can Grande, but states that opinions differed as to the dedication, inasmuch as, according to some, Dante dedicated the *Inferno* to Ugucione della Faggiuola, the *Purgatorio* to Moroello Malaspina, and the *Paradiso* to Frederick the Third of Sicily; while, according to others, he dedicated the whole poem to Can Grande.<sup>49</sup> Castelvetro quotes the title of the letter again, in his comment on *Inferno* xv. 69, as a proof that Dante obeyed Brunetto Latini's injunction to dissociate himself from the evil ways of the Florentines — "Da' lor costumi fa che tu ti forbi."<sup>50</sup>

Borghini makes use of the letter in his *Introduzione al Poema di Dante per l'Allegoria* (first printed in 1855), in which he quotes long extracts from the letter in the original Latin, namely §§ 7 and 8, and parts of §§ 15 and 16, to show with what object Dante wrote the *Commedia*, and the various senses in which he meant it to be interpreted; and part of § 32 for Dante's explanation why he did not continue his exposition of the poem, his reason being the "rei familiaris angustia."<sup>51</sup> Borghini says that the text of the letter as seen by him (which he evidently emended in the passages he has quoted) was so corrupt as to be hardly intelligible;<sup>52</sup> and after stating that it was at that time known to many persons ("in mano di molti"), he observes that by some of the old commentators on the *Commedia* the letter was prefixed to their commentary as the author's own preface to his poem — an interesting observation, which, however, is not confirmed by our present knowledge of the early commentaries.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *Sposizione*, p. 23.

<sup>49</sup> *Vita di Dante*, § 15, ed. Macri-Leone, p. 72.

<sup>50</sup> *Sposizione*, p. 199.

<sup>51</sup> See *Studi sulla Divina Commedia di Galileo Galilei*, Vincenzo Borghini, ed altri; pubblicati per cura ed opera di Ottavo Gigli, pp. 155-157, 160.

<sup>52</sup> "Detta Epistola, che io ho veduta, è tanto scorretta, che a pena si può leggere" (*op. cit.*, p. 155).

<sup>53</sup> This observation may possibly have been suggested to Borghini by the *Praefatio incerti auctoris*, which accompanies the letter in some of the MSS., and was first printed by Baruffaldi in 1700 (see below, p. 21).

Mazzoni's mention of the letter occurs in the *Introduttione e Sommario* of the first volume of his celebrated *Difesa di Dante*, which was published at Cesena in 1587. In his summary of the contents of the last chapter of the first book<sup>54</sup> he says: "It is shown in this chapter that Dante's poem was composed by him in the form of a vision, as he himself has openly declared in his *Vita Nuova*, as well as in a Latin letter which he sent to Cane della Scala, explaining the purpose of the third cantica of his poem; which letter was sent to me from Florence a few days ago by Signor Domenico Mellini, a most worthy gentleman and lover of letters."

He then proceeds to excuse himself from discussing the letter at that point, on the ground that it was his intention to speak of it at length in his second volume. This second volume, however, which was not published till 1688, ninety years after Mazzoni's death, unfortunately contains no reference to the letter; whence it has been concluded either that his projected disquisition on the subject was never written, or that it was suppressed by his editor.

In the seventeenth century we find notice for the first time of the existence of the Latin text of the letter to the Emperor Henry VII. This occurs in the notes (first printed in 1636) on the *De Rebus Gestis Henrici Septimi* of Albertino Mussato by Lorenzo Pignoria of Padua (1571-1631), who states that he had in his own possession a MS. of this text; he identifies the letter with that mentioned by Villani, and with that printed in Italian by Doni, and promises to publish it—a promise which remained unfulfilled.

"Dantes vatum clarissimus," he writes, "hisce diebus epistolam scripsit Henrico, quam nacti in pervetusto codice, nostro manuscripto publici juris facere decrevimus, et describi curavimus seorsum in calce spicilegii nostri, cum aliis nonnullis ejusdem aevi monumentis; et ejusdem epistolae meminit Johannes Villanus, lib. 9, cap. 35. Quam etiam Italicè redditam vidimus et editam Florentiae, anno 1547."<sup>55</sup>

In the last year of this century (1700) the complete text of the letter to Can Grande was published at Venice in a literary periodical called *La Galleria di Minerva*,<sup>56</sup> to which it had been communicated two years

<sup>54</sup> In § 90 (numbered on the margin) of the *Introduttione e Sommario*, which is not paged in the original 1587 edition.

<sup>55</sup> See Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, X, 385.      <sup>56</sup> Vol. III, pp. 220-228.

before by Girolamo Baruffaldi, sub-librarian of the public library at Ferrara, this being the first letter of Dante to be given to the world in the original Latin. In his dedicatory note to Giulio Cesare Grazzini, secretary of the Academy of the *Intrepidi* of Ferrara, Baruffaldi states that the letter, which he describes as "una antica e non pubblicata Pistola del divino Dante Alighieri," had been discovered a short time previously in a MS. in the collection of the well-known scholar and physician of Ferrara, Giuseppe Lanzoni (1663-1730), who had obligingly placed it at his disposal. Baruffaldi printed at the head of the letter a *Praefatio incerti Auctoris*, which runs as follows:

It was customary in former times for writers to prefix to their works a few introductory remarks, which the briefer they were, the more quickly they led up to the subject of the work in question, especially in the case of authors who were not gifted with the elegant and correct style of diction proper to professed teachers of rhetoric. I will hasten, therefore, to acquit myself of my task, lest, while studying to avoid prolixity, I should fall into that very fault. Suffice it then that in lieu of preface I present the reader with what the Poet wrote to Messer Cane, to whom he dedicated this third cantica, whereby his intention in the poem may the more easily be comprehended from the observations to which he himself gave expression in the following form.<sup>57</sup>

This preface, which occurs in four of the six known MSS.,<sup>58</sup> was reprinted by the eighteenth-century editors, but it has been discarded by the more recent editors of the letters of Dante.

The text of the letter as printed in the *Galleria di Minerva* was full of blunders, due either to the original scribe or to the copyist of the Lanzoni MS.; and in this corrupt form it continued to be reproduced for more than a hundred years. It may be mentioned that a collation with this text of the passages recorded above as having been quoted by Gelli and Borghini shows that the latter were not derived from the same MS. as the Baruffaldi text.

<sup>57</sup> "Praefari aliqua in initio cujusque operis sui antiquitas consuevit, quae quanto pauciora fuerint, tanto ocius ad rem, de qua agitur, aditus fiet, praesertim cui curae non erit exquisita, et accurata locutio, quae docentibus eloquentiam convenit. Expediam igitur illicò, ne dum studeo devitare prolixitatem, in illam ipsam incurrerim. Satis igitur mihi erit in loco, vice prohemii fore consultum, si quae Poeta rescribens Domino Cani, cui hanc canticam tertiam dedicavit, pro ipsa praefatione indiderim: quo melius Poetae intentio ab ejusdem observationibus intelligatur; quae sub hac forma fuere. . . ."

<sup>58</sup> See *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N. S., XVI, 23.



Later in this century we get the first accession to the list of letters hitherto recorded. This consists of the letter to the Princes and Peoples of Italy (*Epist.* v), in an Italian version, which was printed in a collection of letters of the eleventh, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, published at Rome in 1754 by Pietro Lazzari from MSS. in the library of the Jesuits' College at Rome.<sup>59</sup> Lazzari states that the MS. in which the letter occurs contained also the Italian version of Dante's letter to the Emperor, as well as Marsilio Ficino's translation of the *De Monarchia*, extracts from the *Vita Nuova*, and Bruni's lives of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. He remarks that the text of the letter to the Emperor differs to some extent from that printed by Biscioni,<sup>60</sup> from which he concludes, rightly as we now know, that both that letter and the one he now prints for the first time were originally written in Latin.

In 1788 Giovan Jacopo Dionisi of Verona printed in the fourth volume of his series of *Aneddoti*<sup>61</sup> sundry variants from a MS., at that time in the Cocchi collection, now in the Chapter library at Verona, of the letter to Can Grande; and two years later (1790) he printed for the first time, in the fifth volume of the same series, the Latin text of yet another letter of Dante, namely, the letter to a Florentine friend.<sup>62</sup> This letter was discovered at Florence in the now famous Laurentian MS.,<sup>63</sup> usually known as the *Zibaldone Boccacesco*. The contents of this MS. had been described by Bandini in the volume of his catalogue of the MSS. in the Laurentian Library<sup>64</sup> published in 1775, but he does not appear to have had any inkling as to the authorship of the letter, which, together with two others in the same MS., he registered as anonymous. The Abate Mehus, however, who a few years before (in 1759) had printed in his *Vita Ambrosii Camaldulensis* the much-discussed letter of Frate Ilario from this same MS., recognized Dante as the author of the letter to a

<sup>59</sup> *Miscellaneorum ex MSS. libris Bibliothecae Collegii Romani Societatis Jesu tomus primus* (pp. 139-144).

<sup>60</sup> In *Prose di Dante Alighieri e di Messer Giovanni Boccacci*, published at Florence in 1723 (see above, p. 17).

<sup>61</sup> Vol. IV, p. 19.

<sup>62</sup> Vol. V, pp. 176-177.

<sup>63</sup> *Cod. Laurent.* XXIX, 8.

<sup>64</sup> Angelo Maria Bandini (1726-1800); his *Catalogus Codicum MSS. Graecorum, Latinorum, et Italicorum Bibliothecae Mediceae-Laurentianae* was published at Florence in eight folio volumes in 1764-1778; his description of MS. XXIX, 8 occurs in Vol. II, pp. 9-28 (see Troya, *Del Veltro Allegorico di Dante*, pp. 202-203).

Florentine friend, and communicated the fact to Dionisi, who printed it accordingly.<sup>65</sup> This original text in the *Aneddoti* having been very imperfect, Dionisi subsequently issued an emended text in his *Preparazione istorica e critica alla nuova edizione di Dante Allighieri*,<sup>66</sup> which was published at Verona in 1806. Twenty years later (in 1826) Carlo Troya made a fresh examination of the letters in the Laurentian MS., and satisfied himself that not only the letter to a Florentine friend, but also the other two letters, which immediately precede it in the MS., and which Bandini had catalogued as anonymous, were written by Dante. In the former of these two letters, which is headed *Cardinalibus Ytalicis D. de Florentia*, he recognized the letter mentioned by Villani as having been written by Dante to the Italian Cardinals after the death of Clement V. The second letter is headed *Exulanti Pistoriensi florentinus exul immeritus*, the addressee of which Troya identified with Dante's friend, Cino da Pistoja, an identification which has been generally accepted, as has that of the Florentine "exul immeritus" with Dante himself. Troya's famous *Veltro Allegorico di Dante* being at that time on the eve of publication, he was unable to include these two new letters in that work, but he announced his discovery in the book, and by way of specimen printed the first few paragraphs of the letter to the Cardinals in an Appendix.<sup>67</sup>

Besides the letters of Dante and of Frate Ilario this Laurentian MS. contains the poetical correspondence of Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio. It has recently been established by Henri Hauvette that these portions of the MS. are in the handwriting of Boccaccio,<sup>68</sup> who, as we have already stated, made use in his *Vita di Dante* of the letter to a Florentine friend, and also, it may here be added, of the letter of Frate Ilario in the same work.

In 1827, the year following Troya's announcement of his discovery in the Laurentian MS., appeared the first attempt at a collected edition of the letters of Dante. This was Karl Witte's *Dantis Alligherii Epistolarum quae exstant*, which was printed privately, in sixty copies only,<sup>69</sup> at

<sup>65</sup> See Troya, *Del Veltro Allegorico di Dante*, pp. 203-204.

<sup>66</sup> Vol. I, pp. 71-73.

<sup>67</sup> *Del Veltro Allegorico di Dante*, pp. 204-205, 214-216.

<sup>68</sup> See above, p. 4, note 12.

<sup>69</sup> "In nur 60 verschenkten Exemplaren," wrote Witte of this volume in his article *Neu aufgefundenen Briefe des Dante Allighieri*, published in 1838 in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* (Nos. 149-151), and reprinted in *Dante-Forschungen*, Vol. I, pp. 473-487.



Padua in that year. The contents of this volume, the idea of which seems to have been suggested to Witte by the desire for such an edition expressed nearly a hundred years before by Fontanini in his *Eloquenza Italiana*,<sup>70</sup> were as follows, there being seven letters in all:

1. The Latin text of the letter to Cino da Pistoja (*Epist.* iv), now printed for the first time from a copy supplied by Sebastiano Ciampi from the Laurentian MS.

2. The Italian translation of the letter to the Princes and Peoples of Italy (*Epist.* v), first printed by Lazzari at Rome in 1754.

3. The Latin text of the letter to the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii), now printed for the first time from a MS. in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice. Witte's attention having been drawn to the fact that extracts from this letter in Latin were printed in the catalogue of the Biblioteca Muranese, search was made at his instance through the good offices of the Marchese Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, with the result that the MS. containing the letter was discovered by the Abate Giovanni Antonio Moschini, the Prefetto of the Biblioteca Marciana, whither the spoils of the Murano library had been transferred. Besides the Latin text, Witte included an emended text of the Italian translation of the same letter, which had been first printed by Doni in 1547.

4. The Latin text of the letter to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii), now first printed in full from the Laurentian MS. The first few paragraphs of this letter were, as we have seen, printed by Troya in his *Veltro Allegorico* in 1826. The remainder was copied and printed by Witte himself in the same year in the *Antologia* of Florence;<sup>71</sup> and he now printed a revised and emended text of the whole letter.

5. The Latin text (revised) of the letter to a Florentine friend (*Epist.* ix), first printed by Dionisi at Verona in 1790.

6. The Latin text (with numerous emendations) of the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x) first printed in full by Baruffaldi at Venice in 1700.

7. The apocryphal letter, as Witte does not hesitate to pronounce it,<sup>72</sup> to Guido da Polenta, first printed by Doni in 1547.

<sup>70</sup> See Witte, *Dantis Alligherii Epistolæ quæ exstant*, p. 4 n.: "Una ut ederentur [Dantis Epistolæ], jam Fontaninus (Eloqu. ital. Ven. 1737, p. 154) desideravit."

<sup>71</sup> Vol. XXIII, p. 57.

<sup>72</sup> He heads it "Epistola Apocrypha."

In 1837, ten years after the appearance of Witte's volume, occurred what is undoubtedly the most important event yet recorded in the history of the letters of Dante; namely, the discovery in the Vatican Library, by a German student named Theodor Heyse, while collating MSS. of the *Divina Commedia* on behalf of Witte, of a fourteenth-century MS. containing no less than nine letters directly or indirectly attributed to Dante. The history of this MS., which, besides the letters of Dante, contains Petrarch's twelve eclogues and Dante's *De Monarchia*, so far as it has been possible to trace it, is briefly as follows.<sup>73</sup> It was executed in the fourteenth century, apparently for Francesco da Montepulciano, of the family of the Piendibeni of that place,<sup>74</sup> a Tuscan notary of some distinction, the friend and correspondent of Coluccio Salutati, the Florentine Chancellor, and successor of Filippo Villani in the Chancellorship of Perugia, who at the end of the eclogues has written his name and the date, Perugia, 20 July, 1394.<sup>75</sup> Francesco da Montepulciano left his books to the Capitular Library of the Cathedral of Montepulciano, the greater part of which was destroyed by fire in 1539;<sup>76</sup> but this MS. by some chance before that date had come into the possession of the Florentine scholar and biographer of Dante, Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459),<sup>77</sup> whence it eventually passed into the collection of the celebrated bibliophile, Ulrich Fugger (1526–1584),<sup>78</sup> son of Raimund Fugger, one of the famous merchant-princes of Augsburg. Ulrich Fugger, as is well known, became a Protestant, and to escape persecution took refuge in the Rhenish Palatinate and settled at Heidelberg, where he died in 1584, leaving his extensive collection of MSS. to the library of that city.

<sup>73</sup> For a slightly fuller account, see the present writer's article, *The Vatican Text (Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat. 1729) of the Letters of Dante*, in *Modern Language Review*, VII, 1–3.

<sup>74</sup> To give him his full description, Francesco di Ser Jacopo di Ser Piendibene da Montepulciano (see F. Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, iii, 312, n. 2; and O. Zenatti, *Dante e Firenze*, pp. 378 ff.).

<sup>75</sup> *Francisci de Montepolitiano. Expleui corrigere 20 Iulii Perusii 1394* (see Witte, *Dante-Forschungen*, Vol. I, p. 474; and Zenatti, *Dante e Firenze*, p. 374). For an enumeration of the portions of the MS. in the handwriting of Francesco, see Zenatti, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

<sup>76</sup> See F. Novati, *Le Epistole di Dante*, in *Lectura Dantis: Le Opere Minori di D. A.*, p. 300.

<sup>77</sup> See Zenatti, *op. cit.*, pp. 370–375 note, 414–419.

<sup>78</sup> See Zenatti, *op. cit.*, pp. 372–374 note.

After the capture of Heidelberg by Tilly in 1622, the most valuable portion of the library, consisting of nearly two hundred cases of MSS., was presented by Maximilian I of Bavaria, in return for the papal support, to Pope Gregory XV, and was transferred to Rome and incorporated in the Vatican Library, under the superintendence of Leone Allacci.<sup>79</sup> Among the MSS. thus removed to the Vatican were many which had formed part of the Fugger collection, one of them being this MS.<sup>80</sup> containing the nine letters attributed to Dante discovered by Heyse.

Witte, having received copies of the letters from Heyse, wrote an account of them, with copious (translated) extracts, in an article entitled *Neu aufgefundene Briefe des Dante Alighieri*,<sup>81</sup> which appeared in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* in May, 1838, and prepared to edit and publish them. But while he was engaged upon the work, his portfolio containing the transcript of the letters was stolen from him, and it was more than two years before he could succeed in getting fresh copies made.<sup>82</sup> In the meantime, attention having been directed to the MS. by the publication of Witte's article, one of the employés at the Vatican Library, Massi by name, took copies of the letters on his own account with the intention of forestalling Witte's projected edition. Massi, however, was unable to obtain the necessary *imprimatur*, and he

<sup>79</sup> Allacci, who was subsequently librarian of the Vatican (1661-1669), has left an interesting account of this transaction (see Curzio Mazzi, *Leone Allacci e la Palatina di Heidelberg*, Bologna, 1893). Some idea of the extent of the collection may be gathered from the fact that Allacci estimated that the covers alone, which to facilitate transport he caused to be stripped from the MSS., amounted to thirteen wagon-loads: "Lo sgravamento delle coperte," he writes, "è stato tanto necessario, poichè importava tanto e con l' occupar il luogo et il peso (poichè, se si fosse fatto altrimenti, saria stato impossibile la condotta), poichè importava tanto quanto li doi terzi delli libri che mecho conduco. E per mia curiosità ho posto da parte tutte quelle coperte, per veder quanto luogo occupavano e quanto pesavano, e trovai che non bastavano mancho tredici carri, e fu giudicato che pesassero passa duecento centinara" (*op. cit.*, p. 25).

<sup>80</sup> Now *Cod. Vaticano-Palatino Latino* 1729.

<sup>81</sup> In this article Witte omitted to mention the name of the student to whom the discovery was due, an omission which he did not repair until four years later, in 1842, in which year he acknowledged his indebtedness to Heyse in the Appendix to the second part of *Dante Alighieri's Lyrische Gedichte, übersetzt und erklärt von K. L. Kannegiesser und K. Witte* (p. 234).

<sup>82</sup> For this second transcript Witte was indebted once more to Heyse (see *Le Lettere di Dante scoperte dal Signor Teodoro Heyse*, in Vol. II, p. 701, of Niccolò Tommaseo's edition of the *Divina Commedia*, Milano, 1865).

then (in the autumn of 1841) offered his copies to Alessandro Torri of Pisa, who had been for some time engaged upon an edition of the minor works of Dante. Torri availed himself of the offer, and forthwith proceeded to Rome for the purpose of collating the copies with the original MS. in the Vatican. Having satisfied himself as to their accuracy, he included the nine letters in his volume, *Epistole di Dante Alighieri edite e inedite*, which was published at Leghorn at the end of the following year (1842).<sup>83</sup> It should be mentioned that before the publication of Torri's volume Witte had printed the text of one of the letters in the Vatican MS. in an appendix to the second volume of *Dante Alighieri's Lyrische Gedichte*,<sup>84</sup> published by Karl Ludwig Kannegiesser and himself at Leipzig earlier in the same year.

Of the letters contained in the Vatican MS. all except one, namely that to the Emperor Henry VII, were now made known for the first time, or for the first time in the original Latin text. The letters, in the order of their occurrence in the MS., are as follows:

1. To the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii), the Latin text of which had been printed by Witte in his collected edition in 1827 from the Venetian MS.

2. To the Florentines (*Epist.* vi)—“scelestissimis Florentinis intrinsicis,” the title and contents of which prove it to be the abusive letter mentioned by Bruni and Manetti as having been written by Dante to the Florentines after the coming of Henry VII into Italy.<sup>85</sup>

3, 4, 5. Three short letters written in the name of a Countess of Battifolle to Margaret of Brabant, wife of the Emperor Henry.

6. To the Counts Oberto and Guido da Romena (*Epist.* ii).

7. To the Marquis Moroello Malaspina (*Epist.* iii), this being the letter mentioned above as having been printed by Witte in *Dante's Lyrische Gedichte*.<sup>86</sup>

8. To the Cardinal Niccolò da Prato (*Epist.* i).

9. To the Princes and Peoples of Italy (*Epist.* v), which had been printed in an Italian version by Lazzari in 1754.

Of these nine letters, five are definitely ascribed to Dante by name in the MS.; while it is evident from the places assigned to them in the

<sup>83</sup> See Witte's article, *Torris Ausgabe von Dantes Briefen*, in *Dante-Forschungen*, Vol. I, pp. 489-490; and Torri, *op. cit.*, pp. vii-viii.

<sup>84</sup> Pp. 235-236.

<sup>85</sup> See above, pp. 8-9.

<sup>86</sup> See note 84.

midst of the others, that the remaining four, namely the three to the Empress and that to the Cardinal Niccolò, were regarded by the compiler of the collection as having been written by Dante.

With Torri's edition of the letters finality was reached so far as numbers are concerned. This total consisted of fourteen letters, which was made up of the three from the Laurentian MS., the nine from the Vatican MS., the letter to Can Grande, and the letter to Guido da Polenta; that is to say, his edition included the ten letters now usually accepted as Dante's (*Epistles* i to x in the *Oxford Dante*), together with the three Battifolle letters, which are as yet in dispute,<sup>87</sup> and the Polenta letter, now almost universally recognized as a falsification.

In 1857 Fraticelli published at Florence a revised edition of the letters, in which were embodied sundry emendations, the results of a fresh collation of the MSS. by Witte;<sup>88</sup> which, however, were by no means always improvements, for textual criticism, in spite of Witte's reputation as critic and editor, was not altogether his strongest point.

In 1882 Giuliani published, also at Florence, an edition of all the letters,<sup>89</sup> with characteristic emendations of his own; while from time to time in the course of the last sixty years or so, critical or diplomatic texts of individual letters have been printed by various editors, for example, by Torricelli (*Epist.* v),<sup>90</sup> Muzzi (*Epist.* iv, viii, ix),<sup>91</sup> Zenatti

<sup>87</sup> For the arguments in favor of their having been written by Dante, see Moore, *The 'Battifolle' Letters sometimes attributed to Dante*, in *Modern Language Review*, IX, 173-189 (reprinted in *Studies in Dante, Fourth Series*).

<sup>88</sup> Fraticelli writes in his *Proemio*: "Il dotto alemanno prof. Witte . . . non pago di quanto avea fatto la prima volta, volle di nuovo riscontrare i codici e confrontare le varie lezioni; e nuovamente portando il suo esame critico sopra ogni frase ed ogni parola del testo, potè rettificare molti passi disordinati, rendere intelligibili varie frasi oscure, e correggere parecchi e parecchi errori. E quantunque del suo accurato lavoro avess' egli determinato valersi per una ristampa, pure per un tratto d' impareggiabil cortesia ha voluto esserne con mè liberale, affinchè io me ne giovassi per l' edizione presente. La lezione dunque del testo latino, che or per me si produce, è interamente al Witte dovuta" (*Opere Minori di Dante*, ed. 1893, Vol. III, p. 408). In 1855 Witte printed from a fifteenth-century MS. at Munich an improved text of the first four paragraphs of the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x) (see *Dante-Forschungen*, Vol. I, pp. 500-507), of which Fraticelli does not appear to have availed himself.

<sup>89</sup> In the second volume of his *Opere Latine di Dante* (pp. 1-73).

<sup>90</sup> In the *Antologia di Fossombrone* for October 22, 1842 (see my article on *The S. Pantaleo Text of Dante's Letters to the Emperor Henry VII, and to the Princes and Peoples of Italy*, in *Modern Language Review*, Vol. VII, p. 215, n. 1).

<sup>91</sup> In *Tre Epistole Latine di Dante Allighieri*, Prato, 1845.



(*Epist.* i, iii),<sup>92</sup> Torraca (*Epist.* iii),<sup>93</sup> Della Torre (*Epist.* ix),<sup>94</sup> Boffito (*Epist.* x),<sup>95</sup> Novati (*Epist.* iii),<sup>96</sup> Rostagno (*Epist.* viii),<sup>97</sup> and Parodi (*Epist.* iv).<sup>98</sup>

In 1895 Barbi drew attention in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*<sup>99</sup> to yet another MS., the fourth, containing letters of Dante. This was the fourteenth-century San Pantaleo MS. in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele at Rome,<sup>100</sup> which had been registered by Colomb de Batines in his *Bibliografia Dantesca*<sup>101</sup> fifty years before, but had strangely been overlooked by all the editors of the letters.

During the last few years diplomatic texts of the two letters contained in this San Pantaleo MS., of the one in the Venetian MS., and of the nine in the Vatican MS., as well as of two of those in the Laurentian MS., together with critical texts of four of the letters (viz. *Epist.* iv, v, vii, ix), have been printed in the *Modern Language Review*<sup>102</sup> by the present writer, with a view to the improvement of the text in the *Oxford Dante*.

<sup>92</sup> In *Dante e Firenze*, pp. 359-360, 431-432.

<sup>93</sup> In *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N. S., X, 143.

<sup>94</sup> In *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N. S., XII, 122-123.

<sup>95</sup> In *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, Serie II, Tom. LVII.

<sup>96</sup> In *Dante e la Lunigiana*, pp. 518-520.

<sup>97</sup> In *Sul Testo della Lettera di Dante ai Cardinali Italiani*, in *La Bibliofilia* (November, 1912).

<sup>98</sup> In *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N. S., XIX, 271-272.

<sup>99</sup> N. S., II, 23 n.

<sup>100</sup> *Cod. S. Pantaleo* 8.

<sup>101</sup> Vol. II, pp. 208-209.

<sup>102</sup> Paget Toynbee, *The Vatican Text (Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat. 1729) of the Letters of Dante* (in *M. L. R.*, VII, 1-39); *The S. Pantaleo Text of Dante's Letters to the Emperor Henry VII, and to the Princes and Peoples of Italy* (in *M. L. R.*, VII, 208-224); *The Venetian Text (Cod. Marc. Lat. XIV, 115) of Dante's Letter to the Emperor Henry VII* (in *M. L. R.*, VII, 433-440); *The S. Pantaleo Italian Translation of Dante's Letter to the Emperor Henry VII* (in *M. L. R.*, IX, 332-343); *Dante's Letter to the Emperor Henry VII: Critical Text* (in *M. L. R.*, X, 64-72); *Dante's Letter to the Princes and Peoples of Italy: Critical Text* (in *M. L. R.*, X, 150-156); *The Laurentian Text (Cod. Laurent. XXIX, 8) of Dante's Letter to a Friend in Florence* (in *M. L. R.*, XI, 61-68); *The Laurentian Text (Cod. Laurent. XXIX, 8) of Dante's Letter to a Pistoian Exile* (in *M. L. R.*, XII, 37-44, 359-360). [Since the foregoing account was written the present writer has printed three more articles, namely, *Dante's Letter to the Florentines (Epist. vi): Emended Text* (in *M. L. R.*, XII, 182-191); *The Battifolle Letters attributed to Dante: Emended Text* (in *M. L. R.*, XII, 302-309); and *The Laurentian Text (Cod. Laurent. XXIX, 8) of Dante's Letter to the Italian Cardinals (Epist. viii): Emended Text* (in *M. L. R.*, XIII, 208-227).]

The critical edition of the letters, undertaken by the Italian Dante Society, which was entrusted originally to Novati,<sup>103</sup> and, since his death, to Pistelli (who recently printed trial texts of *Epist.* vii and ix),<sup>104</sup> is still awaited, and apparently now is not likely to see the light before the latest term fixed by the Society, namely, the sixth centenary of the death of Dante in 1921.<sup>105</sup>

PAGET TOYNBEE

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS

ENGLAND, JUNE, 1916

*Supplementary Note.* In the foregoing article I have confined myself to the history of the text of the letters, and have made no mention (save incidentally) of translations and critical essays. As regards translations — Italian versions are included in the editions of the letters published by Fraticelli (Firenze, 1840, 1857, etc.) and by Torri (Livorno, 1842); there is a German translation by Kannegiesser (Leipzig, 1845); and there are two English translations, one by the late C. S. Latham (*Dante's Eleven Letters*, Boston, 1891), which was published more or less under the auspices of this Society, the other by P. H. Wicksteed (in *Translation of the Latin Works of Dante*, London, 1894). Critical essays are numerous; deserving of special mention here are the article by the late F. Novati in the volume *Lectura Dantis: Le Opere Minori di Dante Alighieri* (Firenze, 1906), and two by the late Dr. Edward Moore, on "The Epistle to Can Grande" (in *Studies in Dante. Third Series.* Oxford, 1903), and on "The Battifolle Letters" (in *Studies in Dante. Fourth Series.* Oxford, 1917). References to many other articles of importance will be found in the admirable indices to the volumes of the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, edited originally by M. Barbi, and latterly by E. G. Parodi.

T.

<sup>103</sup> Novati published an article on *Le Epistole di Dante*, in *Lectura Dantis: Le Opere Minori di D. A.*, Firenze, 1906 (pp. 285-310); and another on *L' Epistola di Dante a Moroello Malaspina*, in *Dante e la Lunigiana*, Milano, 1909 (pp. 507-542).

<sup>104</sup> In the Appendix (pp. 199-221) to *Piccola Antologia della Bibbia Volgata, con Introduzioni e Note*, per cura di Ermenegildo Pistelli, Firenze, 1915.

<sup>105</sup> [An edition of the letters, with emended text, translation, and notes, together with introduction, appendices (containing diplomatic transcripts of the MS. texts, chronological table, and article on Dante and the *cursus*), and indices, is in preparation by the present writer, and will be published by the Oxford University Press as soon as war conditions permit. *In obitu Dantis*, September 14, 1918.]



THIRTY-SEVENTH  
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OF THE  
DANTE SOCIETY

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1918

ACCOMPANYING PAPERS

THE CHOICE OF A THEME

*By Charles H. Grandgent*

"IL CHI E IL QUALE"

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\* Deceased.

## STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

(From May 15, 1917, to May 21, 1918)

Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May		
15, 1917 . . . . .	\$835.51	
Members' fees till May 21, 1918 . . . . .	190.00	
Copyrights, etc. . . . .	10.48	
Interest to Oct. 1, 1917 . . . . .	<u>4.37</u>	
		\$1040.36
Paid Ginn and Company . . . . .	\$308.53	
Paid Harvard College Library (for postage) . . . . .	5.23	
Balance on hand, May 21, 1918 . . . . .	<u>726.60</u>	
		\$1040.36

## BY-LAWS

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1. This Society shall be called the DANTE SOCIETY. Its object shall be the encouragement of the study of the Life and Works of Dante.

2. Any person desirous to become a member of this Society may do so by signifying his or her wish in writing to the Secretary, and by the payment of an annual fee of five dollars.

3. An Annual Meeting for the election of officers shall be held at Cambridge on the third Tuesday of May, of which due notice shall be given to the members by the Secretary.

4. Special meetings may be held at any time appointed by vote of the members at the Annual Meeting, or by call from the President and Secretary.

5. The officers shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Librarian, who, together with three members thereto chosen, shall form the Council of the Society. All these officers shall be chosen at the Annual Meeting, and their term of service shall be for one year, or until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled for the remainder of the year by the Council.

6. The President, or, in his absence, the Vice President, or, in the absence of both, any member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Council.

7. The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep a record of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, shall collect and receive all dues, and keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the Society, shall give notice of meetings, and shall perform all other duties appropriate to his office.

8. The Council shall hold meetings at such times as it may appoint, shall determine on the use to be made of the income of the Society, shall endeavor to promote the special objects of the Society in such ways as may seem most appropriate, and shall make an annual report of their

proceedings, including a full statement of accounts, at each Annual Meeting. This report shall be made in print for distribution to the members.

9. No officer of the Society shall be competent to contract debts in the name of the Society, and no expenditure shall be made without a vote of the Council.

10. A majority of the Council shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

11. Any person distinguished for his interest in the purposes of the Society, or who has rendered it valuable service, may be chosen an Honorary Member at any regular meeting of the Society, and shall be entitled to all its privileges without annual assessment.

12. The preceding rules may be changed at any time by unanimous vote of the Council.

## THE DANTE PRIZE

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The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars for the best essay by a student in any department of Harvard University, or by a graduate of not more than three years' standing, on a subject drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1917-1918 the following subjects were proposed:

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convivio.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*
12. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
13. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
14. *A criticism of Torraca's edition of the Divina Commedia.*

Essays must be deposited with the Dean of Harvard College Cambridge, Mass., on or before the *first day of May*.

Essayists are at liberty to write on any one of the subjects which have been proposed in the years during which the Dante Prize has been offered, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

On the title-page must be written an assumed name and a statement of the writer's standing, i.e. whether he is a graduate or an undergraduate (and of what college or university); if he is an undergraduate, to what class he belongs, and to what department of the college or university. Under cover with the essay must be sent a sealed letter containing the true name and address of the writer, and superscribed with his assumed name.

The essays must be written upon letter paper, of good quality, of the quarto size, with a margin of not less than one inch at the top, at the bottom, and on each side, so that they may be bound up without injury to the writing. The sheets on which the essay is written must be securely stitched together.

The judges of the essays are a committee of the Dante Society.

In case the judges decide that no essay submitted to them deserves the full prize, they are at liberty to award one or two prizes of fifty dollars, or to award no prize.

The Dante Society has the privilege of retaining and depositing in the Dante Collection of the Harvard College Library any or all essays offered in competition for the Dante Prize, whether successful or not.

Since its establishment the Dante Prize (in full or in part) has been awarded to the following persons :

HEINRICH CONRAD BIERWIRTH . . . . 1887

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas*.

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888

For an essay entitled *The Interpretation and Reconciliation of the Different Accounts of his Experiences after the Death of Beatrice, given by Dante in the Vita Nuova and the Convito*.

CHARLES STERRETT LATHAM . . . . 1890

For an essay entitled *A Translation into English of Dante's Letters, with Explanatory and Historical Comments*.



KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo*.

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895

For an essay entitled *Dante's Influence upon Spanish Literature during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*.

ANNETTE FISKE . . . . 1897

For an essay entitled *Dante's Obligations to Old French and Provençal Lyric Poetry*.

ARTHUR NEWTON PEASLEE . . . . 1900

For an essay entitled *A Metrical Rhyming Translation of the Three Canzoni of the Convito*.

HENRY LATIMER SEAVER . . . . 1901

For an essay entitled *A Translation of the Canzoni in the Convito*.

ALAIN CAMPBELL WHITE . . . . 1902

The Latham Prize for an essay entitled *A Translation of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra, and a Discussion of its Authenticity*.

ALPHONSO DE SALVIO . . . . 1902

For an essay entitled *The Verse Endings in the Divina Commedia in which Dante has made "li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello ch' erano appo gli altri dicatori usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS . . . . 1903

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

CHANDLER RATHFON POST . . . . 1906

For an essay entitled *The Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature*.

ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS . . . . 1907

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova*.

RALPH HAYWARD KENISTON . . . . 1909

For an essay entitled *The Dante Tradition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*.

ROGER THEODORE LAFFERTY . . . . 1912

For an essay entitled *The Philosophy of Dante*.

GEORGE HUSSEY GIFFORD . . . . 1913

For an essay entitled *Expressions of Gratitude in Dante*.

RICHARD AGER NEWHALL . . . . 1914

For an essay entitled *Italian Ghibellinism as reflected in Dante*.

AMOS PHILIP MCMAHON . . . . 1915

For an essay entitled *On Dante's De Monarchia. A Study of Imperialism in Mediæval and in Modern Times*.

## ANNUAL REPORT

The thirty-seventh annual meeting of the Dante Society was held at the house of the President, Professor C. H. Grandgent, 107 Walker Street, Cambridge, on the evening of May 21, 1918. The reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were presented and accepted. The Secretary reported that no essay had been offered in competition for the Dante Prize.

By recommendation of a committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, all the officers of the Society were reëlected.

The President read a paper on "Dante's Versification."

With the present report, the Council publish an essay by the President, entitled "The Choice of a Theme."

GEORGE BENSON WESTON

*Secretary*

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., November 29, 1919



## "IL CHI E IL QUALE"

ERNEST H. WILKINS

Lines 11-18 of the second canto of the *Inferno* are as follows:

Tu dici che di Silvio lo parente,  
Corruttibile ancora, ad immortale  
Secolo andò, e fu sensibilmente.  
Però se l'avversario d'ogni male  
Cortese i fu, pensando l'alto effetto  
Che uscìr dovea di lui, e il chi e il quale,  
Non pare indegno ad uomo d'intelletto.<sup>1</sup>

Of the commentators who discuss the words "il chi e il quale" all except Passerini and Grandgent, I believe, regard these words as indicating the quiddity and the quality of the "effetto." As to just what quiddity and just what quality are meant there is much difference of opinion.

Passerini has the following note:

*e il chi, e il quale*: "quis et qualis." Il fondatore di Roma e l'autorità imperiale.<sup>2</sup>

Grandgent has the following note:

*Il chi e il quale (quis et qualis)*, 'who and what he was': Father Æneas, founder of Rome.

Passerini and Grandgent then agree in applying "il chi e il quale" to Æneas, not to the "effetto." They take the sense as being: "pensando (1) l'alto effetto ch'uscìr dovea di lui, (2) chi fu, e (3) quale fu."

That they are right in applying the phrase to Æneas, and that the words have a connotation different from and more definite than that suggested in their notes, appears on consideration of the third chapter of the second book of the *De Monarchia*. In that chapter Dante, in order

<sup>1</sup> I quote from the edition of C. H. Grandgent, Boston, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> Edition of G. L. Passerini, Florence, 1897.

to prove the nobility of the Roman people, asserts and proves the nobility of Æneas, the father of the Roman people. Lines 35-60 are as follows :

Qui quidem invictissimus atque piissimus pater, quantae nobilitatis vir fuerit, non solum sua considerata virtute, sed progenitorum suorum atque uxorum, quorum utrorumque nobilitas hereditario iure in ipsum confluit, explicare nequirem, sed summa sequar vestigia rerum.

Quantum ergo ad propriam eius nobilitatem, audiendus est Poeta noster, introducens in primo Ilioneum orantem sic :

'Rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter

Nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis.'

Audiendus est idem in sexto, qui cum de Miseno mortuo loqueretur, qui fuerat Hectoris minister in bello, et post mortem Hectoris, Aeneae ministrum se dederat, dicit ipsum Misenum 'non inferiora sequutum,' comparisonem faciens de Aenea ad Hectorem, quem prae omnibus Homerus glorificat, ut refert Philosophus in iis quae de moribus fugiendis ad Nicomachum.

Quantum vero ad hereditariam, quaelibet pars tripartiti orbis tam avis quam coniugibus illum nobilitasse invenitur.<sup>1</sup>

In the first of the three paragraphs quoted, Dante asserts that Æneas possessed a double nobility : a nobility proper to himself, and a nobility of inheritance, derived from ancestors and wives. In the second paragraph Dante proves that Æneas possessed a nobility proper to himself, alleging the qualities of justice and prowess ascribed to him by Virgil, together with Virgil's statement that Æneas was not inferior to Hector.

In the rest of the chapter Dante proves that Æneas possessed a nobility of inheritance, the inheritance being itself double — through ancestors and through wives. Each type of inheritance came to Æneas from each of the three continents. As to ancestors, Asia ennobled him through the more recent, such as Assaracus and others who ruled Phrygia; Africa through Electra and Atlas; and Europe through Dardanus. As to wives, Asia ennobled him through Creusa; Africa through Dido; and Europe through Lavinia.

The chapter ends as follows :

His itaque ad evidentiam subadsumptae praenotatis, cui non satis persuasum est, Romani populi patrem, et per consequens ipsum populum, nobilissimum fuisse sub coelo? Aut quem in illo duplici concursu sanguinis a qualibet mundi parte in unum virum, praedestinatio divina latebit?

<sup>1</sup> I quote from the Oxford Dante.

In view of the distinction so clearly made in this chapter between the two types of nobility possessed by Æneas, and the extensive treatment of each, it seems to me evident that when Dante wrote the words "il chi e il quale" he had in mind the same distinction; that by the words "il chi" he meant to suggest the nobility of Æneas by inheritance; and that by the words "il quale" he meant to suggest the nobility of Æneas in personal qualities.

Just as "l'alto effetto ch'uscir dovea di lui" refers to the descendants of Æneas, so "il chi" refers by implication to those from whom he derived inheritance, and "il quale" refers to the man himself. The two lines constitute another of Dante's swift surveys of past, present, and future.

The phrase "il chi e il quale" thus affords a notable instance of Dante's habit of endowing common words with rich and specific meaning.



# THE CHOICE OF A THEME<sup>1</sup>

BY C. H. GRANDGENT

Sumite materiam vestris qui scribitis aequam  
Viribus; et versate diu, quid ferre recusent  
Quid valeant humeri.

Horace, *Epistola ad Pisones*, 38-40

"Before all things," declares Dante in his treatise *On Vernacular Composition*, "before all things it behooves everyone to adapt to his own shoulders the weight of his theme, lest one be forced to stumble into the mire, because the strength of his shoulders is overladen. That is what our master Horace counsels, when he says at the beginning of his *Poetics*: 'choose your theme.'" It is not without interest to ask what Dante had to choose from, when he started his literary career. What possibilities were suggested to him by the literature he knew? To answer this question, we must ask another: what literature did he know in the years when, having studied out for himself the art of verse-making, he began to compose songs of his own? His earliest poem, as far as we are aware, is that first sonnet of the *New Life*, written when he was seventeen and, having received a greeting from Beatrice, became conscious of love:

On every captive soul and gentle heart  
Before whose eyes the present screech may go,  
Greetings from Love, their master, I bestow,  
And beg, their judgment they to me impart.  
Of all the time when stars display their art  
The hours bethirded were, or nearly so,  
When Love appeared before me, nothing slow.  
At thought of him I still with horror start!

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered at Yale University on January 29, 1918. Most of the translations are taken from three of my books: *Dante*, Duffield & Co., 1916; *The Ladies of Dante's Lyrics*, Harvard University Press, 1917; *The Power of Dante*, Marshall Jones Co., 1918.

Joyous to see was Love, and he did keep  
My heart within his hand, and in his arms  
My Lady, lightly wrapt, in slumber deep.  
Then on this burning heart, aroused from sleep,  
He poorly fed her, deaf to her alarms.  
And as he went away, I saw him weep.

(*The Ladies of Dante's Lyrics*, 137-138)

This poem he sent "to many who were famous composers at that time," and answers came "from many people, and of different opinions; among which answerers was he whom I call the first of my friends, and he then wrote a sonnet which begins 'All that is good, I think, hast thou beheld.' And this was almost the beginning of the friendship between him and me, when he learned that I was the one who had sent it to him." This "first friend" is Guido Cavalcanti, somewhat older than Dante and already a man of considerable note. His reply is preserved, as are two others: one by a minor poet named Dante da Maiano; one sometimes ascribed to a lad who later became a great jurist and a close friend of our author — Cino da Pistoia.

Now, when we look at Dante's verses, we find in them, first, the idea of a prophetic dream or vision, which is too general to point to a definite model; it may be Biblical or classical. Then we see the figure of Love as a god, common in the Provençal poets, who derived it in the first place from Ovid; Dante probably knew it in both sources. From either, or from both, he may have got the sad note at the end — the expectation of sorrow from love. More specific is the rather gruesome theme of a lady compelled to eat her lover's heart, a legend told in various quarters (not figuratively, as here, but literally), and attached especially to the troubadour Guilhem de Cabestaing. The figurative devouring of a heart occurs also in a striking poem by Sordello, a famous Italian who wrote in Provence, and who appears as a noble figure in the *Divine Comedy*. Furthermore, there is in the Bible (Revelation x, 10) a passage that may have colored Dante's thought: "And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it up; and it was in my mouth sweet as honey: and as soon as I had eaten it, my belly was bitter." The little poem seems to indicate, then, familiarity with Provençal verse, with the Bible, and perhaps with Ovid. These Dante presumably knew; and he must have known Virgil, the writer most studied in the schools.

There is more to be noted. Dante's poem is a sonnet, a form unknown to the poets of southern France, being an invention of the Sicilian School, freely used, after the Sicilians, by the early songsters of Tuscany and Bologna.

Furthermore, the sonnet by Dante and the responding sonnets of other authors form together a composition termed in Provence *tenso*, in Italy (where it was imitated by the earliest writers) *tenzone* or *contrasto*. It is a real or fictitious debate between two or more poets, in stanzas of the same structure; among the Italians, the stanzas have always been sonnets. Here are a couple of strophes of a Provençal *tenso* between the famous troubadour Giraut de Bornelh and the scarcely less renowned Count Raimbaut of Orange, nicknamed Linhaure, on the respective merits of a clear and an obscure style:

Giraut de Bornelh, I would know  
 Why you persistently refuse  
 To praise th' obscure style poets use.  
     Now tell me why  
     You glorify  
 A verse for which all men may care:  
 Shall everybody have a share?

My lord Linhaure, even so.  
 'T is right each one should have his views  
 And suit himself, but my poor muse  
     Knows well that I  
     Am rated high  
 When I the easiest verse prepare.  
 To blame me, then, is hardly fair.

(Dante, 115-116)

It may be noticed that the rimes in the two stanzas are identical. This was regularly the case in Provençal, and often in Italian, where the practice of replying with the same rimes that were used by the first poet was called "rispondere per le rime."

As an example of a literary debate in early Italian we may take an exchange of sonnets between Bonagiunta Orbiciani of Lucca and Guido Guinizelli of Bologna, both of whom appear in the *Divine Comedy*, the first as an inquirer into the new style, the second as Dante's master in Italian verse.

*Bonagiunta.* Since you have found a novel way to write  
 And changed the laws of our sweet amorous lays,  
 Both form and matter, turning black to white,  
 Hoping thereby to win consummate praise,  
 I liken you unto a torch at night  
 Which sheds a flickering gleam o'er murky ways,  
 But shines no longer when the orb of light  
 Kindles the world with all-surpassing blaze.  
 Such subtle wit was never seen before :  
 Your language is so hard to understand  
 That not a reader can decipher it.  
 Altho' Bologna may beget such lore,  
 It seems preposterous in any land  
 To furnish poems forth from learned writ.

*Guinizelli.* The wise man runs not here and there at will,  
 But stops and thinks, and measures in his mind ;  
 And, having thought, he holds his thought until  
 The truth assures him he has not been blind.  
 Let us beware lest pride our bosom fill ;  
 Let us consider our degree and kind.  
 Mad is the man who thinks the world sees ill  
 And he alone is fit the truth to find.  
 All sorts of curious birds fly to and fro,  
 Diverse in speed, unlike in temperament,  
 And each conducts itself in its own wise.  
 God made a varied universe, and so  
 Created understandings different —  
 Which ought to make us slow to criticize.

(Dante, 118-119)

These two poems, by the way, illustrate the type of sonnet that is probably earliest : two rimes alternating through the first eight lines ; in the last six, three rimes, running *cde cde*.

For his sonnet-debate Dante had, then, abundant precedent in the literature of his century. His theme, however, was not a literary one : it was rather a discussion of Love — the favorite topic among the troubadours, who were apt to treat it in the more formal type of *tenso* known as *partimen* or *joc partit*, a debating game. There is a very good early Italian specimen, the participants being : Jacopo Mostacci ; Pier delle Vigne, a sympathetic character in the *Commedia*, chancellor of the

Emperor Frederick II ; Giacomo da Lentini, leader of the Sicilian School, called by Dante (and often by himself) "the Notary." Sometimes the *tenso* ran into scurrilous abuse, as in a certain poetic dialogue between the popular troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and the marquis Albert Malaspina, a member of a family that a century later entertained Dante. Although the tone of the poem is scandalous, the intention was probably comic. Such, too, I think, was the intent of a sonnet-dialogue between Dante and his friend Bicci Junior, or Forese Donati, a kinsman of the lady whom Dante afterwards married. In the first sonnet, Dante makes fun of Bicci's wife and her continual colds, due to her husband's desertion ; in the second, Bicci tells how, at daybreak, he went out to dig for hidden treasure in the graveyard and met there the ghost of Dante's father. Then Dante charges his friend with gluttony, which has brought him to ruin. Bicci replies :

Give back your borrowed clothing to St. Gall,  
 Before you sneer at other people's dress.  
 This winter many men are in distress,  
 For you have fairly stript their hospital.  
 And if our poverty is comical,  
 Please send to us for food a little less.  
 From Altafronte you get many a mess,  
 Enough to stuff you like a cannibal.  
 If you have Frank and Tana to support  
 (God give them health ! ) you shall have work to spare ;  
 For with Belluzzo you have naught to do.  
 Our hospital shall be your last resort :  
 I see you now in gay apparel there  
 At paupers' table, with the other two.

And Dante retorts :

Bicci the Son (*whose* son, no one could say,  
 Unless his mother, Monna Tessa, could)  
 Has stowed away so much expensive food  
 That other people's money has to pay.  
 And men with gold about them will not stay,  
 Crying, when he comes nearer than he should :  
 " That fellow with the broken face is good  
 At picking pockets ; let us edge away ! "

The man whom he calls father quakes in bed  
 For fear his robber son may lose his life  
 (His *son* no more than Christ was Joseph's child!).  
 Of Bicci and his brothers it is said,  
 Each brings his booty to his brother's wife:  
 Worthy descendants of a race defiled!

(*Dante*, 114-115)

At the opposite extreme in sentiment is a *tenso* in two stanzas, by Dante, on the occasion of the death of Beatrice's father. This one is an example of the fictitious dialogue, in which both parts are written by the same author. The poet tells us that, as he was standing outside the house of mourning, he watched the passage of ladies who had been within, mourning with Beatrice; and, overhearing scraps of their conversation, he wove them into a speech supposed to be made by them in answer to an imaginary question by him:

*Dante to Ladies.* O ye who walk with self-forgetful mien,  
 With lowered eyes betraying hidden rue,  
 Whence comè ye, wearing pity's very hue  
 And very look? Ah! tell, where have ye been?  
 Have ye perchance our gentle Lady seen,  
 With Love upon her face all bathed in dew?  
 Ladies, reply! My heart declares 't is true,  
 Because ye walk majestic, like a queen.  
 And if ye come from such a piteousness,  
 I pray you here a bit with me to bide  
 And how it fares with her, to me confess.  
 Your eyes cannot conceal that they have cried.  
 I see you come, such pictures of distress,  
 I dare not think of what is prophesied.

*Ladies to Dante.* Art thou the man who oft hath been inclined  
 To sing of Her, addressing us alone?  
 His voice and thine, indeed, are like in tone,  
 And yet thy visage seems of different kind.  
 Alas! why weepst thou, so unresigned  
 That thou wouldst kindle pity in a stone?  
 Oh! hast thou listened to her piteous moan,  
 Who canst not now conceal thy sorrowing mind?  
 Leave tears to us, and sad funereal pace!  
 'T is sin to wish that we be comforted,



Since we have heard her speak with mournful grace.

Such sadness hovers plainly o'er her head

That who should try to look upon her face,

Weeping would sink to earth before her, dead.

(*The Ladies of Dante's Lyrics*, 115-116)

Of the fictitious *tenso* we have some unmistakable representatives in Provençal: one is a dialogue between a noble poet and his horse; another is a colloquy between a minstrel-monk and God.

On the mourning women and the death of the father of Beatrice, Dante has left us two other sonnets: the first, "Whence come ye here so thoughtful and so sad?" contains the poet's question, without the answer; the second, "Ye ladies who your sympathy reveal," combines inquiry and reply in one strophe. This theme brings us to another literary type, the lament, called in Provençal *planh*, in Italian *compianto*. Among the poets of Provence, and also among their Italian imitators, it dealt with the death or departure of one's beloved or the death of a patron or sovereign. The troubadours wrote several fine elegies on the passing of Richard I of England; the warlike Bertran de Born mourned over "the young English King," eldest son of Henry II; an unknown poet deplored the loss of two young ladies who had entered a convent; the death of Blacatz, a noble patron of letters, called forth the best poem of Sordello. One of the singers of the Sicilian group, Giacomino Pugliese, has left us an elegy which begins thus:

Death, why dost thou afflict me with such pain,

Stealing my love, and with her all my mirth?

The flower of earthly beauty hast thou slain;

Now have I naught to live for, here on earth.

Discourteous Death, to treat my pleading so!

Thou 'st parted lovers, frozen pleasure's glow,

Till all is sad.

My former gayety is turned to woe,

For thou hast killed all comfort here below,

Which once I had.

Pleasure and sport and laughter once I knew

Better by far than any other knight;

But when my lady forth to Heaven flew,

Sweet hope went with her, and forsook me quite.



Grief have I still, and endless tears and sighs;  
 Society and sport and song and prize  
     Are all forbid.  
 No more I see her at my coming rise,  
 No more she turns upon me her sweet eyes,  
     As once she did.

(*The Ladies of Dante's Lyrics*, 65-66)

These Sicilian poets cultivated a special type of the *compianto*: the lamentation of a lady forsaken by her lover. This theme, known as the *donna abbandonata*, became very common in popular poetry, and, indeed, perhaps came originally from folk-song into the literary repertory. No doubt there was popular song of some kind in those early days; but, as it was not written down, we can only guess what it was like. That is why we cannot be sure, concerning certain themes, whether they originated with the unlettered rustics or with the courtly poets. The following example, by Odo delle Colonne, certainly suggests a strain of the people's muse. The woman speaks:

Ah me! to love in vain!  
     Now tell once more, my song,  
 Again and yet again,  
     How days and nights are long  
 And life is naught but pain,  
     Tho' I have done no wrong.

There's one who's all to me,  
     And he was mine before,  
 But now he will not be.  
     Ah! who could suffer more!  
 He treats me haughtily:  
     My heart is crusht and sore.

Alas! what have I done?  
     Love will not let me go:  
 His image lures me on,  
     Which hath enslaved me so.  
 Since his fair face is gone,  
     No gladness do I know.

## THE CHOICE OF A THEME

I hold no joy in fief ;  
 Love grants me only hate  
 And everlasting grief.  
 O Death, be not too late !  
 Come now to my relief  
 And save me from this state !

Ah me ! why did he say,  
 When no one else was nigh :  
 " Richly dost thou repay ;  
 Thy love 's a prize so high,  
 I'd not give it away  
 For earth and stars and sky " ?

And now (ingratitude !)  
 He scorns me, and begins  
 On other thoughts to brood.  
 O God ! may she who wins  
 My love from her he wooed  
 Perish with all her sins !

Go forth, my little song,  
 To fortune's favored son ;  
 And if he do me wrong,  
 Strike him, the guilty one —  
 But not with blow too strong,  
 Lest he be sore undone !

But strike and surely slay  
 Her who usurps my place.  
 Then will he find his way  
 To me, with smiling face,  
 Never again to stray.  
 Joy will be mine, and grace !

A variant of the type is the plaint of a woman whose lover has departed on a Crusade. Once, at least, the theme was treated in Provençal, in a poem by Marcabru. The Sicilians were successful in it, as may be seen from the following *compianto* by Rinaldo d' Aquino :

Sweetness is turned to canker  
 And joy is turned to rue :  
 The ships are weighing anchor,  
 They 'll soon be on the blue.

To Palestine he goeth,  
 He goes, my lover true;  
 And I (how grieved, God knoweth!),  
 Whatever shall I do?

The Cross should bring salvation,  
 And me it but dismays;  
 The Cross brings desolation:  
 I envy him who prays.  
 O pilgrim Cross, inhuman,  
 (Alas! these wretched days!)  
 Why sacrifice poor woman?  
 My heart is all ablaze!

The Emperor, they tell me,  
 Keeps peace both far and near:  
 Then why should he compel me  
 To yield what I hold dear?  
 O mighty God above me,  
 Whom all the nations fear,  
 There is but one doth love me:  
 O bring him safely here!

I've told thee now, sweet poet,  
 Whereof to make a lay;  
 Let all the singers know it,  
 To Syria let it stray.  
 Sleep has forsook my pillow  
 Nor can I rest by day:  
 To lands beyond the billow  
 My life has fled away.

Dante and his group favored neither of these last two themes; they wrote *compianti* only on death. Here is one by Dante, in sonnet form, on the decease of a young friend of Beatrice:

Ye lovers, sigh! for Love, our Master, sighs.  
 Now learn what grief hath banisht all his glee:  
 Love heareth ladies calling piteously,  
 Their bitter pain revealing through their eyes.  
 Discourteous Death has set in cruel wise  
 Upon a noble heart his stern decree,  
 Destroying what in gentle ladies we,  
 Beside their good repute, on earth do prize.

What honor Love bestowed on her, now guess !  
 I saw his very self lamenting there  
     Over the charming form that lifeless lay,  
     Lifting his mournful gaze to Heaven away,  
 Which had become the gentle soul's repair  
 That once was queen of all in joyousness.

(*The Ladies of Dante's Lyrics*, 66)

Another poem by the same author on the same subject is full of conceits, and is written, also, in an expanded and difficult form of the sonnet known as the *sonetto rinterzato* :

O mean, ungentle Death, sweet pity's foe,  
 Old ancestor of woe,  
     Inevitable sentence, and malign !  
     Since thou hast stricken so this heart of mine  
     That I must ever pine,  
 Blame thee I must, till tongue shall weary grow.  
 Would I make thee for mercy begging go,  
 To all the world I'd show  
     That one supremely sinful sin of thine ;  
     Not that the world hath seen thereof no sign,  
     But rather to incline  
 To wrath all those the food of Love who know.  
 By thee our life is robbed of courtesy  
     And all the goodness we to woman trace ;  
     Youth's joyous face  
 Hath lost its loving charm because of thee.  
 I will not tell who may this lady be,  
     Save by her virtues known in every place.  
     Unless one merit grace,  
 One never must expect such company.

(*The Ladies of Dante's Lyrics*, 63-64)

In the sixty years or so that intervened between the invention of the sonnet and Dante's first use of it, the form had undergone many variations ; and it is noteworthy that our poet, after his earliest period, should have preferred the simpler, more primitive types, of fourteen lines. Of the first four sonnets in the *New Life*, two are *sonetti rinterzati* ; but we never find in the little book this intricate variety again. Several elegies in plain sonnet form Dante wrote on the death of his Beatrice, and one in the form of a *canzone*, or ode, " My eyes in sorrow for my heart's distress." Here is one stanza of this last poem :

Hard and distressful comes my sighing breath  
 When thought recalleth to my heavy mind  
 The vanisht one by whom my heart was cleft;  
 And oftentimes, as I reflect on death,  
 So sweetly to its charm am I inclined,  
 I yearn until I have no color left.  
 And when her image seeks my soul bereft,  
 Such pain on every hand assails me then,  
 I shiver at the agonizing blow;  
 My spirit sinks so low,  
 For very shame I shun the sight of men.  
 Then, weeping, in my solitary woe  
 I call on Beatrice: "Canst thou be dead!"  
 And while I call on her, am comforted.

It closes with this envoy:

My piteous song, now go thy way in grief!  
 The maids and ladies find, on whom, in state,  
 Thy sisters used to wait,  
 With messages that always spake of gladness;  
 And thou, the youngest daughter, child of sadness,  
 Go forth to dwell with them, disconsolate.

A sonnet, and also a short *canzone*, of only two stanzas, "Alas! whenever I recall to mind," Dante wrote — so he tells us — at the request of a friend, a brother of his beloved, really for Beatrice but ostensibly on the death of another lady. The sonnet, *Venite a intender li sospiri miei*, runs thus:

O come and hear me utter sigh on sigh,  
 Ye gentle hearts, for pity wills it so!  
 O hear my sighs, which melancholy go!  
 And but for them, of sorrow I should die;  
 Because my eyes, however hard they try,  
 Could never pay their heavy debt of woe,  
 Mourning my love with such an endless flow  
 My heart were eased, tho' I should weep them dry.  
 Full often shall ye hear my sighs extol  
 My gentle love, who hath her wings unfurled  
 To seek the Heaven her virtue hath deserved;  
 And ye shall hear them oft condemn this world,  
 As doth my stricken, solitary soul,  
 Forsaken by the blessed power it served.

Another *compianto* on the loss of Beatrice was written by Dante's friend, Cino da Pistoia, who composed one also on the death of the Emperor, Henry VII, whom Dante so admired.

But enough has been said to show how Dante selected and adapted to his purpose two of the conventional types of Provençal and early Italian literature: the *tenso*, or discussion, and the *planh*, or elegy. The former he used for amatory, funereal, and humorous themes; the latter he restricted to one function — lamentation over the death of a lady. What were the other lyric themes and forms current in the literature of southern France? The *balada*, or ballad, — a dance-song actually performed by dancing ladies, — usually treated, in Provence, some light or realistic love theme; Dante made it the vehicle of delicate sentiment and dainty conceits, as in this little poem:

*Chorus.* Ah! Violet, which once didst meet mine eyes,  
Shadowed by Love, appearing suddenly,  
Pity the heart which wounded was by thee,  
Which hopes in thee, and, yearning for thee, dies.

*Solo.* Thou, Violet, in beauty past belief,  
With fatal words didst kindle in my mind  
A furious fire, the while  
Thou, like a blazing spirit swift and kind,  
Didst fashion hope, which partly cures my grief,  
Whene'er I see thee smile.  
Ah! scorn me not, tho' I myself beguile!  
Think of the longings which within me burn!  
For many a bygone maid, tho' slow to turn,  
Hath felt at last the pain she did despise.

*Chorus.* Ah! Violet, which once didst meet mine eyes,  
Shadowed by Love, appearing suddenly,  
Pity the heart which wounded was by thee,  
Which hopes in thee, and, yearning for thee, dies.

(*The Ladies of Dante's Lyrics*, 4)

For the serious expression of love the poets of the *Midi* had the *canso*, their principal lyric form, which in Italian was called *canzone*. Of course there is much variety in elaborating the theme; but we may say, in

general, that the Provençal conception of it is feudal — the lady being regarded as a superior, an absolute sovereign, the lover as a vassal. This convention was ordinarily followed by the earliest Italian amatory poets. But with Guido Guinizelli of Bologna there came a change: with him, the conception of love is no longer feudal, but religious. The lady is still a superior, but not an earthly one: she becomes a symbol of the angelic nature, the heavenly intelligence; and the lover exchanges the position of vassal for that of worshiper. This attitude may be illustrated by a stanza from Dante's first *canzone* in the "sweet new style" — "Ladies who have intelligence of love":

My lady's longed for in the heavens above.  
Now let me tell you of her wondrous might.  
Whatever lady would be "gentle" hight  
Should walk with her; for when she goes her way,  
A chill is cast on vulgar hearts by Love,  
And all their thoughts are cold and dead with fright.  
Whoe'er should stand his ground to see the sight  
Would be ennobled or would turn to clay.  
When she discerns a worthy man who may  
Rightly behold her, he must own her power;  
For blessedness she gives, a mystic dower,  
So humbling him, no spite can with him stay.  
God granteth her a grace that's greater still:  
Who speaks to her, escapes eternal ill.

(*The Ladies of Dante's Lyrics*, 21-22)

Not all of Dante's amatory poetry is in this vein. In fact, an interesting passage in the *New Life* tells of his conversion. His previous style differs not only in its more worldly conception of the lady, but also in the prominence of the author's self:

Of Love within me speaketh every thought ;  
And yet they show so much variety  
That one doth make me crave his tyranny,  
Another reckons all his power as naught,  
Another, hopeful, sweetness may have brought,  
Another makes me weep full frequently.  
Only agreed in asking sympathy,  
They quake with fear, by which the heart is caught.



And therefore, doubting which my theme shall be,  
 I fain would write, but know not what to say,  
 And thus in Love's bewildering maze am lost.  
 Would I agreement have, at any cost,  
 Mine enemy I needs must call and pray :  
 " My lady Pity, come and comfort me ! "

(*The Ladies of Dante's Lyrics*, 26)

Often enough the Provençal and the Sicilian *canso* was frankly passionate ; and so are a few of Dante's *canzoni* — particularly some of those connected with Pietra — but apparently none of those associated with Beatrice. Two conventional figures of the old *canso* — the jealous husband and the informer — are absent from Dante.

No material or trivial details are to be found in his odes, which keep themselves in the realm of the abstract. In one poem (a *serventesè*), unfortunately lost but mentioned in the *New Life*, he did enumerate "the sixty most beautiful ladies" of Florence ; what his treatment of the topic was, we do not know. Possibly it was suggested to him by a *canso* of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, the "Chariot." This poem tells how all the ladies, jealous of a certain Beatrice, resolve to wage war upon her, but are ignominiously defeated ; and there is a long list of the belligerent ladies. A similar enumeration occurs in the "Truce" by Guilhem de la Tor. Another Provençal *canso* may have suggested to Dante a theme of a different type : Giraut de Bornelh relates that, following the song of a bird, he comes upon three damsels weeping, who deplore with him the depravity of the times. Similarly, Dante hears three ladies mourning over the degeneracy of the present day ; but Dante's ladies are allegorical.

Next to the *canso*, among Provençal forms, may be placed the *sirventes*, a satirical or polemical or abusive poem written to an old tune. Some of the most spirited of them dealt with war. Here is a strophe of one by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, composed after he had received knighthood from Boniface, Marquis of Monferrat, whom he accompanied on the fourth Crusade to Constantinople :

Gallop and trot and leap and run,  
 Night-watch and labor and distress  
 Henceforth shall be my business ;  
 Cold I 'll endure, and scorching sun.

Iron and staff and steel my arms shall be,  
 And forest-paths shall be my hostelry.  
 Discord and *sirventes* shall be my song,  
 While I maintain the weak against the strong.

(Dante, 108)

Although Dante became familiar with Bertran de Born, the best representative of this type, he has left us nothing formally of the Provençal *sirventes* class. Three of his poems, however, belong in theme to this category rather than to that of the *canso*; they are: the third *canzone* of the *Convivio*, "The dulcet rimes of love which I was used," a versified disquisition on nobility; the ode "'T is grief emboldens now my heart to speak," a diatribe against the vices of men, particularly avarice; and "Since Love hath utterly forsaken me," a demonstration that true grace cannot exist without virtue and love.

The other Provençal lyric types apparently did not appeal to Dante, — such as the *pastorela*, a conversation between the poet and a country girl; the *alba*, or dawn-song; the *enuég* and *plazer*, enumerations of things one dislikes and likes. Nor did he imitate the *ensenhamen*, a versified set of rules for conduct, nor any other kind of didactic poem in rimed couplets, nor the epistle constructed on the same plan. Out of all the forms that southern France had to offer, Dante selected three: the *canso*, vehicle of exalted emotion, one variety of which is the *planh*, or elegy; the *balada*, light song of amatory fancies; the *tenso*, or poetic dialogue. And he made abundant use of that new Italian type, the sonnet, a convenient medium, which could be used for almost any purpose. One other kind of lyric he did attempt once: the whimsical *descort*, written in several languages; his "Ah! treacherous smile, say, why have you betrayed" is composed in Provençal, Latin, and Italian. Another "discordant" type current in Provence, the *lais*, in which the language remains the same, but the strophes are irregular, he passed over.

By the time Dante was twenty-eight or twenty-nine years old, and was constructing the *New Life* (picking out and arranging the poems, and writing the prose), he had extended his acquaintance with letters. Of the Latin poets, he had added Lucan and Horace (that is, the Horace of the *Poetics*) to Virgil and Ovid. He had studied the *Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius, and Cicero's treatise *On Friendship* — perhaps more of Cicero's philosophical works. He had plunged into the

theologians, especially St. Thomas Aquinas. Undoubtedly he had enlarged his knowledge of vernacular literature, perhaps taking in some French as well as more Provençal. His education did not stop there. Ten years or so later, when he came to write the *Banquet*, he was not only an expert in scholastic philosophy and astronomical and physical science, but also a good Latinist, acquainted with the philosophy of Cicero and Seneca, the history of Livy and Paulus Orosius. If we pass on ten or fifteen years more, to the period when Dante, some forty or forty-five years old, was engaged on the final redaction of the *Divine Comedy*, we find that he has further increased his store of theology and of medieval philosophy and science, and has added also some ancient Latin authors, such as Pliny, Solinus, Valerius Maximus, and especially the epic poet Statius. Most of Aristotle he acquired, first through St. Thomas, then directly in a Latin version; and a little of Plato he found translated. He never learned Greek or Hebrew, except a few words picked up from his authorities; and he gives no indication of acquaintance with Spanish, German, or English.

The expansion of his horizon by this long-continued and intense study could not fail to offer new possibilities in the way of themes and treatment. In St. Thomas Aquinas he came upon a definition of the theory of allegory, as well as the application of it to Biblical interpretation. And Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* furnished him with the figure of Philosophy symbolized as a majestic lady. Hence, no doubt, came the suggestion of Dante's lyrics in honor of Lady Philosophy, which were written, it would seem, just after the period of the *Vita Nuova*. As to the *Vita Nuova*, or *New Life*, a sort of spiritual autobiography in the form of a continuous commentary on thirty-one of the author's poems, Dante seems to have got the idea of that structure from some Provençal song-book — probably an edition of Bertran de Born wherein the lyrics are accompanied by a prose explanation which relates the career of the poet. The style of the prose, in the *New Life*, is distinctly flavored with the language of the Bible. The analyses of the poems show the influence of St. Thomas's commentary on Aristotle. For the *Banquet*, Dante adopted the general plan that he had used to such advantage in the *New Life*: a discussion of some of his own lyrics; but here the proportion of prose to verse is far greater than in the earlier work. Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* afforded him an example of an extended philosophical treatise interspersed with poetry. In style and in method of exposition

Dante followed scholastic Latin models. So he naturally did, also, in his three didactic Latin works: the broadly planned but unfinished book *On Vernacular Composition*; the compact and well-rounded argument on *Monarchy*; the scientific lecture on the *Problem of Water and Land*. The last two dealt with questions debated in his day; but the first, the *Vernacular Composition*, struck out in a new direction. Horace's *Ars Poetica* (Aristotle's *Poetics* was unknown) had to do with a very different kind of literature; the Rhetorics of Aristotle and Cicero scarcely touched upon Dante's theme; the linguistic treatises, in the language of southern France, known as the *Provençal Donatus* and the *Explanation of Verse-Making*, merely grazed the subject; the big Provençal compendium of the art of versification, the *Laws of Love*, was not yet written. In this work, then, Dante showed himself an original investigator and a pioneer.

Our author has left us also some letters on various subjects, mostly political; one, however, is a message of condolence, one a little introduction (apparently) to a *canzone*, and one (if it be his) accompanied the first canto of the *Paradiso* sent to Can Grande della Scala. This last, which is really a treatise of some length, deals with allegory, composition, and rhetoric. In these epistles — Cicero's letters being still inaccessible — Dante followed the medieval style, with its pedantic language, violent figures, and rhythmical cadences. He contrived, nevertheless, to put into them something of his own. Two Latin eclogues complete the list of his Latin works; these have to do with personal matters — his preference for Italian and his use of it in his great poem, and his reluctance to leave Ravenna to visit Bologna, whither he was invited. The style is highly figurative and allegorical, so much so that it is hard to tell what the author is talking about. His method is based evidently on a study of Virgil's eclogues as they were interpreted in his day: namely, as poems fundamentally and intricately symbolistic.

We come now to Dante's great poem, the *Divine Comedy*, the book which he knew to be his masterpiece, the crowning achievement of his life, his title to immortality among men. Apparently he intended, from the beginning, that his chief work should be a monument to the memory of Beatrice; for at the close of the *New Life*, after describing in a sonnet the glory of his lady in Heaven, he proceeds to say: "After this sonnet there appeared to me a wondrous vision, in which I saw things that made me determine to write no more of this blessed one until I should

be able to treat of her more worthily. And to that end I am studying with all my might, as she truly knows. Wherefore, if it shall be the pleasure of Him by whom all things live, that my life endure for some years, I hope to say of her what never was said of any woman." It is (let us say) the year 1294; the place is Florence. Here we have a man twenty-nine years old, of considerable reading, who has won distinction as a lyric poet, and who feels himself capable of far higher flights in literature. What theme shall be chosen by such a man? What theme is best adapted to satisfy his own artistic ambition and to perpetuate the name of his beloved, now a blessed soul in Paradise? What was the "wondrous vision" that flashed upon him, after he had composed the last sonnet of the *New Life*?

Some there are who think that Dante had selected his subject years before, when he wrote "Ladies who have intelligence of love," the first ode of the *New Life*, and the first poem of any kind after his conversion to platonic love and the "sweet new style." Now there is some ground for believing that he composed this *canzone* when he was about twenty-two or twenty-three. The second stanza of the ode runs as follows:

An angel in the mind of God doth call,  
 Saying: "O Lord, on earth there meets our eyes  
 A wondrous virtue which doth hither rise  
 Forth from a soul whose light doth climb anear."  
 And Paradise, which lacketh naught at all  
 Save only her, unto its Maker cries —  
 And every saint — to bring her to the skies.  
 Pity alone our earthly plea doth hear;  
 For God declareth of my Lady dear:  
 "In peace, beloved spirits, suffer still  
 That she for whom ye hope await my will  
 Below, where some one her release doth fear,  
 One who shall say in Hell: 'O souls distrest,  
 Mine eyes have seen the hope of all the blest.'"  
 E che dirà nell' Inferno: O malnati,  
 Io vidi la speranza de' beati.

(*The Power of Dante*, 192)

At first sight, one would infer that the writer of these lines had already conceived the plan of a mystic journey through the world of the dead. If so, he radically altered his design; for, in point of fact, in the *Divine*



*Comedy*, he never mentions Beatrice in Hell. Supposing Dante had never written the *Commedia*, the closing verses of our strophe would naturally be understood as meaning simply that the poet (for I take the "some one" to refer to him) will proclaim his lady's name to the ends of the universe, even to the depths of Hell. The poem is couched in a vein of supreme hyperbole: Heaven is incomplete without Beatrice, the angels are clamoring for her; her virtue awakens admiration on high; Dante, who knows she is too pure for this world, will sound her praises down below. We need not assume any real apprehension of an early death for Beatrice — merely the general idea that earth does not deserve to keep her. Still less need we understand (as some have done) that Dante expects to be damned; indeed, that possibility is precluded by the closing lines of the next stanza:

God granteth her a grace that's greater still:  
Who speaks to her, escapes eternal ill.

Whether Dante, before the time indicated in the last chapter of the *New Life*, had any design of a supreme literary undertaking, remains, then, I think, an open question. Had he a plan or not, various possibilities were before him. Let us assume that, being a poet, he would inevitably make his masterpiece a poem. In northern France there were fine epics of war and chivalry, some of the stories of which, at least, had reached Italy. Dante knew the romance of Lancelot of the Lake, the book which Paolo and Francesca read together; in his *Hell* he refers to the blow of King Arthur which slew the traitorous Mordrec; and in his *Paradise* he compares the indulgently rebuking smile of Beatrice to the protesting cough of the Lady of Mallehault, at the interview of Lancelot and Guinivere. He knew Tristan as a great lover. He knew Achilles in the same rôle, and that hero's tragic end, as told in the Old French romance of Troy. The *Aliscans* he knew, the epic of William of Orange. And he knew how Roland blew his horn at Roncevaux. In *De Vulgari Eloquentia* he speaks of French as the language of "histories of the Trojans and Romans and the charming divagations of King Arthur." But he chose none of these themes. The epics and romances of southern France were probably unknown to him, but they would hardly have appealed to him more than those of the north.

In northern France, in the thirteenth century, was produced that wonderfully popular allegorical, satirical, and didactic poem, the *Romance of*

*the Rose*, at least the first part of which was known to his elderly adviser, Brunetto Latini, who had lived in Paris. But whether Dante himself knew it, save by report, we cannot say. In his surely authentic works there is no trace of it, unless the white rose of his Paradise be intended as a counterpart of the red rose of the French romance. On the other hand, there was made, in his own time, an Italian abridged paraphrase of the poem, in the form of a sonnet sequence, of such admirable workmanship that some have attributed it to Dante himself. At any rate, he did not select a similar theme for his masterpiece. With the drama, religious and secular, which had developed in France, he shows no acquaintance; nor was he acquainted, it would seem, with the Romance of Reynard the Fox; nor with the pretty tale of Aucassin and Nicolette. Nothing that he knew in French literature prompted him to imitation, and no work on a large scale in the literature of Provence.

This being the case, he might conceivably have turned to Latin. Petrarch, a generation later, based his chief hope of fame on a Latin epic, the *Africa*, dealing with Scipio Africanus. Dante, too, might have attempted a history in "grammatical" verse, on the pattern of Virgil or Lucan. Possibly—since he perhaps had read some of Seneca's plays—he might, like his contemporary and fellow-countryman Mussato, have tried his hand at a Latin tragedy. But his ambition lay in another direction. Had he known them, some of the late and medieval Latin poets—the allegorical ones—might have offered him a more congenial model: Prudentius, with his *Soul's Battle*; or Alanus de Insulis, with his *Anticlaudian* and his *Nature's Lament*. For Dante loved allegory, and his bent was strongly religious and didactic. His didactic impulse, so manifest in the *Banquet*, led him to explore encyclopedic works, from Pliny through St. Isidore to the *Treasure* of his elderly friend, Brunetto Latini.

Now this same Brunetto, who, after a sojourn in France, spent the latter part of his life in his native Florence, where he was a very prominent citizen, wrote not only his *Treasure* in French prose (one of the most highly prized of all encyclopedias), but also a little *Treasure* in Italian verse, which was a combination of instruction and allegory, and was worked out, furthermore, in the form of a journey. Lost in a strange wood, the author, coming to his senses, encounters the beauteous Dame Nature, who bestows on him much precious information. After traversing a wilderness, he reaches the Land of Virtue; but, not content, he



pushes on to the Land of Pleasure, where he falls under the dominion of Love, whose code is there expounded. Snatched from danger by Ovid, purified by penance, he goes back to the wood in search of the Liberal Arts. Many countries he crosses, never stopping until he rides to the top of Mt. Olympus, where he meets the venerable sage, Ptolemy. Here the narrative breaks off. It is not a high flight of poetry, but it is ingenious, and it imparts valuable knowledge under the cloak of an allegorical journey. In this poem, the *Tesoretto*, we probably have one of the first models for the *Divine Comedy*. Dante was certainly conscious of a great debt to Latini, whose soul he meets in Hell. "You, Master Brunetto, here!" he exclaims.

And he replied: "Be not displeased, my son,  
If old Latini follows thee a bit,  
And backward turns, and lets the band go on."

"If favoring Heaven on all my wishes smiled,"  
I answered him, "I earnestly would pray  
You were not yet from human life exiled.  
For memory, now a sorrow, keeps alway  
Your kindly image, dear and fatherly,  
When in the world above, from day to day,  
You taught me how to win eternity.  
How great my gratitude, while I shall live,  
'T is meet my words make all mankind to see."

(Dante, 267-268)

Other journeys, legendary or symbolical, Dante must have drawn upon, particularly expeditions to the Earthly Paradise—such as the tale of three monks who found the Garden of Eden at the top of a mountain a hundred miles high, or the famous *Navigation* of the Irish monk, St. Brendan, who discovered the Isle of the Blest. From a different kind of legend Dante derived far more—the story of visions of the other world. Of these there were many, from the fourth-century Apocalypse of St. Paul down to Dante's own time. From them, and also from Virgil, he got many details for his Hell; but the logical arrangement of it is his own invention.

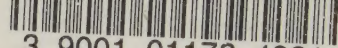
The vision, the journey, the compendium of knowledge—all these types are fused together and invested with allegory. But we have not

yet found the real spirit, the soul of Dante's theme. The *Divine Comedy*, like the *New Life*, is first and foremost a psychic autobiography; it is a record of awakening from sin, of remorse, of reformation, of discipline, of purification, of religious contemplation, and of union of the soul with God. Had Dante a model for a work of this nature? He had; and he names it in his *Banquet*, in the passage which states the conditions under which it is legitimate to speak of one's self. "The second," he says, "is when, by talking of one's self, very great assistance is rendered to others in the way of teaching. And this reason impelled St. Augustine to speak of himself in his *Confessions*; for in the progress of his life, which was from bad to good, from good to better, and from better to best, he has given us an example and a lesson, which else could not have been had from so true a witness."

Inwardly a spiritual confession, outwardly an allegorical journey in the form of a vision, with much incidental doctrine, the *Commedia* blends these several types into one, and a new theme is created—a theme which the poet clothes with all the splendors of language and imagination. Truthfully could Dante say, in his *Paradise*:

U'acqua che io prendo giammai non si corse.





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